

PEKING REVIEW

33

August 12, 1977

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**In Memory of the Esteemed
And Beloved Comrade
Chu Teh**

**P.L.A. History: Fifty Glorious,
Militant Years**

**An Attempt to Restore Capitalism Under
The Signboard of Opposing Restoration**

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Chairman Mao's Letter to the Kiangsi Communist Labour University

Comrades:

What you have been doing has my full support. A school run on the basis of part-work and part-study, self-supporting through hard work, without having to ask the state for a single cent, a school embracing primary school, middle school and college courses and functioning mostly in the hilly regions of the province though also on the plains — such a school is a very fine one indeed. Most of the students are young people and there are also some middle-aged cadres. I hope that besides Kiangsi other provinces will set up this kind of school. They should send competent, discerning and responsible comrades to Kiangsi on a study tour to draw on its experience and give such a school a try on their return. It is better for the enrolment to be small at the beginning and to expand gradually to reach as many as 50,000, as in Kiangsi.

Furthermore, Party, government and mass organizations (of workers, youth and women) should also set up schools on a part-work, part-study basis. But work and study in these schools should not be the same as in Kiangsi. In Kiangsi, work means farming, forestry and livestock breeding and study means the study of these subjects. In the case of the schools run by Party, government and mass organizations, work refers to the work done in these organizations and study refers to acquiring basic knowledge in culture and science and studying current affairs and Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the two are different. The offices of the Central Committee have already set up two schools. One is run by the Central Guards Regiment and has been in existence for six or seven years. The soldiers and cadres start with literacy courses in primary school and go on to middle school and college courses. By 1960, they had already reached college level. They were very happy and wrote me a letter, which will be printed and sent to you. The other school was set up last year (1960) by the Party offices in Chungnanhai, also on a part-work, part-study basis. Work

Renmin Ribao published this letter on July 30, 1977. For a brief account of the Kiangsi Communist Labour University, see p. 40. — Ed.

means the work done in these offices, such as by the personnel handling confidential documents, the service and reception, medical and security staffs, and others. The Guards Regiment is an army unit, which has guard duties, such as keeping guard and standing sentry, that is their work. Besides, they engage in strict military training. In all this their school is different from those run by non-military organizations.

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the Kiangsi Communist Labour University in August 1961, the Comrades in charge asked me to write a few words. It is a matter of importance, so I have written the above at their request.

MAO TSETUNG

July 30, 1961

Chairman Hua Meets Waldheim

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, met Kurt Waldheim,

Secretary-General of the United Nations, and his party on August 6. He extended his welcome to them on their visit to China. Secretary-General

Waldheim said that he was honoured to have been invited to visit China. He wished China prosperity under the leadership of Chairman Hua.

Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairmen Yeh and Teng Receive Delegates to Some National Conferences

CHAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping on August 4 received representatives from various fields in Peking's Great Hall of the People.

Among those received were delegates to the national conference on farmland capital construction. Chairman Hua recently issued the call: "It is necessary to start a large-scale campaign for farmland capital construction this winter and next spring." He pointed out:

"This is a component of the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, and it should be carried out as a great socialist undertaking."

Also received were literary and art workers participating in the army's fourth theatrical festival in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, athletes and coaches taking part in sports exhibitions as well as commanders and fighters of an air force unit.

Also received on the occasion were delegates to a national conference of foreign trade departments for swapping experience in learning from Taching and Tachai, delegates to the second national conference of postal and telecommunications departments on learning from Taching, participants of a national conference of public health bureau directors from all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, representatives to a discussion meeting on mapping

out a national programme for combining traditional Chinese and Western medicine, and delegates to the national conference of the cereals and oil industry.

Other Party and state leaders present on the occasion were Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Li Teh-sheng, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Saifudin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yu Chiu-li and Ku Mu. Su Yu, Member of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, was also present.

On August 2, Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairmen Yeh and Teng and other Party and state leaders watched two basketball matches in the Capital Gymnasium, together with 18,000 spectators in celebration of Army Day (August 1).

The next evening, Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairmen Yeh and Teng and other Party and state leaders attended a theatrical performance given by the P.L.A. literary and art workers and amateur performers. All the items presented, including songs, music and dance and *chuyi* (balladry and cross-talk), were selected from the army's fourth theatrical festival. They sang the praises of the historic Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Party Central Committee held last month, and expressed the sentiments of the P.L.A. commanders and fighters who always cherish the memory of Chairman Mao and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Vice-Chairman Teng Meets Korean Ambassador

Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, on August 7 met and had a very cordial and friendly conversation with Chon Myong Su, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China.

The Korean Ambassador conveyed to Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping the cordial regards and congratulations of President Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people.

The great leader of our people President Kim Il Sung, the Ambassador said, was very glad when he learnt of the news about the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and he warmly greeted and expressed full support for all the resolutions adopted at the session. President Kim Il Sung, the Ambassador added, held that the resolutions confirming the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, restoring Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping to all his posts and expelling the "gang of four" from the Party once and for all are of great significance in the history of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

President Kim Il Sung, the Ambassador went on, heartily

wished that the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by their wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, would thoroughly implement the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Party Central Committee and the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well and make new achievements in building China into a powerful modernized socialist country before the end of the century.

Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping expressed heartfelt thanks to the regards and congratulations of President Kim Il Sung. He requested Ambassador Chon Myong Su to convey Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying's and his own cordial regards to President Kim Il Sung.

Message of Condolence on President Makarios' Death

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on August 5 sent a message to Spyros Kyprianou, Acting President of the Republic of Cyprus, extending his deep condolences on the death of President Makarios.

The message reads: "The late President Makarios made positive contributions to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to winning and safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and to the development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Cyprus. We believe that the

people of Cyprus will continually win victories on their road of advance."

Two Vice-Premiers on China's Foreign Trade

China's foreign trade is expected to expand continuously under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, said Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Yu Chiu-li on July 26 at the national foreign trade conference attended by 1,400 people to exchange experience in learning from Taching and Tachai.

Vice-Premier Li affirmed at the conference China's achievements in foreign trade. But he pointed out that foreign trade had suffered seriously in the past few years from interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." He called on foreign trade workers to deepen the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and sum up their experience in foreign trade since the founding of New China and work conscientiously so that foreign trade would render still better service to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and contribute to the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology in our country.

In a report he made at the conference, Vice-Premier Yu said that the current political and economic situation in China is excellent. He stressed the need to do a still better job in foreign trade. To build China into a strong socialist country at the end of the century, he added, it is necessary, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to mobilize

all positive factors at home and abroad and correctly handle the relationship between independence and self-reliance on the one hand and learning from other countries on the other.

Vice-Premier Yu quoted Chairman Mao's teaching: "**Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line.**" The Vice-Premier said: "We must base ourselves on self-reliance in striving to realize the 'four modernizations' so that our national economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. At no time should we waver on this point."

He pointed out: Since we have Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary line formulated by Chairman Mao, the socialist system and 800 million industrious, brave and intelligent people, we can rely on our own efforts to enable our science and technology to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels and develop our socialist economy by leaps and bounds.

However, he continued, self-reliance has nothing in common with the "closed-door" policy. It does not mean refusing to learn from the good things of other countries. He refuted the fallacy spread by the "gang of four" that foreign science,

technology and culture must be rejected without exception.

Vice-Premier Yu noted that foreign trade plays an important part in the great struggle to realize the "four modernizations." He urged everyone concerned to make earnest investigations and study to acquaint themselves with the conditions of the international market in time and do a still better job of introducing advanced technology and equipment and other import and export work. He called for a big expansion of China's foreign trade by conducting trade in the revolutionary spirit of the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade.

