

# PEKING REVIEW

50

December 9, 1977

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報

**The Munich Tragedy and  
Contemporary Appeasement**

**What Do Moscow-Vaunted "Detente"  
And "Disarmament" Add Up to?**

*Visiting a P.L.A. Division*

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BEIJING ZHOUBAO

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## 35th Anniversary of Communist Party of Thailand Greeted

**T**HE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on November 30 sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand, extending the warmest congratulations on the 35th anniversary of its founding.

The message reads: "On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Thailand, we, on behalf of all members of the Communist Party of China and the entire Chinese people, extend to you and, through you, to all members of the Communist Party and the people of Thailand our warmest and fraternal congratulations.

"The Communist Party of Thailand, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in its country, holding high the banner of national democratic revolution and keeping to the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities so as to seize the political power through armed force, is leading the people of Thailand in waging a heroic and dauntless struggle for the realization of genuine independence and people's democracy in Thailand.

"The Communist Party of Thailand has scored major achievements in Party building, armed struggle, the united

front and other fields. It upholds proletarian internationalism and wages a resolute struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, thus making valuable contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

"At present, the international situation is excellent, the international united front for opposing the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is developing on a wide scale, and the situ-

ation is becoming more and more favourable to the Thai people's revolutionary struggle. We are convinced that, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, the Thai people will surely win greater and greater victories.

"The fraternal feelings between the two Parties and peoples of China and Thailand forged in the protracted revolutionary struggle will certainly be further consolidated and developed.

"Long live the unity between the two Parties and peoples of China and Thailand!

"Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!"

## Chairman Hua's Call for More Electricity

**W**ATER resources must be exploited fully to generate more electricity," Chairman Hua Kuo-feng told Chien Cheng-ying, Minister of Water Conservancy and Power, on November 27 while doing a stint of physical labour during an inspection tour of the Miyun Reservoir on the outskirts of Peking.

With more electricity, Chairman Hua added, the gross industrial output value will go up substantially even if no new equipment is added. After asking whether all the water discharged from the reservoir can be used for power generation, he stressed: "We must turn hydraulic power to full account

and not let water run off unused. Water stored in the reservoir must be used first to generate electric power and then for irrigation."

He also instructed that the whole nation should go in for afforestation in a big way.

Chairman Hua, together with Vice-Chairmen Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and other Members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, joined the workers that same day in reinforcing the main dam of the reservoir. He has shown much concern about the progress of the project. Immediately after a strong earthquake struck the Tangshan-



Chairman Hua and other leading comrades at the work-site.

Fengnan area on July 28 last year, causing damage to the dam, it was Chairman Hua who instructed that a good job must be made of reinforcing it.

At the work-site, Chairman Hua wrote the following inscriptions: "Miyun Reservoir" and "Irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture."

### Greeting National Day Of Laos

December 2 this year was the 2nd anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial marking the occasion.

Extending warm congratulations to the Lao people, the

editorial said the Lao People's Democratic Republic was founded after the heroic Lao people, under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, waged an arduous and tortuous struggle for national independence and liberation, finally defeated U.S. imperialist aggression and the reactionary forces at home and won a victory of

historic significance. "In the past two years," it noted, "the Lao people have made great efforts to further consolidate the fruits of victory and rehabilitate and develop their national economy." The Chinese people heartily rejoice over the Lao people's victories and achievements in revolution and construction, the editorial stressed.

The editorial added that under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people are resolved to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and do their best to safeguard and develop the friendship between the two peoples.

To celebrate the Lao people's festival, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Laos Friendship Association gave a reception on December 1.

### Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao Visits Iran

"We have come to visit Iran bringing with us the sincere friendship of the 800 million Chinese people, and tomorrow we will leave your country taking back with us the deep friendly feelings of the Iranian people for the Chinese people." This was said by Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in a statement at the farewell reception she gave in Teheran on December 1.

Vice-Chairman Teng Yingchao paid a week-long friendship visit to Iran at the invitation of the Iranian Government. She arrived in Teheran on November 26 and during her stay in Iran, she was received and feted on separate occasions by His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and Her Imperial Majesty Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi, the Shahanshah's sister Her Royal Highness Princess Fatemeh Pahlavi, the Shahanshah's other sister Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, and Prime Minister Jamshid Amuzegar and his wife. Iranian Senate President Jaafar Sharif Emami and Majlis Speaker Abdollah Riazi met her separately and Minister of the Imperial Court Amir Abbas Hoveyda gave a tea party in her honour. In the course of these meetings and conversations, both sides expressed the common desire to further develop the relations between the two countries.

There is a long and deep friendship between the people of China and Iran. The "Silk Road" from China to the West passed through Iran. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in August 1971, their traditional friendship has developed rapidly. In 1972, Her Imperial Majesty Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi, accompanied by the then Prime Minister Hoveyda, visited China. Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi visited China on three occasions in six years and Her Royal Highness Princess Fatemeh Pahlavi visited China on

the eve of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Iran.

### **Rewi Alley's 80th Birthday**

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries gave a banquet on the evening of December 2 to celebrate the 80th birthday of Comrade Rewi Alley, an old friend of the Chinese people and New Zealand writer. Since he came to China from New Zealand in 1927, Comrade Alley has fought together with the Chinese people for their revolutionary cause for 50 years.

Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping attended the function and extended congratulations to Comrade Alley on behalf of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese Government and people.

In his toast at the banquet, Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping said: We are glad to be here today to wish many happy returns to our veteran fighter, our old friend and our old comrade Rewi Alley on his 80th birthday. Thousands upon thousands of foreign friends have helped the cause of the Chinese revolution. It is no easy thing to have done so much for the Chinese people as Comrade Alley has done constantly for half a century, in the years when we faced difficulties and adversity, in the years when we fought for the triumph of our revolution, and in the years since victory was won in our revolution. It is only natural that he enjoys the respect of the Chinese people.

The Vice-Chairman added: Since the overthrow of the "gang of four," our country has set for itself a clear and definite goal to be attained before the end of the century, that is, to accomplish the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. We are sure to achieve this goal under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. The task and demand we should like to place on Comrade Alley at the advanced age of 80 is that he should live for at least another 24 years so that he will be able to see the attainment of the goal he has worked for all his life, and he will become an activist, a revolutionary, and a most sincere friend of the Chinese people who lives in three centuries.

In good health and spirit, Comrade Alley was very happy that evening. He said: In another month or two, I shall have completed my 51st year in China. I am grateful for all the Chinese revolution has taught me, leaving me with so rich a collection of memories and so deep an admiration for all who fought so well, and who now help to carry the revolution forward to higher stages. It has been my great good fortune over the years spent in China, to have close contact with ordinary working people, being able to live with them and share in their struggle. This has meant the opening up of a new world to me.

Comrade Alley went on to say that China, under its dynamic

*(Continued on p. 27.)*



In 1938 after the German annexation of Austria by brute force, Hitler turned his attention to seizing Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland under the pretext that the region was German-inhabited. A power in Europe and at that time the world's biggest colonial empire, Britain was faced with a serious menace presented by the rise of a Germany under Hitler and the formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis of fascists. Whitehall pursued a policy of appeasement, i.e., a policy of "non-intervention" towards Hitler's aggression and expansion, hoping thus to turn his spearhead eastward against the Soviet Union so that Britain could "sit out the tigers' fight from afar," maintain its position as the overlord in Europe and preserve its colonial interests in Asia, Africa and Oceania. To this end Britain stooped to conciliate and made one retreat after another before Hitler's war threats. Chamberlain took three trips to Germany where he begged Hitler to "assure the peace of Europe." In September 1938, the British and French champions of appeasement, in an act of high perfidy, signed at Munich an agreement with the German and Italian fascists and handed Czechoslovakia on a platter over to Hitler. Thus the floodgates of appeasement were flung wide open in Europe, making it much easier for Hitler to pursue aggression on a still larger scale. And so was written the Munich tragedy which to this day is denounced by the world's people.

By conniving at German fascism, the appeasement policy of the 1930s brought on hundreds of millions of people an unparalleled disaster. Many useful lessons can be learnt from the history of those years.

The appeasement proponents in the 1930s spared no efforts to offer excuses for Hitler's expansionist ambitions, and this left the people of many countries unprepared, mentally and materially, for the sudden outbreak of war. Speaking with wishful thinking about his impression of Hitler, Chamberlain said, "Here was a man who could be relied upon when he had given his word." He described Hitler's preposterous claim for annexing Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland as nothing but a "quarrel in a faraway country between people . . ." and gave credence to his hypocritical promise that "this is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe." No matter how he tried to placate

and how much he gave in, Chamberlain made no impression on Hitler's aggressive ambitions, he only whetted them. Just a year after the Munich agreement was signed, to the rumbling of the guns Hitler's troops were on the march again to gobble other parts of Europe. Chamberlain's fond dream of a respite was dashed to bits.

### **The Smokescreen of Disarmament**

In the 1930s the advocates of appeasement hoped to put the brakes on Hitlerite Germany's rearmament through disarmament and attain a "balance" of military strength. One disarmament conference after another was held under the auspices of the League of Nations while Germany stepped up its war preparations from day to day behind the smokescreen of disarmament. Chamberlain and his ilk made a fetish of the "balance of armament." In the name of preserving Britain's naval "superiority," they even went to the length of signing a naval agreement to permit the Third Reich to build a fleet as large as one-third of the British navy in violation of the provisions of the Versailles peace treaty on restricting the growth of Germany's naval force. Taking advantage of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, Nazi Germany scrapped all the treaties which limited its rearmament and it unrestrainedly beefed up its military forces. With a surfeit of arms at their disposal, the aggressors were itching for action. In no time Hitler unloosed a massive war in Europe in September 1939. Disarmament talks on a big scale in the 1930s so ended in war on a big scale, the outbreak of World War II.