Huang Hua Fetes Waldheim

Foreign Minister Huang Hua gave a banquet on August 4 in honour of Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and his party.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua spoke at the banquet. He said: In recent years, with the in-depth development of the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, the situation in the United Nations has also undergone fairly important changes. More and more, U.N. conferences reflect the struggles of the third world countries against hegemonism, imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism, against exploitation and plunder in international economic relations and against maritime hegemonism. The third world is playing an ever more important role in the United Nations. The superpowers' control and influence on

the United Nations are being weakened, their wilful manipulation of the United Nations has begun to be frustrated. But owing to obstruction and sabotage by the superpowers, and by racism and Zionism which are supported or condoned by the superpowers, it is very difficult for the United Nations to achieve much on important issues. We consider that the historical test the United Nations now faces is to free itself from the control of the superpowers so that it may give full expression to the just propositions and reasonable demands of the numerous third world and small and medium-sized countries. We are ready to work together towards making the United Nations play its due role in international affairs.

U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim said: The People's Republic of China is playing an increasing role in international affairs. The contributions of China to the United Nations are most important. In the Security Council and other United Nations organs, the views of the People's Republic of China, as expounded by its representatives, are always listened to with attention and respect.

He added: I greatly value the co-operation and support that your government has given me in my efforts to contribute to peace and a better international understanding. I am confident that my present visit will further enhance the cordial relationship between your country and the United Nations.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. The

U.N. Secretary-General and his party arrived in Peking on August 4 and left the capital on a visit to other places in China on August 6.

Strong Protest Against Indian Government's Support to Tibetan Rebel Bandits

Liu Hsing-fu, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in New Delhi, on August 4 called on Ranganathan, Joint Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs of India, and lodged a strong verbal protest with the Indian Government concerning Indian Prime Minister Desai, Acting President Jatti and Defence Minister Ram separately "receiving" Dalai, chieftain of the Tibetan rebel bandits, on July 22.

The Tibetan rebel bandits have created a series of disturbances in New Delhi since the new Indian Government was formed. Late last March, just a few days after the government took office, a number of Tibetan rebel bandits stirred up troubles in front of the U.N. Press Centre in New Delhi, clamouring for the secession of Tibet from the People's Republic of China. Some ministers of the government and Members of Parliament of the ruling Janata Party flagrantly assured the rebel bandits of their support. The Janata Party also sent a message to the U.N. Secretary-General to this effect. On June 16, nearly 100 Tibetan rebel bandits made troubles in front of the Chinese Embassy. They openly made an occasion

of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the "Tibetan people's resistance army" — a reactionary organization of the Tibetan rebel bandits, and distributed leaflets and shouted reactionary slogans. These traitorous activities of the Tibetan rebel bandits all took place in New Delhi, capital of India, in the presence of large numbers of Indian policemen and with the connivance and support of the Indian Government. There were similar incidents in other parts of India in the same period.

While repeating its desire to improve relations with China since it came to power, the new Indian Government, however, has connived at the traitorous activities of the Tibetan rebel bandits on many occasions. Dalai's reactionary call for "independence of Tibet" was reported again and again in the Indian newspapers. The issue became graver still when leaders of the Indian Government recently personally "received" the chieftain of the rebel bandits. Such open encouragement and support given by the Indian Government to the Tibetan rebel bandits in their traitorous activities constitute an interference in China's internal affairs and an obstacle to the improvement of China-India relations. This cannot but arouse the concern and indignation of the Chinese people.

It should be pointed out that for many years in the past the Indian Government has not reaped any benefit from its anti-China activities by making use of the rebel bandit Dalai. Nor will it ever reap any in the future.

major two-line struggles within the Party, Comrade Chu Teh always unwaveringly upheld Chairman Mao's leadership and carried out and defended his revolutionary line. The historic Tsunyi Meeting in January 1935 put an end to the domination of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line in the Party Central Committee and established Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party, thus saving the Party, the Red Army and the revolution at a most critical moment. At the meeting, Comrade Chu Teh sternly repudiated the "Left" opportunist line and backed up Chairman Mao as the leader of our Party. He declared with firm determination: I am going to follow Comrade Mao Tsetung under all circumstances.

In the struggle against the chieftain of the Right opportunist line Chang Kuo-tao's criminal activities to split the Party and the Red Army, Comrade Chu Teh demonstrated still more firmly his loyalty to Chairman Mao. In June 1935, after the First Front Army and the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army had joined forces in the Maokung region in Szechuan Province, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, after making an analysis of the political situation at that time, decided to continue the march to the north and lead the nationwide anti-Japanese movement. It was also decided that the northward march was to take two different routes and that the troops taking the left route was to be led by Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and Chang Kuo-tao. But Chang Kuo-tao, who held a pessimistic view of the situation and had the wild ambition to usurp Party leadership, arbitrarily ordered the troops to go south instead, obstinately clinging to his erroneous line of flightism; he even set up a bogus central committee of his own and openly opposed the Party. Taking a clear-cut stand, Commander-in-Chief Chu waged a resolute struggle against Chang Kuo-tao who called a meeting to attack the Commander-in-Chief and tried to force him to issue a statement against Chairman Mao and against the northward march to resist the Japanese invaders. Commander-in-Chief Chu sternly rejected this and declared unequivocally: "Marching north to resist Japanese aggression is a resolution of the Central Committee, and its line is correct. I have voted for it and will not go back on it!" He insisted that the Party had

only one Central Committee, namely, the Central Committee led by Comrade Mao Tsetung. Firmly opposing Chang Kuo-tao's anti-Party action in setting up another central committee, Comrade Chu Teh demonstrated the firm stand of a Communist to uphold political principles and never succumb to brute force. Chang Kuo-tao resorted to all sorts of despicable means to attack and harass Commander-in-Chief Chu and even tried to bring false charges against him. Under these most difficult conditions, Commander-in-Chief Chu never failed to keep the interests of the revolutionary cause in mind. He adhered to the correct principle of inner-Party struggle; patiently explained the Central Committee's correct decision, carried out deep-going ideological work and actively promoted the unity of the commanders and fighters on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In June 1936, the Second Front Army joined forces with the Fourth Front Army, and this augmented the forces in the struggle against Chang Kuo-tao. As a result of the victory of Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's line to march north to fight the Japanese aggressors and thanks to the resolute struggle waged by Commander-in-Chief Chu and other leading comrades, the commanders and fighters of the Fourth Front Army demanded that they continue their northward march to resist Japanese aggression. In the circumstances, Chang Kuo-tao was forced to dissolve his bogus central committee and agree to march north to join with the Central Committee. But when these troops crossed the grasslands and were soon to join with the other armed forces, Chang Kuo-tao, still burning with wild ambitions, once again ordered the Fourth Front Army to retreat westward, with rigid measures taken to prevent any news from leaking out. At this critical moment, Commander-in-Chief Chu took prompt action. He managed first to send a telegram to the Central Committee reporting on the situation and then called an emergency meeting at which Chang Kuo-tao's splittist scheme was exposed and frustrated and a fresh order to march to the north was issued. The First, Second and Fourth Front Armies finally joined forces in October 1936 at Huining in Kansu. It was a great victory of Chairman Mao's correct line over Chang Kuo-tao's erroneous one. Chairman Mao spoke highly

of Commander-in-Chief Chu for having displayed lofty revolutionary mettle in the struggle, saying that his willpower was strong as iron and his broad-mindedness vast as the ocean.

Comrade Chu Teh and Chairman Mao had forged a profound revolutionary friendship in the prolonged revolutionary struggles. Comrade Chu Teh cherished great love for Chairman Mao, had boundless faith in him and deeply respected his leadership. Whatever decision Chairman Mao made, Comrade Chu Teh never hesitated to carry it out. Every time he went out on a mission, he always asked for Chairman Mao's advice beforehand and made a report to Chairman Mao after his return. Chairman Mao, too, highly respected Commander-in-Chief Chu and attached great importance to any suggestions he made. In the interest of the revolution, the Commander-in-Chief always had Chairman Mao's security and health at heart. In the spring of 1947, the Kuomintang troops launched an attack on the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. The Party Central Committee decided to temporarily abandon Yen-an; Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and others continued to remain in northern Shensi to direct the People's War of Liberation on all fronts throughout the country; a central working committee composed of Comrade Chu Teh and others was set up to proceed to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area to carry out the tasks entrusted to it by the Central Committee. Before setting out, Commander-in-Chief Chu personally instructed the leading comrades of the Guards Regiment to choose physically strong and battle-seasoned cadres and fighters and let them remain in northern Shensi. He also called a meeting of cadres at company level and above and enjoined them time and again that there must not be any slips in ensuring the absolute security of Chairman Mao and of the Central Committee. Commander-in-Chief Chu consistently showed concern for Chairman Mao's health, and even in the last few days before his death he still made a point of sending his regards to Chairman Mao, wishing him to take good care of himself. Chairman Mao too showed every consideration for Commander-in-Chief Chu, often inquiring after his health and though Chairman Mao himself was in poor health, sent comrades to see him. Lin Piao and the "gang of four," because of their counter-revolutionary class nature, viciously slandered Commander-

in-Chief Chu. Their shameless lies were sternly repudiated by Chairman Mao who pointed out that Comrade Chu Teh was our red commander. This showed Chairman Mao's greatest confidence in and care for Commander-in-Chief Chu.