This appeasement policy found another manifestation. Monopoly capitalists in the United States, Britain, France and other countries, to extricate themselves from economic difficulties, made great use of the vanquished Germany of World War I for the export of their capital and commodities. From the 1920s onwards, the United States, Britain and France adopted in succession what came to be known as the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan to give the economically enfeebled Germany a shot in the arm, reducing its war reparations and granting it huge loans. It is a case of rearing a tiger to devour oneself. Appeasement enabled Hitler to arm his aggressor troops to the teeth. He used invest-

ments from Britain, the United States and other countries to build many factories to manufacture motor vehicles, tanks, aircraft and other military equipment. In Hitler's war machine, there were submarines of British origin, tanks of French make and aircraft engines from the United States. When Hitler triggered off World War II in September 1939, the Wehrmacht stormed into Poland in U.S. General Motors trucks, cars and motorcycles. What a mockery of those advocates of appeasement!

### **Manoeuvres to Divert the Peril to the East**

The core of the appeasement policy championed by Chamberlain and his like in the 1930s was to manoeuvre to divert the peril to the East. Their smug calculation was to induce Germany by compromises and concessions to halt in the west and drive to the east, that is, stabilization vis-a-vis Britain and France in the west and attack on the socialist Soviet Union in its east. In essence the Munich pact was the price paid by Britain and France which delivered Czechoslovakia over to Germany in order to egg it on to a war against the Soviet Union. Hitler saw through the game Chamberlain and company were playing and, waying an anti-Bolshevik banner, pursued a strategy of making a feint to the east while attacking in the west. He first pounced on Poland, Soviet Union's next-door neighbour, and then made a blitz attack westward on the weak-willed Britain and France. This threw Chamberlain, the chief advocate of appeasement, into consternation. He lamented: "Everything that I have worked for, everything that I had hoped for, everything that I have believed in during my public life, has crashed in ruins." History has indeed passed a harsh verdict on the policy of appeasement. Writing of this period, Chairman Mao pointed out: "**The inevitable result of Chamberlain's policy will be like 'lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own toes.'**" Chamberlain started with the aim of injuring others only to end up by ruining himself. This is the law of development which governs all reactionary policies." (*Interview With a "New China Daily" Correspondent on the New International Situation, 1939.*)

Almost 40 years have elapsed since Munich, and earth-shaking changes have taken place in the world situation. The third world countries,

inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the globe's population, have shaken or are shaking off the shackles of colonialism to attain independence and liberation. By closing ranks and fighting shoulder to shoulder, they have become the main force in the present-day struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. A number of West European countries constitute the second world. Once imperialist powers but having since lost much of their power, they are bullied and menaced by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Lording it over imperialism of other description in the world today are these two superpowers, which alone are capable of launching a new world war. The struggle of bygone years for supremacy between Britain, France and other countries on one side and Germany, Italy and Japan on the other is replaced today by the rivalry for world hegemony between the two superpowers. This is a new phenomenon since the end of World War II.

### **A New Munich Lurks in the Shadows**

The rivalry between the superpowers is determined by the law of uneven development of capitalism. At present, the Soviet Union is on the offensive while the United States is on the defensive. An appeasement trend is now rearing its head in the United States, just as it did in Britain in the 1930s. Certain leading figures of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, repeating Chamberlain's old ploy, advocate a policy of appeasement towards the Soviet Union so as to preserve the U.S. global interests. This U.S. policy has its impact and the appeasement mentality is spreading in Western Europe as it is confronted with the menace of war and beset by economic difficulties. Thus a new Munich is lurking in the shadows.

How do the present-day appeasement advocates go about their job of bringing about a new Munich?

Like their predecessors, they do their utmost to underestimate the scope and magnitude of Soviet expansion, hoping thus to create an atmosphere of sham peace. Some Americans are passing the words that now "there is no way in which the United States can prevent the

emergence of the Soviet Union as a super-power," and that there is no other way out than "detente." At the same time, they comfort themselves by saying that although the U.S. position has been weakened, it still surpasses the Soviet Union in general, and so the Soviet threat is not so pressing after all. The so-called Sonnenfeldt doctrine they dished up openly to recognize Eastern Europe as a Soviet sphere of influence was designed to placate the Soviet Union. The "European security conference" they knocked together in conjunction with the Soviet Union to create sham peace served to help the latter cover up the traces of its grave threat to Western Europe. Grabbing the sop of "detente" thrown to them by the men sitting in the Kremlin, some West Europeans assert that "by and large the Soviet policy is detente and that there is no sign of the Soviet Union committing aggression against the allied countries." What a striking resemblance to the way Chamberlain applied political cosmetics to Hitler!

### **History Repeats Itself?**

Like their progenitors, the champions of appeasement today try to use disarmament as a means to check the speed of Soviet arms expansion and war preparations with a view to maintaining their own military "superiority" or at least a "balance of power." In the face of rapid expansion of Soviet military strength, some people in the United States and in Western Europe reassure themselves in every possible way. The military strength of the Warsaw pact bloc, they say, does not represent a threat to the security of the West, and reduction of defences will not weaken the West. However, neither talks on the reduction of forces in Central Europe nor the SALT talks can stop the Soviet Union from building up its military strength.

Like their forerunners, they regard export of capital and commodities to the Soviet Union as a panacea for easing the economic crises of capitalism and assistance to the Soviet Union in arms expansion and war preparations as a golden opportunity for making a fortune. They hope to turn their technical expertise, loans and sales of grain into a straitjacket to curb the Soviet Union and make it dependent on the West. They regard the Soviet Union as the biggest virgin market of the world today. Falling for such Soviet words as "international co-opera-

tion" and "materialization of relaxation," they furnish the Soviet Union with large sums of capital, sophisticated equipment and advanced technology. In so doing, they greatly speed up the process in which the Soviet Union is catching up with and surpassing the United States and Western Europe in arms and equipment. Funds and technology from the West thus add to Moscow's military strength. In providing the Soviet Union with economic aid, the West does not find the biggest market in the world, but is quenching its thirst with poison — a suicidal policy.

Like their precursors, the advocates of appeasement try to divert the Soviet peril to the east, to China. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, the former U.S. State Department official, frightened the Soviet Union with the groundless prediction of "the arrival of a third superpower, China, in 20 years or so." "Not only can we balance it [the Soviet power] in the traditional sense," he asserted, "but we can affect its usage — and that is what detente is all about." The Soviet Union, he clearly implied, should shift its focus of aggression from Western Europe to the east. Only too glad to oblige, the Soviet Union steps up its anti-China clamour as it pursues its strategy of making a feint to the east while attacking in the west.

Today, as far as ambition is concerned, Soviet social-imperialism has far outstripped Hitlerite Germany in the scramble for world hegemony. And this is just as true in the sphere of military buildup and in the employment of tactics to hide real war preparations with sham detente. The present-day appeasement is more dangerous than Chamberlain's, because the victims will be not only Czechoslovakia but the whole of Western Europe, and even Africa and the Middle East. Today, Western Europe comes under the U.S. "protective umbrella," but if the Soviet Union plunges Western Europe into a blitzkrieg, no one can be sure what the U.S. reaction will be. Some Washington strategists hold that when a critical situation arises, the United States should not fritter away its strength in Western Europe, but abandon it in order to preserve America. The "Presidential Review Memorandum 10" not long ago made public in the United States indicates that it will

abandon one-third of West German territory in case of a Soviet attack in Western Europe. This is a bad omen that the United States will possibly leave Western Europe at the mercy of the Soviet Union and pull back to the other side of the Atlantic in a self-preservation move. Shouldn't this make people think and take precautions?

### Three Lessons

Historical experience and the dangers that exist at present tell us what appeasement will bring to the world's people. Not peace nor security but infinite sufferings and havoc. As the Japanese monthly *Problems of the Soviet Union* pointed out, appeasement is the most vicious policy which provokes war. The publication is not exaggerating at all. The fact that Soviet social-imperialism is doing its utmost to encourage illusions about "detente" and foment the trend of appeasement in the West makes things clear to all. To oppose imperialist war and put off the outbreak of a new world war, it is necessary to combat appeasement with might and main.

So long as imperialism exists, there is the danger of a new world war. This is an objective law. In saying so, we don't mean that war will break out right away. On the contrary, we hold that a correct course can be found to put off its outbreak, provided the people in all lands make common efforts, bear in mind the historical lesson of Munich in the 1930s, earnestly sum up their experience in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism since the end of World War II and adopt correct policies.

What are the lessons and experience in this respect?

First, we must not, as appeasement advocates do, paint a rosy picture of peace and blunt the people's vigilance with "detente," "disarmament" and other rigmarole of sham peace. Instead, we should tell them about the serious dangers of war, educate and mobilize them to do a good job in defence preparations in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors.

"Think of danger in time of peace and that will make one get prepared and being prepared

will avoid being caught unawares," as a Chinese saying goes. This is to say in time of peace we must keep an eye on the outbreak of war and get prepared mentally, materially and organizationally. There is no harm in being prepared to fight; while without preparations, one would suffer once war breaks out. Therefore, vigilance should be heightened and the people's combat spirit strengthened by constantly exposing the war schemes of the superpowers, particularly Soviet social-imperialism. It is extremely dangerous to keep the people in the dark about the actual danger of war and disarm them with peace illusions, as Chamberlain, Daladier and their ilk did.

There is an argument now that nuclear weapons possessed by the two superpowers have reached the zenith. If their strength is in equilibrium war will not break out. This is sheer illusion. Fourty years ago, some people laid their hopes of preventing the outbreak of a war on maintaining the so-called "strategic balance of power" between Britain and Germany. They came a cropper. Today, the two superpowers are scrambling for world hegemony with each trying to outdo the other. Anyone who wants to maintain peace by "balance of power" or the so-called "balance of terror" will never succeed.

Second, we should never be overawed by the bluffing military threat posed by the imperialist aggressors and make concession after concession as the appeasement advocates did. Instead, we should spot the febleness of the imperialists and make a determined effort to foil their war projects.

At present, some people are afraid of the Soviet Union just as Chamberlain, Daladier and their like were afraid of Hitlerite Germany. In 1938, Hitler massed the German troops to invade Czechoslovakia on a large scale. Chamberlain made instant concessions. Hitler, flushed with joy and insolence, said gleefully: "When dealing with a nation which has lost all force of character owing to its having given way spontaneously, he will be entitled to expect that his fresh but piecemeal demands will not

be considered worth resisting by the nation from which they are made." It is quite clear that, in dealing with the aggressors, it gets one nowhere to be afraid of them. Aggressors bully the weak but fear the tough. The more you are afraid of war, the more the aggressors will intimidate you with war and probably even unleash a war at greater speed. Like all other reactionaries, Soviet social-imperialism is a paper tiger. There is in fact no reason to be afraid of it. All the contradictions inherent in imperialism are sharpening in the Soviet Union today. It has not the strength to sustain its wild ambitions. The more it overreaches itself in aggression and expansion abroad, the more scattered its forces become. Behind its huff-and-puff offensive lies an inevitable failure.

A major obstacle stands in the way of the Soviet war plan — the opposition by the people of all countries who time and again set to frustrating its global strategic deployment. To start a world war, the Soviet Union has to stretch its tentacles to every nook and corner for military bases and footholds. In the process it antagonizes the people and meets with rebuffs everywhere. Time and again it is thrown out of the countries it tries to control. Suffering the same fate as the United States, it is landing itself in a quandary since the people the world over are rising against its aggression and expansion. The vigorous struggle mounted by the people everywhere against hegemony, particularly their struggle against Soviet social-imperialist aggression and expansion, has thrown a spanner into the Soviet Union's counter-revolutionary global strategic deployment and made it difficult for Moscow to carry out its plans for aggression and war. The anti-hegemonist struggle by the people the world over is an important factor putting off the outbreak of a new world war.

Third, one must not behave selfishly at the expense of others, as in the case of the advocates of appeasement, but must strengthen the joint struggle of the world's people and form the broadest international united front to thwart the war plans of the superpowers.

The Munich scheme came off for one important reason. The countries concerned failed to close their ranks and concert their defences in the face of the aggressive forces of Hitlerite Germany. There was mutual suspicion, with each trying to save its own skin. This made it possible for Hitler to defeat them one by one. Worse still, the appeasers, out of a desire to push their own interests, fell over each other in coming to the aid of Hitlerite Germany economically, thus helping the aggressor make good his weaknesses and placing him in a better condition materially to unleash war. Compared with Britain and France, Hitlerite Germany at that time held no edge over them in the economic and military spheres. Hitler dared to plunge Europe into war and grew more and more aggressive because he was aware that Chamberlain, Daladier and their like stubbornly rejected the Soviet proposal for a union against fascist Germany and refused to establish a joint defence system with other European countries.

### **The Anti-Hegemonist Struggle Presses On**

Today, as their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism surges on and deals heavy blows to superpower hegemonism, the people and countries of the third world are pushing forward vigorously the development of world history. The second world, too, is getting united to resist the war threats and domination by the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, particularly those of Soviet social-imperialism. An international anti-hegemonist united front, embracing as it does the people of the Soviet Union and the United States, is taking shape and is showing ever greater strength in international struggles. This united front is more broadly based than the one against the fascists in the 1930s, and it is more powerful. Relying on joint struggle will enable the united front to frustrate the war plans of the superpowers and put off the outbreak of a new world war.

The world of the 1970s is a far cry from the Munich years. If the Hitlers of today dare to unleash a war of aggression, they will end up more ignominiously than Hitler himself.



Common Programme\*, the principle at that time was: "Take both public and private interests into account" and "Benefit both labour and capital." Pending the completion of the land reform and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance on a nationwide scale, it was necessary to make temporary compromises with the bourgeoisie instead of hitting out in all directions.

China's countryside was engulfed in a sea of small peasant economy, and the peasants accounted for 80 to 90 per cent of the total population. How to deal with the small peasant economy was a question to which Lenin had given much thought. After the October Revolution, he said on many occasions that the small producers were several hundred and even several thousand times more difficult to cope with than the bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union in his time, too, was a country where the small peasant economy predominated, though of course not on a scale comparable to our own. This economy was scattered and difficult to manage. But from the days when Chairman Mao founded the first rural base area in the ChingKang Mountains in 1927 to the nationwide liberation in 1949, our Party had fought for 22 years in the countryside and therefore had gained rich experience in giving leadership to the small peasant economy.

During the October Revolution, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union confined its activities mainly to the cities and its influence in the rural areas was limited. In the countryside they practised war communism and the surplus-appropriation system. Under this system the peasants were required to hand in their surplus grain to the state, which in return supplied them with the industrial goods they needed. There were neither commodity transactions nor exchanges of equal values. When this system came into force, many kulaks refused

\* The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held its first plenary session in Peiping (now Peking) in September 1949, exercising the functions and powers of the National People's Congress. The Common Programme which was drawn up at this session consisted of 60 articles in seven chapters, and served as a provisional constitution before it was replaced by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China promulgated in September 1954 by the First Session of the First National People's Congress.

to deliver grain to the state but sold it on the black market. As for the ordinary peasants, they produced only enough grain for their own consumption and no more. Thus great damage was brought to agricultural production. Later, after the imperialist intervention was defeated and the counter-revolutionary revolt at home was crushed, Lenin put forward the New Economic Policy in the winter of 1920 which stipulated that the peasants had only to pay agricultural tax in kind and were free to buy or sell surplus grain.

After the founding of New China, we followed Lenin's New Economic Policy, that is, we collected agricultural tax in kind or public grain, and the peasants were free to buy or sell what surplus grain they had. In fact, even before the founding of New China this practice was followed in the rural base areas under the leadership of the Communist Party.

All small producers, including the small peasants and individual handicraftsmen, need a market for what they produce. Through control of the market, the landlords and the bourgeoisie manipulated in the past the small producers, especially the handicraftsmen working in their own homes. By supplying raw materials and purchasing products, they controlled and exploited the small producers. The relationship between the proletariat and the producers is of course not one between the exploiter and the exploited, but by following the same practice, i.e., through the market, the proletariat can get the small producers organized.

Before the founding of the People's Republic, we had organized supply and marketing co-operatives in the old liberated areas; after its founding, a general supply and marketing co-operative was set up. Apart from the general co-operative and its local branches in various regions, we set up similar organizations at the grass-roots level in both urban and rural areas. While purchasing farm and side-line products from the peasants and the products of the handicraftsmen, the co-operatives supplied them with the means of production and subsistence to help them develop production. In this way we succeeded not only in organizing the small producers in their hundreds of millions but also in severing their ties with the bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, land reform was carried out in the countryside. We confiscated the land owned by the landlords and the surplus land of the rich peasants and distributed it to the peasants. The peasants were now their own masters, the worker-peasant alliance was established, and the bourgeoisie was isolated. With the peasants now on the side of the proletariat, we had a sure guarantee to prevail over the bourgeoisie. Thanks to the series of work done, the proletariat scored an initial victory in the struggle between the two classes and the two roads. Industrial and agricultural production quickly went back to normal and the market started thriving.

### Repulsing the Bourgeoisie's Attacks

The winter of 1950 saw the beginning of the campaign to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea\*. To support the Chinese People's Volunteers at the front, the People's Government purchased large amounts of important commodities on the market and at the same time urged the capitalists to step up production. In the following year, there was a brisk demand for a number of commodities whose sales used to be sluggish, and some goods were even in short supply, particularly hardware and things for military use, including canned food and medicine. The capitalists who mistook this for a chance to make money tried to ignore the leadership of the state-owned economy and wanted to sell their own products at high prices. So they showed reluctance to accept orders from the state for processing and manufacturing goods or sell their products to the state and cancelled all such contracts signed previously. They said they had difficulties and could not produce so much goods; actually they had turned out all the things we wanted, but did not wish to sell to the state. What they planned to do was to market their products themselves at high prices.

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\* On June 27, 1950, U.S. President Harry S. Truman flagrantly ordered the U.S. troops to invade Korea and at the same time dispatched troops to invade and occupy our territory Taiwan. On orders from Chairman Mao, the Chinese People's Volunteers went to Korea on October 25 to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people against the U.S. aggressors.

The capitalists also engaged in many illegal activities, such as bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information. These were known as the "five evils."

The struggle between the two classes and the two roads thus became intensified. The capitalists who in 1950 received help from the People's Government when they were in economic straits were actually launching attacks on us in 1951. So at the end of that year and in early 1952, the struggle against the "three evils" and the "five evils" was unfolded under Chairman Mao's leadership. Thus began the second battle against the bourgeoisie following the founding of the People's Republic.

The struggle against the "three evils" (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) was a rectification movement among cadres working in the government offices and the state-owned enterprises. Prior to the founding of New China we had, as the war developed, dispatched a large number of cadres in the old liberated areas to other parts of the country to carry out work there. But in a large country like ours, we needed many more cadres than we had. So, apart from recruiting and training new cadres, we employed many people who had worked for the Kuomintang government. In the state-owned enterprises, there were also many former employees. In addition, many democratic personnel, capitalists and bourgeois specialists also became civil servants working for the People's Government. Some of them now working for the new government retained the corrupt practices of the old government.