Our Commander-in-Chief

Throughout the decades of fiery wars, Comrade Chu Teh was the Commander-in-Chief of our army and one of Chairman Mao's faithful comrade-in-arms in commanding the troops and directing operations. He was an outstanding proletarian military leader of our Party.

The defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) was a bitter lesson for the Party which later "organized the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Canton Uprising, and entered on a new period, the founding of the Red Army." (Mao Tsetung: *Problems of War and Strategy*, 1938.) In this period, Comrade Chu Teh held high the banner of armed struggle and consciously followed the road of the Ching-kang Mountains blazed by Chairman Mao — the road of building rural revolutionary base areas and carrying out armed struggle, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing political power throughout the country — and made outstanding contributions to the founding and building of the people's army.

Under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought and with great revolutionary boldness and vision, on August 1, 1927, Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting, and Liu Po-cheng led the famous Nanchang Uprising and fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. By taking this revolutionary action of armed struggle, they repudiated the Right opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu who was the Party's General Secretary at that time. After the uprising met with failure, Comrade Chu Teh and others led a part of the insurrectionary forces and fought against great odds in the Hunan-Kwangtung-Kiangsi border area. The revolution was then at a low ebb; some people who failed to stand the test wavered and left the revolutionary ranks. One such shameless deserter at that time was Lin Piao. Firmly convinced that the rev-



The Nanchang Uprising. In the centre from left to right: Comrades Yeh Ting, Chu Teh, Liu Po-cheng, Chou En-lai and Ho Lung.

Woodcut by Tsou Ta-tsing and Huang Pen-kuei

olution would triumph and undaunted by difficulties and setbacks, Comrade Chu Teh led the troops to carry on the fight. When the troops arrived at Tienhsinyu in Kiangsi, he called a meeting of the rank and file. "After the failure of the revolution of 1905 in Russia," he told them, "darkness reigned in that country. But that was only temporary, for the revolution eventually succeeded in 1917. The Chinese revolution has now met with setbacks and the sky is overcast. But this darkness is also temporary for China too will have its own '1917.'" He then went on to analyse the political situation and stressed the necessity of securing a foothold by merging with the peasant movement. He also spoke of the need to carry on guerrilla warfare

to expand the armed forces and build up the strength by making use of the contradictions among the warlords. These far-sighted ideas which conformed to Chairman Mao's thinking helped everyone see clearly the bright prospects of the revolution and enhance their confidence in victory. While fighting from place to place, they were immensely inspired on learning that Chairman Mao had led the forces taking part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising to the Ching-kang Mountains and established the first rural revolutionary base area there. Meanwhile, Chairman Mao was also much concerned about the troops participating in the Nanchang Uprising. He sent men to find out their whereabouts. In early 1928, Comrade Chu Teh and others staged an uprising in southern Hunan. Soon afterwards, Comrades Chu Teh and Chen Yi and others led their forces to the Ching-kang Mountains. Chairman Mao personally led the troops to meet and welcome them. Thus on April 28 they joined forces in the Ching-kang Mountains and formally set

up the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with Comrade Chu Teh as the commander and Chairman Mao the Party representative. Since then the names of Comrade Chu Teh and Chairman Mao were closely linked with each other. The triumphant joining of forces in the Ching-kang Mountains laid the foundation for the further development of a new-type people's army and was a powerful impetus to the consolidation and expansion of the revolutionary base area. It was an event of tremendous significance in the history of the Chinese revolution.

In building our army, Commander-in-Chief Chu unwaveringly adhered to Chairman Mao's line and upheld the policies and principles defined at the Kutien Meeting. [Kutien is a village

in Shanghang County, Fukien Province, where a Party congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army was convened and presided over by Chairman Mao in 1929.] On the question of building the Red Army, Comrade Chu Teh who always stressed the Party's absolute leadership over the army said: "The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army can fulfil its great historic mission only under the correct leadership of the Communist Party." When the Kuomintang and the Communist Party co-operated for the second time [in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937-45], the Red Army was redesignated as the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Acting firmly in accordance with the decision of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he rejected the Kuomintang's demand to post its political personnel to the Eighth Route Army. He saw to it that the Party's absolute leadership was maintained. After liberation, in criticizing Kao Kang's fallacy that "the army creates the Party," Comrade Chu Teh pointed out: "We senior cadres in the armed forces must at all times keep in mind this directive from Comrade Mao Tsetung: 'Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.'" Commander-in-Chief Chu always attached great importance to political work. He stressed that "no matter how military technology develops, our experience of putting politics in command will never become outdated." He called on everyone, political and military personnel alike, to do political work. With his own exemplary conduct, he helped foster the fine style of the armed forces: unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people, being brave and tenacious, hard work and plain living. He always advocated educating and training the troops with Chairman Mao's military thinking which he profoundly elucidated in his many military writings. In his military report *The Battle Front of the Liberated Areas* at the Seventh National Party Congress held in 1945, he made the call: "All units of the army, all military schools and all military training classes must use Comrade Mao Tsetung's military writings as their basic textbook, as the most essential part of their education." After the founding of New China, Commander-in-Chief Chu showed great concern for the revolutioniza-

tion and modernization of our army. He inspected coastal and frontier defence works, went to P.L.A. units to carry out investigations and study, and gave many important directives on the building of the various general departments, the various arms and services, and the military academies and schools. He also gave instructions on scientific research connected with national defence and on arms production. He pointed out in explicit terms that Chairman Mao's military thinking is "the very basis of our army building and operations," that the principles embodied in the resolution of the Kutien Meeting "are still applicable to this day" and that the glorious tradition of our army must be preserved and carried forward.

Commander-in-Chief Chu resolutely upheld Chairman Mao's concept of people's war and strategic and tactical principles and dedicated his outstanding military talents to helping Chairman Mao lead and direct the revolutionary wars in the various historical periods.

In the ten years' civil war (1927-37), in the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the revolutionary base areas, Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh firmly implemented Chairman Mao's principles of operations for guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare with the character of guerrilla war. In the Battle of Chichiling in 1928, both Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu remained at the front to direct the Red Army to concentrate its forces and wipe out the enemy forces one by one, thereby smashing the attacks by two enemy divisions and setting up a fine example of using a small force to defeat an enemy numerically superior. In 1930, Chiang Kai-shek threw 100,000 troops into a frenzied attack against the Central Revolutionary Base Area [which embraced southern Kiangsi and western Fukien Provinces]. In firm opposition to Li Li-san's [leader of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee at that time] "Left" military adventurism, Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu jointly signed an operational order which said: "Lure the enemy troops deep into the Red area and wipe them out when they are worn out." Under their command, the Red Army completely annihilated the troops under Chang Hui-tsan, the Kuomintang's front-line commander, and pulverized the



Comrade Chu Teh addressing the commanders and fighters of the Eighth Route Army in Yen-an.

enemy's first "encirclement and suppression" campaign. Following this, Commander-in-Chief Chu helped Chairman Mao in directing the Red Army and winning victories in defeating the Kuomintang's second and third "encirclement and suppression" campaigns.