A handful of veteran cadres and Communist Party members failed to withstand the sugar-coated bullets fired by the bourgeoisie after moving into the city, as Chairman Mao had predicted. They became corrupt, accepted bribes and squandered public money. This necessitated a campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, which soon swept the country.

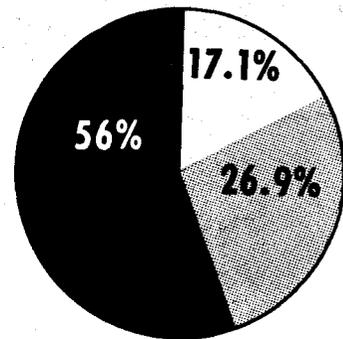
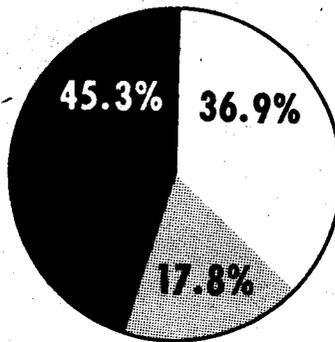
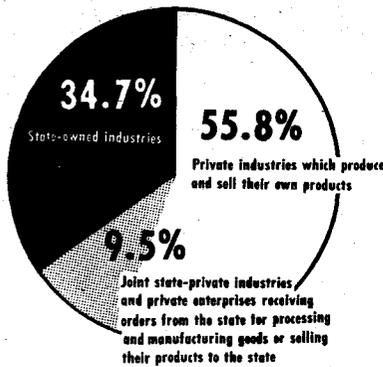
A movement was waged against the aforesaid "five evils" of the capitalists. Bourgeois elements had wormed their way into our government offices and capitalists attacked us from both within and without. So the People's Government paid them back in their own coin,

1949

1950

1952

(Gross national industrial output = 100%)



that is, it launched a counter-offensive also from both within and without. On the one hand, the Ministry of Finance tackled the problem of tax evasions, the Ministry of Commerce checked whether the capitalists had cheated on government contracts and the Bureau of Industry and Commerce went in for a general check-up. On the other hand, workers and employees in the capitalist enterprises were aroused to expose and criticize the capitalists' illegal activities. In this way, the "five evils" committed by many capitalists were quickly brought to light.

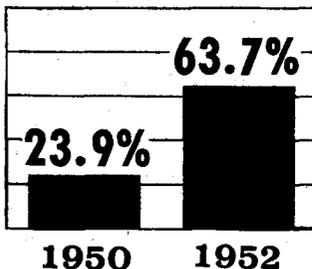
Those who had evaded taxes were required to pay up, those who cheated on government contracts were fined, and those guilty of bribery were dealt with according to law. The check-up was widespread and rigorous, but later on the capitalists were dealt with leniently. Many private industrial and commercial units were classified into the "basically law-abiding" category while the enterprises of a number of leading capitalists were classified into the "law-abiding" category. Only a few were classified into the categories of enterprises that "break

the law on a serious scale" or "completely violate the law."

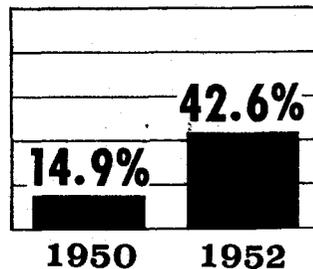
After the movement which hit the capitalists hard, capitalist commerce faced great difficulties. In order to make use of capitalist industry and commerce which were still beneficial to the development of the national economy, the government placed more orders for them to process and manufacture goods for the state or bought their products and so help them get over their crisis. Some Shanghai capitalists said: "The Communists are experts in 'artificial respiration'; they have brought us back to life again." In the course of the struggle, all the workers in the private-owned factories were organized and the system of workers' supervision in private enterprises was established.

After the struggle against the "three evils" and the "five evils," the relative strength of the two classes and the two kinds of economy underwent a further change. As shown in the charts, state-owned industry, plus state capitalism, now gained the dominant position. In wholesale trade, the state-owned stores and the supply and marketing co-operatives accounted for 63.7 per cent in 1952 as compared with 23.9 per cent in 1950 and in retail trade, their share increased from 14.9 per cent in 1950 to 42.6 per cent in 1952. This was a tremendous change that laid a solid foundation for the planned management of our national economy.

Proportion of sales by the state-owned stores and the supply and marketing co-operatives in wholesale trade



Proportion of sales by the state-owned stores and the supply and marketing co-operatives in retail trade



(To be continued.)

## "GANG OF FOUR" — THE NATION'S SCOURGE

### Such Was This "Writing Group"

THE "gang of four" had in its service two notorious "writing groups." One was Liang Hsiao, namely, the mass criticism group of the Peking and Tsinghua Universities, which this magazine has already exposed for what it was in its issue No. 43. The other was the "writing group" under the former Shanghai municipal Party committee, which this article will describe to show its true colours.

Both "writing groups" were adept at creating counter-revolutionary opinion. One was in the north and the other in the south and they worked hand in hand to promote their common infamous cause. Liang Hsiao began business in 1973 and in 1976 for a time was the authorized spokesman for the "gang of four" and hogged the most prominent space in many newspapers. But as far as seniority, membership and the scope of activities were concerned, it ranked lower than its Shanghai counterpart.

The "writing group" under the former Shanghai municipal Party committee was a "general company" controlling eight journals, including *Study and Criticism*, *Morning Sunshine*, *Educational Practice* and *Dialectics of Nature*. In those days the Shanghai press, publishing, broadcasting and literary and art circles were under its thumb. It churned out more than 1,000 articles under dozens of pen names, such as Lo Ssu-ting, Ting Hsueh-lei and Kung Hsiao-wen. It insidiously disseminated the "gang of four's" reactionary views and intentions and caused havoc in the country's political, economic and cultural circles.

The group was the child of Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, and as early as 1966, its two heads had become their sworn followers. When the group was formally set up in 1971,

these two scoundrels, loyal agents of Chang and Yao, became the bosses in this setup and did their utmost over the years to serve the anti-Party "gang of four's" scheme to usurp Party and state power. "We obey nobody but Chang and Yao," one of the desperadoes declared. "What we are today we owe it to Chang and Yao," added the other. "We are prepared to be beheaded. We defy death for our cause." Chang Chun-chiao said to them: "At most, we will be beheaded. If so, then let me be the first to be beheaded."

Within the group, there was a "gang discipline" of the "gang of four." Their watchword was to live up to the gang's expectations and its members' worthiness was judged by their fidelity to the gang.

In name it was a "writing group," but in fact it was the "gang of four's" "intelligence agency" and "think tank." Its ambitions were insatiable and its members' counter-revolutionary vigilance was extremely keen. They placed anyone under surveillance, no matter who he may be, whatever his occupation and wherever he was, once he was suspected of having uttered something or done something that they thought was inimical to the gang's attempt to usurp the leadership of the Party and state. They secretly reported their findings to the gang in the form of letters, investigative reports and minutes of forums. No less than 1,000 secret reports were submitted to the gang.

The "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary political programme was one of equating veteran cadres with "bourgeois democrats" and "bourgeois democrats" with "capitalist-roaders." The group feverishly advocated this programme, attacking Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation by all the vile means it could lay hands on.

When Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party

## Why Chiang Ching Suppressed the Novel "Red Crag"

Central Committee and the State Council during Premier Chou's grave illness and following his death, he was made the prime target of the group's virulent attacks.

In 1976, after Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was appointed Acting Premier and then Premier and First Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, the group turned to attack Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

The "writing group" also tried its utmost to provide its counter-revolutionary cause with a "theory." Its two heads were well aware of the importance of theory. One of them said: "Communist Party leaders are invariably engaged in theoretical work; an authority in theory will one day turn into an organizational authority and naturally will become a leader." So the group lauded Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan as "Marxist theoreticians" and strenuously patched together a theoretical system for the "gang of four." With this end in mind, it wrote books and articles on philosophy, socialism, political economy, Chinese history, history of the Chinese Communist Party, literary and art theories, education and natural science and seriously distorted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

It carried out "social investigations" to fabricate "facts" to serve its avowed aim. It "investigated" foreign trade with the intention of collecting material to denigrate the Ministry of Foreign Trade and attack Premier Chou and the State Council. It made "rural investigations" to "prove" that Chairman Mao's analysis of the various classes in Chinese society was out of date.

Its attempt to compile a history of the Party was for the purpose of distorting it and playing down and negating the tremendous contributions made by Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Chen Yi and other proletarian revolutionaries while glorifying the renegade Chiang Ching.

As this "writing group" and the "gang of four" shared a common destiny and was engaged in the same nefarious activities as Liang Hsiao, it naturally met an end not a whit different to theirs.

**I**N the early 60s, *Red Crag* was a best-seller and Chiang Ching at first was not against the novel. It was only after she had failed to get the authors, first by cajolery and then by coercion, to rewrite the book to depict her as the novel's heroine that she had it proscribed.

The novel appeared in 1961 and describes, against the panorama of the intense struggle waged by the underground Party organizations against the Kuomintang reactionaries in the 40s in southwest China, the heroic struggle and self-sacrifice of the Chinese Communists imprisoned in a concentration camp run by the Sino-American Co-operation Organization\*. Sister Chiang, the heroine, is modelled after Comrade Chiang Chu-yun, a fine member of the Chinese Communist Party and a leader of a guerrilla unit led by the Party, who was murdered by the Kuomintang reactionaries on the eve of liberation.

The novel was written by two survivors drawing on their personal experience and had an immense impact on a wide readership. It ran through 24 editions in 51 months and sold 4.8 million copies. It was adapted for stage and screen and was translated into Japanese, German and Korean.

In January 1965, Chiang Ching said that she was planning to spend ten years to write a Peking opera called "Sister Chiang" so as to enable the figure to "live on." She time and again sent for the authors of *Red Crag* to brief them, boasting of her experiences from her childhood to the 60s. While she went to great lengths to prettify her past, she took pains to gloss over the fact that she had become a renegade in the 30s. She went to all this trouble to talk the authors around into rewriting the novel so as to make out that she was the novel's heroine in life and then adapting the novel into a Peking opera.

\* This is a secret service agency set up jointly by the U.S. imperialists and the Kuomintang government to suppress the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people and persecute the Chinese Communists and other progressives.

The two authors, who had struggled shoulder to shoulder with the heroine in the concentration camp, rejected Chiang Ching's demand. They insisted that they would never rewrite history which was written with the blood of heroes and heroines. They stood their ground despite Chiang Ching's threats.

Chiang Ching did not take "no" for an answer. Then in the spring of 1968, she spread the word that she had sent people to investigate the area the novel describes where the guerrilla unit had been active and that "absolutely nothing" had been found as described in the novel, and that of all the underground Party members there "there was no one good."

This was particularly vicious because Premier Chou En-lai, during the period between

1936-46 which falls in within the time the novel describes, was the Secretary of the South Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the underground Party organizations in that area were under his leadership.

Because of Chiang Ching's lying accusations and her followers' evil devices, the novel was removed off the shelves and had been barred till the downfall of the "gang of four."

Today the novel has been reprinted with one of the authors (the other died some years ago) adding particulars about how Comrade Chou En-lai led the work of the underground Party organizations in those years. The deep love the author has for this long-tested proletarian revolutionary leader is clearly discernible and this addition is tremendously welcomed by the readers.

## Visiting a P.L.A. Division (II)

# The Party Commands the Gun

by Our Correspondents Chou Nan-hsing and Lo Fu

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**T**HE Party's absolute leadership over the army is one of the fundamental principles that Chairman Mao laid down for army building the day the Chinese People's Liberation Army was founded. Why must the Party exercise absolute leadership over the army and how does this principle work in practice? For a clear answer we interviewed Comrade Chang Chiang, political commissar of the division, and Comrade Hsu Tsung-chang, director of the divisional political department. Here are the highlights of their explanations.

### Great Significance

*Correspondent:* Would you please explain the significance of the principle "The Party commands the gun"?

*Chang:* The Party's absolute leadership over the army is the quintessence of Chairman Mao's line on army building. This is because the Communist Party of China is the vanguard organization of the proletariat and the core of leadership of the entire Chinese people. Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. As early as 1929, in his article *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." In summing up the historical experience of the two-line struggles in our Party, he stated in 1938: "Our principle is that the Party

commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." (*Problems of War and Strategy*.)

Our army was founded for the purpose of fulfilling the revolutionary political tasks entrusted by the Party and the proletariat. If the army is alienated from Party leadership, fulfilling these tasks would be out of the question. On the other hand, it is precisely the Party's absolute leadership over the army that basically distinguishes our army from armies in the service of the exploiting classes and makes it a brand-new armed body having flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people.

Bourgeois careerists and conspirators who sneaked into our Party would invariably attempt to usurp power over the army so as to seize supreme Party and state leadership. By upholding the Party's absolute leadership over the army, our people's army maintains its proletarian qualities, always serves as the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship and guards itself against being turned into an instrument of such careerists and conspirators as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

### How Is the Principle Carried Out?

*Correspondent:* How is Party leadership embodied in the army?

*Chang:* Through a system of Party committees, political commissars and political work, which Chairman Mao set forth in long years of revolutionary struggles to ensure Party leadership over the army.

Party committees and political departments are set up, and political commissars appointed, at regimental level and upwards. In battalions there are primary Party committees and political instructors, while in companies there are Party branches and political instructors. All the activities of an army unit, be it operations, training, logistics or political work, come under the unified leadership of the Party committee. All important matters are discussed and decided by the Party committee. The decisions are then



A regimental political commissar attending a lecture with the rank and file.

carried out by the commanders and political commissars or instructors as well as the staff, political and logistics departments at its own and lower levels. All leading organs of the army follow a system of division of work among leading comrades under the leadership of the Party committees.

*Correspondent:* How does the system work? Would you explain this more specifically?

*Chang:* Political commissars (or battalion and company political instructors) and commanders (those who command a division, regiment, battalion or company) are both leading comrades who jointly take the responsibility for the work of the army units under their command. Usually, a political commissar or instructor is concurrently secretary of the Party committee or branch of his unit and is in charge of the Party organization's day-to-day work.

Decisions on major matters are made through discussions at Party committee meetings and are carried out by the commanders if they are military in nature or by the political commissars if they concern political work. Both commanders and political commissars are under the leadership of the Party committees, carry out their resolutions and report their work to them.

The leading comrades (commanders and political commissars) have the right to make

emergency decisions but they must report to the Party committees later.

*Correspondent:* What shall you do if the political commissar and commander disagree on certain matters in their work?

*Chang:* They support each other and coordinate closely in their work. It is only natural that they may have different opinions on certain matters. When that happens, the issue is raised at the Party committee meeting or reported to the leadership at a higher level for settlement. In a contingency, the commander can make decisions on military affairs and the political commissar can decide on matters concerning political work. But afterwards the decisions must be reported to the Party committee and the higher leadership and subject to their approval.

*Correspondent:* Old-type armies emphasize the exclusive right of a commander to decide everything and demand that the subordinate should unconditionally follow his directions. What principles, then, does our army follow in governing relationships between superior and subordinate?

*Chang:* Because ours is a combat collective with a high degree of centralization and unity, all commanders and fighters must strictly observe the revolutionary disciplines and obey orders in all their actions. While in the past our army obeyed in all its actions the orders issued by the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission led by Chairman Mao, now it acts on the orders of that headed by Chairman Hua.

Leading bodies at all levels in the P.L.A. function entirely in compliance with the principles of democratic centralism laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party, that is: **(1) the individual is subordinate to the organization; (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority; (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.** (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War, 1938.*) The principle that **"the minority is subordinate to the majority"** is one which Party organizations at all levels must observe in discussing problems and making decisions. Orders and instructions issued by the commanders or political commissars and commanding bodies at

the higher levels should be resolutely implemented.

*Correspondent:* Why is the Party branch organized on a company basis?

*Chang:* Companies are the basic units of our army. The line and policies of the Party and its various work such as political education, military training and combat duty are all carried out through the company. In the early period of our army, Chairman Mao stipulated that, as the Party's basic organization in the army, the Party branch should be organized on a company basis so as to give full play to its role as the leading core and militant bastion of the company.

In those trying years the Red Army had to fight frequent battles under extremely harsh material conditions. But this had in no way shaken the will of its commanders and fighters to persist in armed struggle. Summing up the experiences of struggle in that period, Chairman Mao wrote: **"The Party branch is organized on a company basis"; this is an important reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on such arduous fighting without falling apart.**" (*The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains, 1928.*) Thus organizing the Party branch on a company basis has become an important system ensuring the Party's absolute leadership over the army; it is also one of our army's glorious traditions.

### Political Work

*Correspondent:* How does the political department in a P.L.A. unit work?

*Hsu:* Political departments are set up in our army at regimental level and upwards. In battalions and companies we have political instructors who serve as political workers dispatched there by the political department.

The political departments' fundamental tasks are to take class struggle as the key link, educate the commanders and fighters in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in the Party's line and policies, strengthen Party building and consolidate the Party's absolute leadership over the army. They should implement the Party's line and policies, enforce the laws and government ordinances and carry out instructions and orders issued by the leading organs. They must also work to strengthen the

unity between officers and men as well as between the army and the civilians, maintain the high degree of centralization and unity of the army, consolidate and raise the troops' combat capability and fulfil the various tasks, including combat duty and training.

Chairman Mao long ago drew up in succinct terms the three basic principles governing army political work, namely, the principles of unity between officers and men, of unity between the army and the people, and of disintegrating the enemy troops and giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war.

*Correspondent:* How does the army carry on its political work?

*Hsu:* This topic covers fairly wide ground and for illustration, I can give you only a few examples.

Immediately after Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* was published in April this year, our divisional political department issued the call that all cadres should finish reading it before July 1 and all soldiers should do so before September 9, the first anniversary of the passing of Chairman Mao. We also asked everyone to do his utmost to put into practice the theory learnt from the book to guide his work and remould his world outlook. We certainly cannot rest content with merely issuing instructions and calls. Far from that, we took great care to keep ourselves well-informed as to how things were going on in this study; we organized the commanders and fighters to summarize and swap what they had gained through study, and reported all this to the divisional Party committee and to our superior leadership.

All the cadres and many of the soldiers had finished reading through Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* by July 1 this year. This provided a great impetus for the revolutionization of our division.

As one of our important tasks, we organize the cadres and soldiers to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie. After the smashing of the "gang of four" in October last year, our political department immediately set about organizing the struggle to expose and criticize the gang. In one regiment alone, we have sponsored some 500 criticism meetings at company level or

above, published more than 1,000 issues of blackboard newspapers, written 10,000 criticism articles, created some 200 items for stage performance and drawn 1,000 or so cartoons.

Our political work also involves educating our cadres and soldiers in class struggle, the two-line struggle, discipline and revolutionary traditions. Every year a group of soldiers are demobilized and new ones recruited. As the fresh recruits have all grown up in the new society, they know little about the evil society of old China. So we have made it a point to invite veteran peasants and workers to every company to talk about their past sufferings to these youngsters. This not only helps arouse their hatred for imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction, but also stiffens their resolve to give a good account of themselves in training and fighting for the sake of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist motherland.

*Correspondent:* How do you do political work in military training?