In the War of Resistance Against Japan, Commander-in-Chief Chu resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's strategic principle of fighting a protracted war and carrying out independent guerrilla warfare in the mountains. Between 1937 and 1940, on instructions from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he led the Eighth Route Army deep into the enemy rear in north China, boldly mobilized the masses, launched guerrilla warfare and fought the Japanese invaders and puppet troops under extremely difficult conditions. There were altogether more than 10,000 operations in which over 100,000 enemy troops were put out of action. In the course of fighting, the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan, Shansi-Suiyuan and Shantung anti-Japanese base areas were set up, and the people's anti-Japanese armed forces developed and expanded rapidly. In developing the anti-Japanese national united front, he persevered in the principle of

unity and struggle, did much to unite with and win over Kuomintang troops to jointly resist Japanese aggression, and waged struggles on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint against those die-hards who actively opposed the Communist Party and fought the war of resistance passively. In 1941 and 1942, as a result of the Japanese invaders' savage attacks and the Kuomintang's blockade, the Liberated Areas faced enormous difficulties financially and economically. In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive on overcoming difficulties with our own hands, the Commander-in-Chief energetically encouraged and organized the troops to engage in production. He went personally to Nanniwan in northern Shensi to survey the land and work out plans for reclamation. Under his guidance, the 359th Brigade succeeded in building Nanniwan into a model of production by

the army to attain self-sufficiency in time of war. This spurred a big production movement in the Liberated Areas. In the eight years of war against the Japanese invaders, Commander-in-Chief Chu assisted Chairman Mao in directing operations on the various battle fronts of the Liberated Areas and made great contributions to developing the people's revolutionary forces and defeating Japanese imperialism.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan in August 1945, Chiang Kai-shek, with the support of U.S. imperialism, obstinately clung to his reactionary policy of imposing a dictatorial rule and fighting a civil war. In an attempt to seize the fruit of victory in the war of resistance, he ordered our troops "to stay where they are, pending further orders" and forbade them to "take presumptuous action on their own" against Japanese invaders and puppet troops. In accordance with decisions by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Commander-in-Chief Chu signed seven successive orders for our army to launch determined attacks on the enemy-occupied areas, take over their arms and accept Japan's surrender. This was a tit-for-tat struggle against Chiang Kai-

shek. After the Kuomintang started the civil war on a nationwide scale in the summer of 1946, Commander-in-Chief Chu went to the north China front to take personal command, firmly implementing Chairman Mao's "ten major principles of operation" (see "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" in Volume IV of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung—Tr.*). In 1947, under his direction, the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Military Area successfully fought a war of annihilation at Chingfengtien and the war of storming strongholds to liberate the city of Shihchiachuang. In the battle of Shihchiachuang, the Commander-in-Chief cross-examined the captives for information about the enemy troops, mapped out a plan for the disposition of troops for the campaign and, after the battle was over, summed up the experience gained in storming enemy strongholds. Between September 1948 and January 1949, Commander-in-Chief Chu and Premier Chou helped Chairman Mao in organizing and directing the Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, winning victory in these strategically decisive engagements. At the time when our army was winning nationwide victory, the Kuomintang plotted to use the peace talks to stop the advance of the People's Liberation Army. Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu issued the order for the country-wide advance; our troops, one million strong, crossed the Yangtze, fiercely attacked the enemy, toppled the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and won the great victory of the War of Liberation.

After the founding of the People's Republic, Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh firmly implemented Chairman Mao's strategic policy of active defence in the struggle to defend the socialist motherland. In 1950, U.S. imperialism launched the war of aggression against Korea, directly menacing China's security. Firmly carrying out the strategic policy decision of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, Commander-in-Chief Chu personally went to the P.L.A. units to mobilize them. He also listened to reports by the Chinese People's Volunteers on the war situation, examined and checked the materiel to be sent to the front, and did a large amount of work for winning victory in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. He showed great concern for the work in strengthening pre-

paredness against war, enjoined our army to heighten vigilance and be ready at any moment to crush imperialist and social-imperialist aggression, and accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland.

Illustrious Model in Continuing The Revolution

When China entered the new historical period of socialist revolution, Comrade Chu Teh closely followed the great leader Chairman Mao, adhered to the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and worked tirelessly to build China into a great socialist country. Comrade Chu Teh was an illustrious model in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership over the past two decades and more, Comrade Chu Teh waged a relentless struggle against class enemies inside and outside the Party. In 1953, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih set up a clandestine headquarters for usurping Party and state power. At a conference of senior Party cadres of the nation's military departments in January the following year, Comrade Chu Teh, bearing in mind the conspiratorial activities of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, repeatedly stressed the need to strengthen "unity under the leadership of Chairman Mao and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and a correct political line and correct organizational line." Then at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Comrade Chu Teh exposed and criticized the criminal activities of the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee in 1959 when Peng Teh-huai viciously attacked the Party's general line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's commune in an attempt to overthrow the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, Comrade Chu Teh confronted Peng Teh-huai and struggled against him face to face at the meeting. After the meeting, Comrade Chu Teh again criticized Peng Teh-huai and resolutely defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a great practice of the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Chu Teh stood staunchly on the

side of Chairman Mao and waged a continuous struggle against the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. In April 1966, Comrade Chu Teh delivered an important speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress resolutely supporting the Great Cultural Revolution. With ardent revolutionary zeal he declared: "We'll do exactly as Chairman Mao says!" When Liu Shao-chi pushed a bourgeois reactionary line in an attempt to stamp out the flames of the Cultural Revolution, Comrade Chu Teh took his position beside Chairman Mao to review the Red Guards, went to grass-roots units to read big-character posters, attended mass meetings and enthusiastically backed the revolutionary actions of the masses. When Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and the "gang of four" went all out to "overthrow everything" and incite "all-out civil war" and rabidly persecuted revolutionary leading cadres, Comrade Chu Teh sternly pointed out that what they were doing had nothing in common at all with Chairman Mao's policies. He patiently told the masses to hold firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, instructed cadres to take a correct attitude towards the Great Cultural Revolution, towards the masses and towards themselves. In the struggle to smash Lin Piao's plot for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, Comrade Chu Teh produced irrefutable evidence exposing and criticizing Lin Piao's crimes of opposing Chairman Mao and the Party, and he stressed the need to uphold the three basic principles put forward by Chairman Mao: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** After the Tenth Party Congress, the "gang of four" stepped up its conspiratorial activities to usurp Party and state power. Chairman Mao saw through this gang's scheme and severely censured them, and made arrangements for solving the problem of the "gang of four." Comrade Chu Teh firmly supported the wise policy decision of Chairman Mao and carried on a resolute struggle against the gang. Early in 1976 Comrade Chu Teh received a letter exposing the "gang of four." Realizing that this was an important matter, he wrote a note giving unequivocal support and sent it along with the letter to Chairman Mao. After the passing of Premier

Chou En-lai, the "gang of four" directed the spearhead of its attack at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Chairman Mao perceived the gang's malicious intent and proposed that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council. When Chairman Mao personally selected Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to be his successor, Comrade Chu Teh gave his firm support and expressed great pleasure and boundless confidence in Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

Comrade Chu Teh was loyal to Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies for socialist construction and made tremendous efforts to carry out the great historic task of achieving the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of this century. When Chairman Mao delivered in 1956 his important speech *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Comrade Chu Teh immediately wrote to Chairman Mao expressing his full support. In order to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, Comrade Chu Teh toured various parts of the country, making investigations and study and issued many important directives. In the great leap forward year of 1958 he was already 72, but in the eight months from April to December that year he visited 11 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, including Sinkiang and Chinghai. He talked warmly with the cadres and workers beside steel furnaces, with the peasants in the communes' fields, with soldiers in their barracks, with Kazakh herdsmen in their felt tents. He energetically publicized the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, and enthusiastically supported the socialist newborn things. He paid much attention to the development of socialist industry and did his best to promote the mass movement **"In industry, learn from Taching."** Twice he went to Taching on inspection tours and he highly praised the people of Taching for blazing a new way for building socialist enterprises. He also attached great importance to building up socialist agriculture and zealously supported and cherished the red banner of Tachai put up by Chairman Mao. He pointed out that **"in agriculture, learn from Tachai"** was the best way to develop China's agriculture. He showed partic-



In August 1974, Comrade Chu Teh inspected a naval unit of the People's Liberation Army.

ular concern for construction in the frontier regions, visiting various reclamation centres in the deserts of Sinkiang and encouraging the armymen to go on giving full play to the Nanniwān spirit and transform the frontier regions. Comrade Chu Teh also frequently paid attention to the development of culture, education, science and technology, medicine and health and sports. He took a keen interest in the Kiangsi Communist Labour University which Chairman Mao had approved. He went there on many occasions to inspect it and listen to the teachers giving lectures. He commended the university for its correct orientation and for taking the lead in developing a socialist educational system. He stressed that, in medical and health work, traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine must be integrated and that attention must be paid to the role played by barefoot doctors. He consistently advocated the popularization of sports among the people, stressing that it must serve the people, production and national defence construction. On many occasions he received scientists and technicians, encouraging them to become both red and expert so as to contribute to the building of socialism. Comrade Chu Teh was extremely angry with the "gang of four," the scourge of the Chinese nation, for sabotag-

ing production and revolution. Even just before his death, he showed great concern for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, and he instructed leading comrades visiting him to pay attention to economic construction and push production forward.