*Hsu:* Political work has been the fundamental guarantee for winning victory in the years of war. It is also indispensable if we are to make a success of drilling and other spheres of endeavour in times of peace. As a case in point I would like to cite what had happened in a military exercise our division conducted in the winter of 1975. Before the start of the exercise we found, conspicuous among a number of commanders and fighters, a false sense of peace and a slackening of vigilance. Some thought it was unlikely that a war would break out in the immediate future; others felt it was not necessary to take a military exercise too seriously since the situation and deployment of the enemy were fictitious anyway. Still others took a lackadaisical attitude during the preparatory period towards camouflaging and controlling lights on night marches. Obviously if such tendencies spread unchecked, the exercise would be a failure.

To solve the problem, we mobilized the commanders and fighters to study Chairman Mao's writings on the world situation. It began to dawn on them that the factors for war are clearly growing while the factors for revolution continue their growth. As the rivalry between

the two hegemonist powers — the Soviet Union and the United States — sharpens, sooner or later a world war is bound to break out. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists will not give up their wild ambition of subjugating China. The situation is pressing and there's no time for fooling around. We must prepare against a war breaking out at an earlier date and on a large scale. Conducting exercises is the most practical way of preparing against a war of aggression.

When the commanders and fighters saw things in this light, their actions began to take on a new look. Upon receiving the task of an "attack," the commander and political commissar of one of our regiments worked day and night with the regimental staff members in analysing the situation of the "enemy"; they revised their plan of action several times. The

companies in this regiment also pooled the fighters' wisdom to find ways and means of fulfilling the task. Everyone, from the regimental commander right on down to the cooks, put on a garnished cap to make sure nothing went amiss.

The "attack" was launched on a stormy day. Many soldiers, wearing thin clothes, lay prone on the wet, chilly grass for five hours at a stretch. Though it was cold, no one complained or breached discipline. On its way to attack an airborne "enemy," a company came to a pond almost eight feet deep. The fighters plunged in without hesitation, made their way across and continued their advance.

The exercise was a success. And this shows what an important role political work plays in our army.

## **What Do Moscow-Vaunted "Detente" And "Disarmament" Add Up to?**

— Excerpts from a speech by Chen Chu, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation, at the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly

CHEN Chu, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations, exposed and denounced the nature and criminal designs of the Soviet-proposed item "deepening and consolidation of international detente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war" during a debate at the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on November 29. Following are excerpts from his speech:

Treaties and agreements concluded in recent years by the two superpowers have been "quite impressive." However, as is known

to all, these treaties and agreements are but a means each of them uses to bind the other for a time and to beguile the world public.

### **Records of Arms Expansion and Rivalry**

Take the strategic arms limitation talks for instance. Each new round of talks and each new agreement between the two hegemonist powers brings a new escalation of strife between them for nuclear supremacy. The greater the "accumulation" of these talks and agreements, the quicker the development of nuclear weap-

ons. The Soviet Union and the United States started the strategic arms limitation talks eight years ago and have since concluded agreements of one kind or another. But what are the results? Even the U.S. President had to admit himself that the Soviet Union and the United States had accumulated thousands of strategic nuclear weapons and that the nuclear warheads in the possession of the two countries were almost five times the amount eight years ago.

At present, the Soviet Union is trying by every conceivable means to gain overall military superiority over the United States, and its military expenditures are being "accumulated" at a "quite impressive" rate of 4 to 5 per cent annually. Under these circumstances, the talks and agreements between the superpowers are records of arms expansion and rivalry, rather than evidence of "detente."

With the continual escalation of the superpowers' arms expansion and war preparations, the rivalry between them is growing ever more intense. In particular, Soviet social-imperialism, which is even more aggressive and adventurous in nature, relying wholly on its viciously swollen military strength, has taken an offensive posture and become increasingly rampant in stepping up its expansion all over the world, with Europe as its strategic focal point. Without mentioning the distant past, in the past year alone, Soviet acts of aggression and expansion have reached a new peak in Africa and the Middle East, including the Red Sea area. Following its military intervention in Angola, it flagrantly engineered the invasion of Zaire by mercenaries. It has repeatedly carried out interference, subversion and infiltration in the Sudan, Egypt and the Horn of Africa and spared no effort to sow dissension in the relations among the states in this region, provoking disputes and conflicts among them.

Now it has become ever more clear that it is none other than the two superpowers which, through continuous arms expansion and war preparations, have expanded their peace-time

military apparatus to a scale unprecedented in human history. Aiming at exclusive world domination, each of them is desperately preparing to launch a new world war. Therefore, the source of a new world war lies in the two superpowers, and not elsewhere. And Soviet social-imperialism, a late-comer which is more aggressive and adventurous in nature, is the most dangerous source of world war.

### **Moscow's Real Aim**

While it is clearly the Soviet Union and the other superpower that possess huge quantities of nuclear and conventional weapons and are constantly developing and manufacturing various types of new weapons, Moscow has appealed to all the non-nuclear states, states with few nuclear weapons and states seriously inadequate in self-defence capabilities, "urging" them to implement the so-called "disarmament measures." Its aim is not only to use this as a camouflage for its arms expansion and war preparations and to shift the blame for its criminal aggression and expansion on to others or even let others share this blame, but to disarm the people of other countries mentally and materially vis-a-vis this number one warmonger which is armed to the teeth, so that they will submit to its pressure and manipulation.

The Soviet "draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war" is a masterpiece of the naked policies of nuclear monopoly, nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail by this superpower. It is also a manoeuvre to divert the attention of the world people from the unprecedented Soviet expansion of conventional arms. The "draft resolution" has sidestepped the repeated demands of the numerous small and medium-sized countries that the two superpowers undertake openly the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances, and particularly not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states. It has also evaded the fundamental issue of the

complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, but talked glibly about the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In tune with this, Mr. Brezhnev produced not long ago a so-called comprehensive nuclear test ban "proposal." It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has conducted hundreds of nuclear tests. When it had conducted enough tests in the atmosphere, it proposed a partial ban on nuclear tests. Now when it is about to finish its underground tests, it proposes a "moratorium" on all nuclear tests. This is, in effect, to give a free hand to its tests when it needs them, and when it has had enough of them, it won't allow others to conduct tests. To date, the Soviet Union has refused to sign Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. But in the "draft resolution" it has the impudence to declare that nuclear states should "respect" the establishment of nuclear-

weapon-free zones by non-nuclear-weapon states. This is indeed the height of hypocrisy.

### **The Way to Postpone War**

History has repeatedly shown that the unity in struggle forged by the people of all countries is the main force in defeating the war instigators. World war, though inevitable, can be postponed. So long as the people of all countries form the broadest international united front against hegemonism, refuse to be duped and defy intimidation, step up their preparations materially and organizationally against wars of aggression while dealing firm blows at, exposing and frustrating every superpower act of aggression and expansion and its war plans in various parts of the world, including its fraud of sham detente and sham disarmament, they will surely be able to upset and hold up the superpowers' timetable for launching war, thus postponing the outbreak of war, and placing the world's people in a stronger position with greater initiative.

## **Soviet-U.S. Behind-the-Scenes Dealing Over the Indian Ocean**

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**T**HE Soviet Union and the United States are making a deal on the Indian Ocean behind the backs of the countries in that region. Twice this year they had talks, first in Moscow in June and then in Washington in September, and now it is revealed that the two are going to have a third round of talks this month with Berne, Switzerland, as the venue to restrict their naval activities in that ocean.

Back in 1971, at its 26th session, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution on Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace by 61 votes, the majority of these being cast by third world countries. The resolution stipulated "eliminating from the Indian

Ocean all bases, military installations, logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalry." This resolution was submitted in view of the fact that contention between the two superpowers was sharpening in that ocean. In August last year, the 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference adopted a political declaration calling on non-aligned states in the Indian Ocean region and other littoral and hinterland states of the ocean to convene a conference to discuss the implementation of the U.N. General Assembly resolution on the Indian Ocean peace zone. On

November 18 this year, the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly also passed a resolution urging the big powers to join the countries in the Indian Ocean region in implementing the above resolution.

However, disregarding the aspirations of the third world countries, the two superpowers held talks on the Indian Ocean without consulting the states in the region. This new tactic employed by the Soviet and U.S. hegemonists in their intensified contention in that ocean stands in direct opposition to the U.N. resolution on the Indian Ocean as a peace zone.

It is obvious to all that the two superpowers are the main obstacle to the establishment of the peace zone. Their attitude is sharply opposed to the proposal of the third world countries. The Soviets mouth "sympathy" for the proposal while grossly undermining it in practice. In his speech at the U.N. General Assembly on September 27, A.A. Gromyko said that the fundamental prerequisite for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is dismantlement of the existing foreign military bases in the region and forbiddance to build new ones. These grandiose words do not bear careful scrutiny. First, the Soviet Union makes no mention of eliminating foreign military presence, which means that its naval squadron regularly stationed there will hang on and that its "military presence" will continue to expand and no one can check it. Second, by dismantling "existing foreign military bases" the Soviets refer only to U.S. bases and not their own de facto bases. They have all along denied their presence, and according to their logic there is no question of dismantling. Third, the so-called "no new military bases should be established" is sheer hypocrisy. If the Soviet Union really has no such intention in the Indian Ocean, why did it recently send "high-ranking diplomats," "a fishery delegation," "TASS correspondents" and a "scientific survey ship" to the Maldives and request the lease, reportedly at a huge price, of the base on Gan Island? These facts completely lay bare Moscow's hypocritical "sympathy" for setting up the Indian Ocean peace zone and show that it is the most dangerous enemy in undermining security in the region.

The U.S. formula for the December talks in Berne, as reported, is to "stabilize" the

balance of naval strength of both parties in the Indian Ocean. This is part of the "package deal" the United States recently proposed to the Soviet Union. To "stabilize" the balance of military strength of the two sides in the Indian Ocean — what does it mean? It means that the United States will not demand the removal of the Soviet military presence and military bases and, of course, the United States expects it will not be asked to do so either. This is a hoax the two are playing at "balance of strength." However, no matter what the "balance of strength" between the two is, the security of the people in the Indian Ocean region will continue to be seriously menaced.

Soviet-U.S. contention for hegemony in the Indian Ocean is of major strategic significance to their overall contention for world hegemony. For either of them, the negotiations for limiting their naval strength in the Indian Ocean are merely a device to tie the other's hands and gain supremacy for itself in the Indian Ocean. This has nothing to do at all with establishing the Indian Ocean peace zone and is diametrically opposed to the security of the people living in the region.

Not long ago, the Somali Government forced the Soviet Union to remove all its military installations and military experts on Somali territory and territorial waters. This is an indication of the new awakening of the people in the Indian Ocean region. The establishment of the Indian Ocean peace zone depends on the united strength of the third world countries which have become the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Gone are the days when a few imperialist powers could behind closed doors mark out spheres of influence, carve up weak or small countries or violate their interests. The Soviet Union and the United States, both non-Indian Ocean countries, can never fool anyone nor can they succeed in making shady deals on the Indian Ocean behind the backs of the third world countries in the region. As the Iranian paper *Tehran Journal* pointed out: "From the start, it was quite obvious to political analysts that negotiations between the two superpowers on the future of Indian Ocean security and stability would ultimately prove to be a classic case of 'preposterous diplomacy.'"

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

# Lebanon Reconstructs

FROM April 1975 to November 1976 Lebanon witnessed an armed strife between Christians and Moslems. Involved also was the survival of the Palestinian commandos in the country. The Soviet Union and the United States, the two superpowers, which played for high stakes in the Middle East, had a finger in the pie. The Israeli Zionists seized every opportunity to make the most out of the hostilities. They sent in combatants, vainly attempting to force Lebanon to give up its support of the Palestinian people's struggle and to wipe out the Palestinian commandos at one fell swoop. Superpower intervention and Israel's invasion combined to drag out the conflict for 19 months.

As a result, great losses in life and property were inflicted on the Lebanese. According to available figures, out of a population of 3 million over 100,000 people were killed or wounded and 600,000 sought refuge in other Arab countries or Europe. Work in many departments including public construction, finance, post and telecommunications, education and domestic affairs was paralysed. Most economic departments were damaged. Once a thriving metropolis, Beirut, the capital, was scarred and gutted everywhere, with the downtown area lying in ruins and the swanky hotels pockmarked with bullets and shells. Tourism, the main source of revenue for Lebanon, was hit the hardest. The total losses in property alone came to 12,000 million U.S. dollars, or the total national income of Lebanon for six years.

## Solidarity With Other Arab Countries

The Lebanese people saw clearly from the bitter experience of the conflict who are their enemies, and who are their friends. For years, Israel, with superpower support and connivance, has occupied large tracts of Arab land, and insisted upon robbing the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights. The root cause of the Middle East instability lies in Israeli aggression and superpower rivalry. The Lebanese people have realized that to solve the Middle East problem and oppose the interference of the two superpowers, the Arab countries must first of all strengthen their unity.

After taking office on September 23, 1976, President Elias Sarkis immediately took measures to strengthen unity between Lebanon and other Arab countries and put an end to the armed conflict. He lost no time in visiting a number of Arab countries to seek a solution to the problem.

An Arab summit conference was held in Riyadh, capital of Saudi Arabia, on October 16, 1976, attended by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Principles on a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities throughout Lebanon were laid down at the summit. This was followed by an extraordinary Arab summit in Cairo on October 25 the same year. Resolutions on safeguarding Lebanon's security, sovereignty and unity, on protecting the Palestinian resistance movement represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization and on consolidating Arab unity were adopted at the Cairo conference. By closing ranks the conference frustrated the superpowers' scheme to create dissension among the Arab states and fish in troubled waters by making use of the fighting in Lebanon. This eventually led to a ceasefire in almost all the warring districts.

## Reconstruction After War

With the conflict coming to an end, the Lebanese people devoted themselves to the arduous task of rebuilding their country.

The new cabinet headed by Prime Minister Selim el-Hoss re-established unified government departments and reorganized the armed and security forces. Social order was gradually re-established, normal life was restored, and people who fled the country returned, thus ensuring the successful rehabilitation of the economy.

The government gave priority to the restoration of the Port of Beirut, the capital's international airport, water and power supply and other projects. Remarkable achievements were made within the short period of one year. New warehouses with a floor space of 15,000 square metres have been built at the port and others

are under construction. At present, port activities are returning to normal. Air service is almost completely restored. Most of the foreign airlines have reopened offices in Beirut and resumed their flights. Exports increased rapidly. For the first half of this year, they stood at 620 million Lebanese pounds, or 80 per cent of the level before the conflict. In the severely damaged Beirut business centre, a number of shops with repair work completed are ready to receive customers again. Small and medium-sized factories are operating at a rate 50-60 per cent of the level before the armed strife and agricultural production is going up rapidly.

### **Safeguarding Sovereignty**

The peace in Lebanon remains unstable. The restoration and consolidation of internal peace and the safeguarding of state sovereignty are still the urgent task of the Lebanese people. As Lebanon has a common border of 100 kilometres in the south with Israeli-occupied land, the Israeli Zionists often brazenly invaded Lebanon under the pretext that the Palestinian commandos in south Lebanon constituted "a menace to Israel's security," thus making it impossible for the Lebanese people to live in peace.

Despite the stipulation in "the Shtaura agreement" concluded last July 25 between Lebanon, Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization on a 15-kilometre-pullback by the Palestinian commandos from the border in south

Lebanon, Israel has intensified its aggression against the region by sending troops and setting up six army posts there. Recently it even bombed and shelled population centres there with aircraft and artillery, wantonly violating the sovereignty of Lebanon and inflicting heavy losses in life and property on the Lebanese people.

The two superpowers, each trying to meet the needs of its contention in the Middle East, are covertly abetting and supporting Israel in creating tension in south Lebanon, thus throwing Lebanon into continued turbulence.

The Lebanese people have a glorious anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist tradition. President Sarkis declared in a message to the nation on last September 22, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his Presidency, that Lebanon must "exercise state sovereignty on every inch of its soil." In a recent speech, President of the Lebanese Parliament Kamel al-Asaad called for joint action by all parties concerned to defuse the tension in south Lebanon so as to frustrate Israel's attempt to create confusion there. The Lebanese people are anxious to be free from the effect of the superpower contention for hegemony.

The Lebanese people will certainly win new victories in strengthening Arab solidarity, safeguarding state sovereignty and rebuilding their homeland.

— by *Shen Chi-tse*

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(Continued from p. 5.)

leadership today, gives valuable lessons to all. The Chinese revolution, by its example alone, has pointed out the way to the whole of mankind. Working-class internationalism as a cause, gains new impetus, he said.

New Zealand Ambassador to China R.B. Atkins read out at the gathering a message of greetings to Comrade Alley from New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon. Former Prime Minister Wallace

Edward Rowling and Mrs. Rowling also sent a message of congratulations.

### **Sympathy for Victims of Cyclone in India**

A destructive cyclone recently hit India's southern coasts and caused heavy losses in life and property. Premier Hua Kuo-feng on December 4 sent a message to Prime Minister Morarji Desai expressing deep sympathy and solicitude to the people of the afflicted area.

### **Vice-Premier Li Meets Foreign Visitors**

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien recently met on separate occasions the Delegation of the Japanese Council for the Promotion of Long-Term Trade Agreements Between Japan and China headed by Yoshihiro Inayama, the Friendship Delegation of the Japanese Matsuyama Ballet Group headed by Masao Shimizu, and the Delegation of Leading Members of the U.S. Committee on the Present Danger headed by Paul H. Nitze.

# ROUND THE WORLD

AUSTRALIAN C.P. (M-L)

## 3-World Theory: Guide To Revolutionary Action

Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds "is a theory derived from seeking the truth from the facts of the world today," said a November 10 article in the Party organ *Vanguard* written by E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

Hill praised the *Renmin Ribao* editorial department's article "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism" as a fine exposition and substantiation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary ideas on the three worlds.

Hill's article pointed out that "recognition of the facts is of critical importance in waging the proletarian revolution against capitalism."

In the proletarian revolution, it said, "the vital importance of narrowing the target of enemies, identifying the main enemy, and on the other hand, uniting all who can be united in a given conjuncture of circumstances against those enemies and the main enemy has always been the method of Marxist-Leninists."

"If one seeks truth from the facts of the world today, the correctness and vital importance of Chairman Mao's theory of

the three worlds stands out with brilliant clarity. It is an indispensable guide to revolutionary action."

"Materialist dialectics shows that arbitrary assertions can never be a substitute for seeking truth from the facts," the article went on. "However loudly people assert their infallibility, their purity, however abusive they get, however they denigrate Chairman Mao, the truth is still there, the facts are still there."

## U.N. RESOLUTIONS

### Palestine's National Rights Must Be Restored

Two resolutions on Palestine adopted at the U.N. General Assembly on December 2 pointed out that a just and lasting peace cannot be realized in the Middle East unless a just solution to the problem of Palestine is sought on the basis of the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the right to return to their homeland and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine.

In one resolution, the U.N. General Assembly authorized the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to continue its work and report to the General Assembly at its 33rd session. In the other resolution, it requested the Secretary-

General to establish within the Secretariat of the United Nations a special unit on Palestinian rights devoted to studies and publications relating to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and other pertinent issues.