Supporting the world revolution was to Comrade Chu Teh an important component part of perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Representing our Party and state, he paid visits to foreign countries, and he frequently received foreign visitors and diplomatic envoys to China. On international issues he firmly upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. In accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic concept of the three worlds and his teaching that China will never seek hegemony, Comrade Chu Teh worked for unity with all forces that could be united to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. In the international communist movement, he held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and carried on an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core.

Comrade Chu Teh's revolutionary vigour never flagged in continuing the revolution. For him, the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works was imperative in combating and preventing revisionism and in continuing the revolution. He always encouraged himself as well as others with these words: "Go on making revolution and go on studying, go on remoulding and go on following Chairman Mao till we breathe our last!" Day in and day out over the decades, he indefatigably and diligently studied the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, conscientiously took down notes and did not let travelling or hospitalization interfere with his studies. On his 90th birthday in January 1976, he wrote on a scroll the words: "Carry on the revolution through to the end!" as an expression of his firm dedication to the cause of communism as long as he lived. He constantly drew on our Party's past experience and the lesson to be learnt from the Soviet Union's turning revisionist to educate the cadres

and exhort them to continue combating and preventing revisionism, persevere in continuing the revolution and pass the red banner of revolution from generation to generation till the realization of communism.

A Loyal Servant of the People

Comrade Chu Teh's lofty qualities of serving the people with his whole heart and his fine style of maintaining close ties with the masses and working hard have long been known throughout the Party, the whole army and the people of all the nationalities throughout China. The people affectionately call him an "old revolutionary hero" and a loyal servant of the people.

Comrade Chu Teh was boundlessly loyal to the Party and the people. He always put the interests of the Party and the people above everything else and dedicated his all to the proletarian revolutionary cause. In 1939 his Party branch awarded him a banner with the words "Model Party Member." He said earnestly: "I'm just an untutored rustic. It is the Party which has assigned me to be the commander-in-chief." He often said: "I don't want to be anything. I just want to be an ordinary Party member. That is all I ask." These words, so simply put, are fully indicative of his staunch proletarian Party spirit. Comrade Chu Teh's heart was full of the Party and the people, but there was no room for himself. On the battlefield he was always steadfast and calm; he fought courageously and disregarded his own safety. In the acute and complex struggles between the two lines, he was always selfless and fearless, open and aboveboard, and struggled resolutely against everything that contravened the interests of the Party and the people. He had a high sense of responsibility towards his work. To the end of his days he maintained the same vigour as he displayed in the years of revolutionary wars, and worked day and night for the Party and the people. In those difficult days when Chairman Mao was gravely ill and when Premier Chou was no longer with us, he was filled with firm revolutionary resolve, tossed aside his walking stick and took an even more active part in state affairs. When comrades urged him not to overwork, his reply was: "A Communist lives to do as much as he

can for the Party and do it well." Despite his illness, he continued to receive foreign visitors even shortly before his death. When he was gravely ill, he continued to attend to Party and state matters, and instructed his secretary to tell the Foreign Ministry not to hesitate to send in credentials of ambassadors going abroad for his signature. "I can still write my signature!" he said. That was the way Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee carried on his work for the Party's and people's cause to his last breath. Our late Premier Chou had this to say about his revolutionary comrade-in-arms Commander-in-Chief Chu, "To the Party and the people, he is loyalty itself."

Comrade Chu Teh was unassuming and approachable, maintained close ties with the people and was of one mind with the masses. Though he was a leading member of the Party, the state and the army, he was just an ordinary Party member in his Party branch meetings and an ordinary soldier like the others when he went to a company. He was never assuming among the people but always regarded himself as an ordinary labourer. During the war years he always marched by the side of officers and men and worked alongside them at odd jobs. When he visited the companies he made it a point to find time to chat with the soldiers, visit the cooks in the kitchen and join others in a game of basketball. During the Long March, his horse was employed more for carrying the sick and wounded comrades than for his riding. He saw to it that it was the sick and wounded who first got fed whenever supplies ran short. When the Red Army was crossing the grasslands during the Long March, their food once ran out. One soldier, however, still had a strip of dried beef he had saved for Commander-in-Chief Chu. But the Commander-in-Chief tore it into tiny shreds and distributed them among the comrades without keeping a piece for himself. The soldier wept out of concern for the Commander-in-Chief's health. But Comrade Chu Teh comforted him with these words: "The revolution depends on all of us. If we all tide over this difficult period the revolution will have a chance." While he cared for the well-being of the commanders and fighters, he paid greater attention to them politically. He patiently and pains-

takingly helped them study politics, military affairs and culture. In the Central Soviet Area, with infinite patience he taught his general headquarters staff how to master their jobs. When they were in the Taihang Mountains, he gave lessons to the cadres on guerrilla warfare. Even when Japanese planes were bombing and strafing, Commander-in-Chief Chu calmly continued his lectures on dialectics under the cover of the growing crops. The commanders and fighters cherished great love for their Commander-in-Chief. "He is like our kind mother the way he looks after us all," they said, "and he is our excellent teacher, too."

Wherever Commander-in-Chief Chu went he used every opportunity to get close to the people, inquire after their daily life and do work among them. Whenever possible, he always told commanders and fighters to help the people improve production and their livelihood. On an inspection tour of the mountainous regions after liberation, he pointed out to comrades in the departments concerned: "Our revolution grew up in the mountains, but the lives of the people in some of these places are still quite hard. Measures must be taken to speed up construction in these places and improve the people's livelihood." He always had the people's interest at heart. "Our country has hundreds of millions of people," he used to say, "whatever we do we must never for a moment forget the people."

Throughout his life, Comrade Chu Teh worked hard and lived plainly. During the war years he ate the same coarse food as the soldiers, wore the same rough homespun uniform and lived in a thatched hut or a cave like everyone else. In the Chingkang Mountains, in order to store grain to defeat enemy blockade and encirclement, Commander-in-Chief Chu himself was at the head of commanders and fighters carrying supplies over the mountains from dozens of kilometres away. One day, the comrades took away his shoulder-pole and hid it, for they could not bear seeing their Commander-in-Chief carrying grain day after day and

spending the nights planning military operations. But Commander-in-Chief Chu made another shoulder-pole for himself, wrote his name on it this time, and went on carrying grain with the others. Before long, the story about Comrade Chu Teh's shoulder-pole spread far and wide. It was an inspiration to all the soldiers and civilians in the base area and spurred them on to greater efforts to overcome difficulties and defeat the enemy. In Yen-an, Commander-in-Chief Chu led the others to take up the hoe and open up land to grow vegetables. In Peking, after nationwide liberation, Comrade Chu Teh went on as usual taking part in productive labour. In 1958, he was already in his seventies, but he went to work at the construction site of the Ming Tombs Reservoir. Comrade Chu Teh who led a simple life often said: "We mustn't forget the past now that things have got better." And this was why several times each year his family and he would have a meal of various plants found growing in the wilds. It reminded them of the hardships of the past. When comrades called one day to repair his house, he told them: "Why, this house is all right as it is. Use the money on new housing for the people." Comrade Chu Teh's clothes, socks and shoes were all much mended. He was wearing one of his old shirts when he died. He made the same strict demands on his children and relatives, exhorting them to diligently study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, remain one of the working people and never seek privileges. When some comrades had one of his grandsons transferred to Peking to help look after him in his old age, he was very displeased when he heard of this. "I want a worthy successor to the revolutionary cause," he said in all seriousness, "not a filial grandchild!" He insisted that the lad be sent back. Before his death, Comrade Chu Teh instructed that all the money he had saved out of his salary must be given to the Party as his Party membership dues and not to his children. This was how he consciously restricted bourgeois right, made a

clean break with traditional ideas. All this fully demonstrated his lofty communist spirit.

The People's Glory

In 1946 Chairman Mao wrote for Comrade Chu Teh this inscription: **"The People's Glory."** This was in praise of Comrade Chu Teh's magnificent contributions to the Party and the people and the flesh-and-blood ties between this proletarian revolutionary and the Chinese people. It also gave expression to the high esteem and love the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country had for Comrade Chu Teh.

Comrade Chu Teh was a fine member of the Communist Party of China, a great revolutionary fighter and proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and an outstanding leader of the Party, the state and the army and was deeply loved and respected by the people of the whole country. The revolutionary road he traversed was that taken by the Chinese people and their outstanding representatives for nearly a century. In his early years he took part in the Chinese people's revolutionary activities against imperialism and feudalism. In 1909 he joined the Tung Meng Hui (the Chinese Revolutionary League) led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1911 he took part in the bourgeois democratic revolution to overthrow feudal rule, and in 1915 he joined in the uprising in Yunnan against Yuan Shih-kai's assumption of the throne. Through these struggles he came to see that the old democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie could not save China. To ensure a bright future for the motherland, he set about seeking a new revolutionary road. After the October Revolution, he gradually accepted Marxism-Leninism and gave up his post as a brigade commander of the local troops in Yunnan. He also turned down an offer from a Szechuan warlord to become a division commander. He travelled between Peking and Shanghai looking for the Communist Party. When his application for Party membership was rudely rejected by Chen Tu-hsui, he was not discouraged. He went to

Germany where he studied Marxism and took part in the workers' movement. In the autumn of 1922, upon Comrade Chou En-lai's recommendation, he was admitted into the Communist Party of China in Berlin. From then on he was a communist fighter holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao. At every historical stage of the Chinese revolution he fought courageously and indefatigably, and was always in the van of the struggle. The greatness of Comrade Chu Teh, as an advanced representative of the Chinese people, was shown by his active participation in the old democratic revolution. As history moved forward, his greatness manifested itself still more clearly by his conscious efforts to advance from a revolutionary democrat to a Communist dedicating his life to the cause of communism. Comrade Chu Teh's life was one of dedication to the cause of communism. His was a life of perseverance in continuing the revolution and wholehearted service to the people.

As we recall the glorious and militant life of Comrade Chu Teh, we are filled with bitter hatred for Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They had for a long period viciously attacked Comrade Chu Teh and wilfully tampered with history. Lin Piao and company had the effrontery to claim that it was he, and not Commander-in-Chief Chu, who had led the armed forces to join Chairman Mao in the Ching Kang Mountains. The "gang of four" banned any mention of Commander-in-Chief Chu when anyone wrote about the Nanchang Uprising and the Long March. They wanted to write off the historical role played by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and negate the splendid history of our Party so that they could realize their criminal aim of usurping the supreme leadership of the Party and state. Their counter-revolutionary machinations were severely censured by Chairman Mao. History can never be distorted. The glorious image of Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee cannot be erased. He will live for ever in our hearts!

Fifty Glorious, Militant Years

AUGUST 1 this year marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Fifty years ago, the predecessor of this heroic army that went up the Ching kang Mountains under the leadership of Chairman Mao numbered less than 1,000 men. Today, the P.L.A. has become a powerful army defending China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is prepared at all times to repulse any invaders from abroad.

1927-37, the Red Army's Founding And the Long March

A revolutionary war was started against the northern warlords in 1926 jointly by the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang after they established their first united front. But because Chen Tu-hsiu, who was General Secretary of the Communist Party at that time, followed a Right capitulationist line, abandoned the Party's leadership over the revolution, and the armed forces in particular, and yielded the command of the armed forces to the Kuomintang, and because Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, representatives of the right wing of the Kuomintang, betrayed the revolution in April and July, 1927, respectively and began to massacre Communists and other revolutionaries, the revolution ended in defeat.

From the bitter lesson they paid in blood, the Communists came to realize that a revolutionary armed force must be organized to fight against the counter-revolutionary armed force. On August 1, 1927, Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting and Liu Po-cheng led the famous Nanchang Uprising, firing the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. In September, Comrade Mao Tsetung initiated and led the Autumn Harvest Uprising on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. Shortly afterwards, he brought the insurgent troops under his command to the Ching kang Mountains and established China's first rural base area there, thus opening the road of encircling the cities from the countryside and

finally taking the cities and seizing political power throughout the country. In December of the same year, the Canton (Kwangchow) Uprising took place under the leadership of Chang Tai-lei, Yeh Chien-ying and other comrades. These three armed uprisings ushered in a new period in the Chinese revolution led by the Communist Party, a period of founding the Red Army.

In April 1928, the remaining troops of the Nanchang Uprising, led by Comrades Chu Teh and Chen Yi, moved to the Ching kang Mountains and joined forces with the armed units led by Comrade Mao Tsetung. Together they formed the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with Comrade Chu Teh as commander and Comrade Mao Tsetung as Party representative.

The Fourth Army of the Red Army in 1929 drove into southern Kiangsi Province and western Fukien Province where it opened up a new base area which later became the Central Revolutionary Base Area. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Party organization in this army held its Ninth Party Congress in December which passed the resolution *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* drafted by Comrade Mao Tsetung. This resolution enabled the Red Army to build itself entirely on a Marxist-Leninist basis and to eliminate all the influences of armies of the old type.

Between the autumn of 1927 and the end of 1929, Party organizations in various places led the masses in launching more than 100 armed uprisings, and established a number of Red Army units and a dozen revolutionary base areas.

The Red Army units in various parts of the country grew to more than 100,000 men in the first half of 1930. In mid-June of the same year, troops led by Comrades Mao Tsetung and Chu Teh were reorganized into the First Front Army of the Red Army, with Comrade Mao Tsetung



The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during the period of struggle against enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaigns.

as general political commissar and Comrade Chu Teh commander-in-chief. The Red Army units in the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei Base Area were reorganized into the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army and those in other base areas were reorganized either into armies or army corps.

From the end of 1930 to the beginning of 1933, the First Front Army of the Red Army, guided by the correct military line of Comrade Mao Tsetung, shattered in succession four large-scale counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by Chiang Kai-shek with a force of 100,000, 200,000, 300,000 and 500,000 respectively.

The enemy launched its fifth counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Central Revolutionary Base Area in October 1933 with a force one million strong. This time the Red Army was defeated because Wang Ming, then leader of the Party Central Committee, pushed a "Left" opportunist line and totally rejected Comrade Mao Tsetung's military line and strategy and tactics. At the beginning, Wang Ming advocated military adventurism, calling for "engaging the enemy outside the base area," and later he turned to military conservatism. The Red Army was thus compelled to make a strategic shift from south China to northwest China in October 1934. This became known as the Long March.

In January 1935, the Party Central Committee called an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province. The meeting put an end to the domination by the Wang Ming line and established the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung in the whole Party and the whole army.

August 12, 1977

Under the command of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the guidance of his military thinking, the Red Army defeated encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by a huge enemy force of several hundred thousand, overcame many hazards and difficulties in crossing snow-capped mountains and marshy grasslands and passing through areas inhabited by national minorities, and defeated the Right opportunist line of Chang Kuo-tao, leader of the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army at the time, who openly split with the Party Central Committee and established his own bogus central committee.