During the debate on the question of Palestine from November 28 to December 2, many representatives from third world countries condemned Israel's aggression and its denial of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. They stressed that it was necessary for the Arab countries to strengthen their unity and support each other in fighting their common enemy — Israeli Zionism and the superpowers.

Chinese Representative Chen Chu noted: "At present, the superpowers are deliberately sowing discord and creating contradictions in an attempt to undermine the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab people and wreck the unity among the Arab countries. In these circumstances, it is even more important for the Palestinian and other Arab people to sharpen their vigilance, take into consideration their overall interests and eliminate their differences for unity against the enemy. We believe that the Palestinian and other Arab people will further do away with superpower meddling and interference for the general objective of combating Israeli Zionism and superpower hegemonism and continue to strengthen and consolidate their own unity and carry through to the end the struggle for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of national rights."

## Steady Development Of Oil Industry

Since its nationalization in early 1976, Venezuelan oil industry has developed steadily, production is stable, sales are normal and earnings have gone up.

Venezuela is the fifth largest oil producer in the world, and for over 60 years, foreign companies in Venezuela had made fabulous profits through exploiting its oil resources. In the 1962-74 period alone, the said companies reaped 10,400 million U.S. dollars in net profits, whereas they paid only an average of 1,200 million dollars per year to the government in tax. Since nationalizing the oil industry, the government has introduced moderate cuts in production in a planned way according to a policy of conserving raw material resources, oil sales, however, still reached 9,000 million dollars in 1976, a 7.8 per cent increase over the previous year, which gave the government of Venezuela 7,700 million dollars. The income from oil this year is expected to top that of 1976.

Apart from investing more on exploratory activities, Venezuela is renovating and expanding its refineries to produce more grades of petrol for domestic use, more petroleum products and pave the way for refining more heavy oil. The installed refining capacity of the country is 1.5 million barrels per day, mainly fuels for the industrial use and heating systems in the United States.

Venezuela is devoting great efforts to train its own techni-

cians so as to break the monopoly of foreign companies in technology. To this end, Venezuela has set up an institute for training petroleum and petrochemical technicians.

Although the state-owned oil industry still depends heavily on foreign companies to market its oil, Venezuela is now selling oil direct to 50 consumer countries. Direct oil sales made up 23 per cent of the country's total oil export.

### VORSTER REGIME

#### Electoral Farce

A so-called "election" staged by the Vorster racist regime of South Africa ended on November 30.

This "election" was originally scheduled for April 1979. To extricate itself from the predicament it is confronted with at home and abroad, the regime had to dissolve the Assembly on September 20 and held the "election" 17 months ahead of time in order to mitigate its acute contradiction with the black people and maintain its shaky reactionary rule.

The "election" was a sheer fraud because over 21.8 million black and other coloured people, who make up 83 per cent of the population, are denied the right to vote. As is stipulated by the racist regime, only the whites who constitute about 15 per cent of the population are allowed to go to the polls. In this "election," Vorster and his ilk "won" the ruling National Party more than 81 per cent of the seats in the Assembly, so that they remain top dogs within the white minority regime.

The "election" has touched off strong opposition from the masses of the black people. The Soweto Action Committee distributed a pamphlet on November 30 calling on the black people to unite and carry on the struggle against racism until they become masters of their own destiny. In Johannesburg the black people demonstrated on the very day of the "election." A committee of representatives of coloured people and a committee of Indians of South Africa both explicitly expressed their opposition to the "election," declaring that they refused to be part of the racist regime oppressing the black people. Even the whites were indifferent to the "election."

Another aim of the "election" was to enforce the "new constitution" Vorster had dished up in August. The "constitution's" stipulation that mixed-blood people and Asians could "share power" with the whites is in reality designed to sabotage the unity between the black people and the people of mixed-blood and Asians so as to strengthen the hand of the white racist regime. As soon as it came out, the "constitution" was opposed by the black people and rebuffed by people of other races and some white opposition party members.

Through this "election" farce, the South African people have raised their political consciousness and deepened their understanding of the reactionary nature of the racist regime. Neither "election" tricks nor continual fascist suppression can help the Vorster regime out of its worsening political and economic crises.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## **9.8 Tons of Grain Per Hectare**

THE Tachai Production Brigade, China's pace-setter in agriculture, again reaped a rich harvest despite serious natural disasters, averaging 9.8 tons of grain per hectare.

This brigade is located in the foothills of the Taihang Mountains, Shansi Province, north China. It has 83 households with some 450 people, and 56 hectares of farmland. Before liberation it was a small, poverty-stricken village with an average yearly grain output of 750 kg. per hectare.

The brigade's per-hectare yield of grain this year surpassed last year's figure by 1.5 tons. Compared with last year, its total grain output rose by 17.1 per cent, with wheat showing an increase of 45 per cent. The output of oil-bearing crops and vegetables also outstripped last year's.

During the last winter-spring period, the brigade improved 8 hectares of farmland. Fine crop strains were sown to 99 per cent of the cultivated land and lent themselves well to interplanting. The maize was particularly well adapted to close planting, with 49,500 to 57,800 plants per hectare, and was interplanted with soyabean and wheat. Five tons of organic fertilizer were applied to each hectare of cropland.

Without the hard work of the commune members this year's gains would not have been

possible. For example, a big windstorm in August caused 95 per cent of the maize and other high-stalk plants to lodge. A few days later another windstorm sprang up, bringing hailstones. Led by the brigade Party branch, the commune members raised the plants up again one by one and took effective measure to ensure their normal growth.

## **Scientific Research In Universities**

CHINESE institutions of higher learning are taking on more scientific research projects.

Universities and colleges undertake an important part of China's scientific research work. Now, 10 to 20 per cent of the teaching staff in them are full-time scientific research workers. A large number of noted scientists are working in universities and colleges. Many of these institutions have their research contingents including the old, middle-aged and young scientists and set up research institutes of such basic sciences as mathematics, chemistry, physics, astronomy, earth science and biology.

Professor Hsu Keh-chin at Nanking University recently published a paper on the law governing the formation of iron and copper deposits in volcanic rock areas. He has been engaged in this study for several years and travelled to 14 provinces and autonomous regions for first-hand information. His

paper, read at a scientific symposium at the university, is of great importance for both theory and practice.

The noted mathematician Professor Su Pu-ching at Shanghai's Fudan University is actively organizing forums on mathematical theory as a way to train post-graduates.

In co-operation with research workers of an astronomical observatory, Liu Lin, a young teacher at Nanking University, worked out a programme for improving man-made earth satellite orbits, the most comprehensive programme in China to date.

The China University of Science and Technology has pledged to become not only a centre of education but also a centre of scientific research. Its teachers have fully realized the importance of research work and are determined to contribute their share to scientific and technological modernization of China. Chiaotung University in Sian has made a decision to set up several research centres of comparatively advanced scientific level.

Chairman Mao's principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," put forward to promote the progress of science and culture, is being carried out in universities and colleges. Academic discussions and scientific exchanges are encouraged among different schools or persons with different academic concepts.

From last June to July, Nanking University held its eighth scientific symposium, at which 250 papers on natural science

were read, making it the largest of its kind in the history of the university. Chungshan University in Kwangchow has made it a rule to organize scientific discussions every Saturday afternoon.

Research workers at Wuhan University in central China have published more than 100 reports and papers, and written 12 articles on specific subjects in recent years. The Peking Iron and Steel Institute has completed a new book, *A Study of the History of Metallurgy in China*, the first of its kind ever written in this country.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, institutions of higher learning in science, engineering, agriculture and medicine have completed some 2,500 research projects in basic theory and in applied science and technology during the last 28 years since the founding of New China. Many of the projects approach the advanced world level in their respective fields.

### **Archaeological News**

• Fourteen thousand and eight hundred oracle tortoise shells and 120 oracle animal bones were brought to light in Chishan County of northwest China's Shensi Province. The county was the cradle of the Chou Dynasty of 3,000 years ago. Preliminary archaeological study reveals that the oracular inscriptions are texts relating to sacrifices, hunting, military expeditions and farming. The inscriptions, consisting of Chinese characters in their most ancient form, show the superb craftsmanship of China's earliest kind of miniature carving.

• Bone and tooth fossils (including the fossil of a complete right parietal bone) of men of the mid-Paleolithic period dating back some 100,000 years ago were unearthed on a spot east of Tatung, a north China coal-mining city. In physical features, Hsuchiayao Man, named after the excavation site, resembles Peking Man of some 500,000 years ago. The latter's fossils were first discovered in Chou-

koutien near Peking in 1929. The former, who was more advanced, is probably a descendant of Peking Man, the archaeologists say.

• Two hundred and fifty stonewares dating back from thousands to tens of thousands of years were either discovered or garnered in the northern part of Tibet. Most of them were found buried near rivers, lakes or springs at altitudes of from 4,700 to 5,200 metres above sea level, where vast numbers of caves once offered ideal sheltering and large tracts of riverside areas provided excellent hunting grounds. The warm, moist natural environment there made for favourable conditions for the subsistence and proliferation of the human beings in ancient times. According to archaeological analysis, the shapes of these artifacts hark back to the same tradition as those discovered in the Yellow River basin. This furnishes evidence to the fact that from ancient times, intimate cultural relations were already being fostered between Tibet and central China.



Oracle-bone characters (magnified).

The newly discovered right parietal bone fossil of an ancient man.

New Booklet in English

# Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism

This article, written by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao" and published on November 1, 1977, deals with the following topics:

1. The differentiation of the three worlds is a scientific Marxist assessment of present-day world realities;
2. The two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the common enemies of the people of the world; the Soviet Union is the most dangerous source of world war;
3. The countries and people of the third world constitute the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism;
4. The second world is a force that can be united with in the struggle against hegemonism;
5. Build the broadest international united front and smash super-power hegemonism and war policies.

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