The First Front Army of the Red Army arrived in northern Shensi in October 1935 and joined forces with other Red Army units there. The Second Front Army led by Comrades Jen Pi-shih and Ho Lung and the Fourth Front Army led by Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien reached northern Shensi in October 1936 and joined forces with the First Front Army.

The Red Army was reduced from 300,000 to less than 30,000 men by the end of the epic Long March. But it was this force which became the mainstay in bringing the Chinese revolution to victory.

After the Red Army's main force left on the Long March, the guerrilla forces remaining in the southern provinces, under the leadership of the Party, successfully carried on a guerrilla war for three years.

1937-45, Japanese Invaders Defeated

After occupying China's three northeastern provinces in 1931, the Japanese imperialists stepped up their activities to annex the whole of China. The fate of the Chinese nation hung by a thread.

Part of the Red Army which reached northern Shensi after the Long March.



In December 1935, our great leader Chairman Mao laid down for our Party the tactics for forming a broad national revolutionary united front and opposing the Japanese imperialists. Under the influence of our Party, Chang Hsueh-liang, commander of the Kuomintang's Northeastern Army, and Yang Hu-cheng, commander of the Kuomintang's Northwestern Army, demanded that Chiang Kai-shek should unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan. But Chiang Kai-shek unreasonably refused and continued with his perverse actions. So Chang and Yang took joint action and detained Chiang Kai-shek in Sian in December 1936. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee sent Comrades Chou En-lai and Yeh Chien-ying to Sian to take part in the negotiations that followed and this forced Chiang Kai-shek to accept the terms of stopping the civil war and uniting to resist Japanese aggressors. Peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident promoted the formation and development of the national united front against Japan.

Japanese imperialists launched their all-out invasion of China in July 1937. Following the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the Eighth Route Army composed of the main forces of the Red Army and the New Fourth Army formed by the guerrilla units south of the Yangtze River marched to areas in north and central China behind enemy lines. As a result of defeating the Right capitulationist line with Wang Ming as its representative, upholding the principle of independence and initiative within the united front formed with the Kuomintang and boldly mobilizing

The Eighth Route Army fought battles north and south of the Great Wall during the War of Resistance Against Japan.



the masses to develop guerrilla warfare, they established many base areas there and opened up huge battlefields in the enemy's rear. Meanwhile, the Red Army guerrilla units that had remained on Hainan Island and in the area along the Tungchiang River in Kwangtung Province also fought an anti-Japanese guerrilla war in south China and the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army led by our Party kept up the struggle against Japanese aggression in northeast China.

During 1939-40, the anti-Japanese forces of the people continued to build up. In the intense struggle, our armymen and people shattered countless big and small "mopping-up" operations by the Japanese invaders and puppet troops and repulsed the first anti-Communist onslaught launched by the Kuomintang. As a result, our armed forces grew to half a million men, our base areas expanded and the population there rose to nearly 100 million people.

The armymen and people in the enemy's rear found themselves in a most difficult position in 1941 and 1942. During this period, the Japanese invaders launched a "full-scale war" in the military, political, economic and cultural fields and adopted the policy of triple atrocity — burning all, killing all and looting all — against our anti-Japanese base areas in a vain attempt to wipe out our armed forces and destroy our base areas. The Kuomintang, on its part, switched over to a policy of "being active against the Communists" and "passive against the Japanese" and stepped up its capitulationist activities. On the one hand, it surrendered large numbers of troops to the Japanese invaders to serve as their accomplices; on the other, it whipped up a second anti-Communist onslaught and dispatched troops to attack our army. Most serious was the massacre known as the Southern Anhwei Incident which took place in January 1941 when more than 80,000 Kuomintang troops mounted a surprise attack on the New Fourth Army as it was moving north, inflicting heavy losses to it. Although our troops became fewer (with only a little over 300,000 men) and our base areas smaller (with the population down to less than 50 million) during this period, our army firmly implemented the line and policies of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and, after two years



The New Fourth Army taking Chenchiakang, an important town in northern Kiangsu Province.

of arduous struggle, finally smashed the Japanese invaders' "full-scale war" and beat back the Kuomintang's second anti-Communist onslaught, thereby tiding over the difficulties, tempering itself and improving its combat effectiveness.

From 1943 onwards, the people's strength behind enemy lines again was in the ascendant. The Japanese invaders continued to put the stress on attacking our Party and army, while the Kuomintang's domestic policies became even more reactionary and it intensified its onslaught against the people's forces. Fighting heroically and tenaciously, the armymen and people in our base areas engaged 64 per cent of the invading Japanese troops and 95 per cent of the puppet troops and successfully repulsed the Kuomintang's third anti-Communist onslaught. In 1944, our army began its local counter-offensive and launched one powerful military and political offensive after another on the battlefields in the enemy's rear, wiping out large numbers of enemy troops and expanding the Liberated Areas.

April 1945 saw the convocation of the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, presided over by Chairman Mao himself. Under the guidance of the political line of this congress, our army made full preparations for a nationwide counter-offensive in all aspects. The Soviet Government led by Stalin declared war on Japan on August 8. The following day, Chairman Mao issued a statement entitled *The Last Round With the Japanese Invaders*, calling on all the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people to start a nationwide counter-offensive. Hard hit by the Chinese people and other anti-fascist forces of the world, Japanese imperialism was forced to declare its unconditional surrender on August 14.

In the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, with the support and assistance of the people and the militia, fought more than 125,000 battles, eliminated over 1,714,000 Japanese and puppet troops, captured some 694,000 pieces of light arms and more than 1,800 pieces of artillery. Liberated Areas were established in 19 provinces and regions with an area of more than one million square kilometres and a population of over 100 million while the army and the militia grew to 1.2 million and 2.2 million men respectively. All this laid the foundation for defeating Chiang Kai-shek and liberating the whole of China.

1945-49, Country-Wide Liberation

After the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek was determined to trigger off a counter-revolutionary all-round civil war. At that time, Liu Shao-chi came up with a capitulationist line, alleging that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy." But the policy Chairman Mao laid down for us was to "give him [Chiang Kai-shek] tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land," use revolutionary war to eliminate counter-revolutionary war, seize political power throughout the country by armed force and establish a new democratic state of the masses of the people led by the proletariat.

Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, the Chinese People's Liberation Army did away with the interference of Liu Shao-chi's capitulationist line and made preparations in two re-

spects for meeting head-on the enemy's all-round civil war; the first was to counterattack in self-defence when the Kuomintang troops attacked the Liberated Areas, and the second was to make strategic redeployment — pull out of eight Liberated Areas in the south and open up Liberated Areas in the northeast. Besides, field and regional forces totalling 600,000 men each were formed.

With U.S. imperialist backing and relying on the strength of their military and economic superiority, the Kuomintang reactionaries in July 1946 openly tore up the truce agreement and launched an all-out offensive against the Liberated Areas, beginning with a massive converged attack on the Central Plains Liberated Area.

Chairman Mao issued the great call to "smash Chiang Kai-shek's offensive by a war of self-defence" and laid down for our army the correct operational principle which "is aimed chiefly at annihilating the enemy's effective strength, not at holding or seizing a place."

Following Chairman Mao's directives, the army men and people in the Liberated Areas went into action in self-defence. In an eight-month span, they fought a total of over 160 big and small battles, put 710,000 enemy troops out of action and forced the enemy to begin in March 1947 to shorten its battle lines, give up its "all-out offensive" and mass troops in northern Shensi Province and Shantung Province to carry out "attacks against key sectors." That same month, our army pulled out of Yen-an, but our great leader Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou stayed behind in northern Shensi. Chairman Mao not only directed battles in the various war theatres in the War of Liberation, but also took personal command of the army fighting in northern Shensi. The enemy's "attacks against key sectors" which lasted only four months were basically smashed. In these four months, our army in northern Shensi and Shantung continued to fight in defence, tying down the enemy's main forces around it. Our army units in the other war theatres took this opportunity to shift to strategic counter-offensive.

In July 1947 when the War of Liberation entered its second year, the Chinese People's Liberation Army went over from strategic defensive to strategic offensive on a nationwide scale.



The People's Liberation Army attacking Chinchow during the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign.

Within a year, it annihilated 1.52 million enemy troops, whittling them down to a total of 3.65 million, while the total number of our army rose to 2.8 million men.

From the autumn of 1947 to the spring of 1948, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, our army units conducted between battles a new type of ideological education movement by the methods of "pouring out grievances" about their suffering under reactionary rule and of the "three check-ups" (on class origin, performance of duty and will to fight), thus further expanding democracy in the three main fields — political, economic and military. Chairman Mao spoke highly of this. He said: "Through the new type of ideological education movement in the army by the methods of 'pouring out grievances' and of the 'three check-ups' the People's Liberation Army will make itself invincible." In October 1947, Chairman Mao reissued the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention and in December the same year he summed up on a high plane the combat ex-

Kuomintang troops captured in the Huai-Hai campaign.



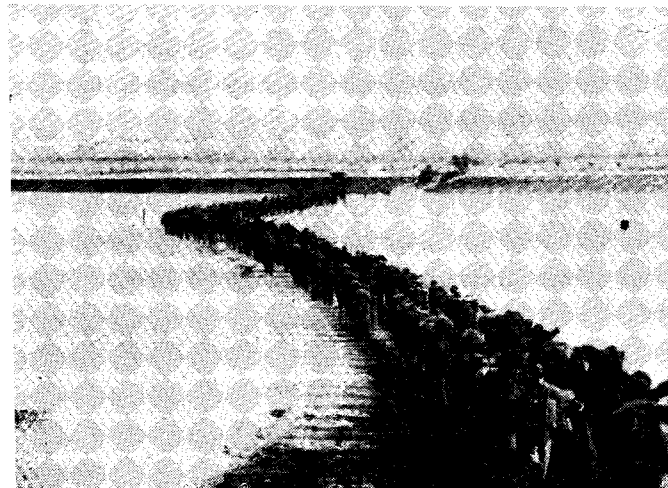


The People's Liberation Army entering Peiping (Peking) after the Peiping-Tientsin campaign.

perience of our army and advanced the famous Ten Major Principles of Operation.

After making a scientific analysis of the change in the war situation, Chairman Mao resolutely took the wise decision to engage the enemy in strategically decisive campaigns in the latter half of 1948, followed by the issuance of the concept of operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, for the Huai-Hai campaign and for the Peiping-Tientsin campaign. In the five months between September 1948 and January 1949, he directed these three famous major campaigns and many others in which nearly two million enemy troops were wiped out. Thus the numerical superiority long enjoyed by the Kuomintang army turned into numerical inferiority and the military situation in China reached a new turning point. During the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, Chairman Mao severely criticized and corrected Lin Piao's Right opportunist line to ensure great

The Chinese People's Volunteers crossing the Yalu River.



victories in these two campaigns. To fit the situation of fighting strategically decisive campaigns, the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on November 1, 1948, issued the order to reorganize the whole army, renaming the original Northwest, Central Plains, Eastern China and Northeast Field Armies the First, Second, Third and Fourth Field Armies, but keeping the designation of the Northern China Field Army unchanged.

On April 21, 1949, Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh issued the Order to the Army for the Country-Wide Advance, whereupon the Chinese People's Liberation Army started its general advance into the areas which had yet to be liberated. The liberation on April 23 of Nanking, site of the Kuomintang central government, proclaimed the fall of the reactionary Kuomintang regime. Then the P.L.A. swept across east, central south, southwest and northwest China and, by June 1950, eliminated three million enemy troops. Together with those annihilated after the middle of June 1946, the total wiped out in four years exceeded eight million, with more than 1,600 high-ranking officers at or above the divisional (brigade) level and with the rank of major general or higher killed or captured. With the liberation of all Chinese territory except Tibet, Taiwan and some other islands, the war ended in great victory.

1949-77, Defending Socialist Revolution And Socialist Construction

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has made new contributions in the struggle to defend the socialist motherland and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In co-ordination with the people and the militia, the P.L.A. marched into Tibet in October 1950, joined the Chinese People's Volunteers in fighting the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea in October 1950, and counterattacked foreign invaders in self-defence on the Sino-Indian border in 1962, on Chenpao Island in 1969 and in the area of the Hsisha Islands in early 1974, thus fulfilling the sacred mission entrusted it by the Party and people. At the same time, the P.L.A. strengthened land, sea and air defences, stepped up



P.L.A. frontier guards defending the Chenpao Island area.

military and political training and carried out national defence construction projects and other work in preparedness against war.

Over the past 28 years since the founding of New China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has always upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and has taken an active part in the struggles to expose and criticize the anti-Party cliques of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. The commanders and fighters have conscientiously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin

and Chairman Mao's works and criticized revisionist lines and bourgeois military lines. A large number of work teams sent by the P.L.A. took part in the socialist education movement. The officers and men have earnestly implemented Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7" Directive and made energetic efforts to turn the army into a great school. They have also actively participated in and courageously defended the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and sent large numbers of cadres and soldiers to carry out the tasks of supporting industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the Left, exercising military control and giving political and military training.

Along with the speedy growth of the national economy, the P.L.A. has considerably improved its techniques and equipment to become an armed force with various services and arms, modern equipment and tremendous fighting power. The upbuilding of the people's militia also has made rapid headway in line with Chairman Mao's instructions.

In the 28 post-liberation years, the P.L.A. has actively participated in the socialist construction of the motherland, engaged in its own production activities and achieved remarkable results.

Canton Uprising

THE Canton (Kwangchow) Uprising which broke out on December 11, 1927 was led by Communist Party members Comrades Chang Tai-lei, Yeh Ting and Yeh Chien-ying. The Nanchang Uprising on August 1, led by Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting and Liu Po-cheng, the Autumn Harvest Uprising on September 9, led by Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Canton Uprising marked the beginning of the Chinese Communist Party's independent leadership of the revolutionary war and building of a people's army.

In 1926, with the Chinese Communist Party participating in the leadership, the revolu-

tionary war against the imperialist-backed northern warlords won one victory after another. As the revolution advanced victoriously, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, lackeys of imperialism, successively betrayed the revolution in April and July of 1927. As a result, countless Communists and revolutionary people were massacred and the great revolution which had already won tremendous victory ended in failure.

At this critical juncture, the Chinese Communist Party decided to carry out armed revolution against armed counter-revolution. The Canton Uprising was one of the more than 100 armed uprisings between 1927 and 1929.

The armed forces participating in the uprising consisted of an officers' training corps, a newly organized guards regiment and part of the armed police. The officers' training corps commanded by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying was an armed force under our Party's control. It went to Canton from Wuhan after Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei betrayed the revolution. The guards regiment also sympathized with the revolution.

At that time, under the rule of the reactionary forces, Canton was in a state of flux. The Kuomintang reactionaries, scrambling for power and personal gains among themselves, were rent by insuperable contradictions and all their armed forces in Canton had left for the front. The situation then was one of incessant fighting among the warlords.

This provided an excellent opportunity for armed uprising. On November 28, 1927, the Kwangtung provincial Party committee, acting upon the Party Central Committee's directive, made a decision that the workers, peasants and soldiers launch an armed uprising in Canton. An action committee and a headquarters were established, with Comrade Chang Tai-lei as commander-in-chief. Under the leadership of the action committee, a number of workers' organizations jointly formed the workers' Red Guards and armed them secretly. The Red Guards were formed into seven allied corps and Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien was commander of the 6th allied corps. Through efforts by the Party, a great number of military cadres and striking workers in Canton and Hongkong were sent secretly to the guards regiment so as to put it under our Party's control.

On December 7, the action committee held a secret meeting and decided to start the uprising on December 13.

Greatly alarmed by the high revolutionary spirit of the workers in Canton, the imperialists and the Kuomintang began to take actions in an attempt to disarm the officers' training corps, dissolve the Red Guards and ransack the trade unions. The reactionary troops posted far from Canton began to move towards the city. In these circumstances, the action committee decided to start the uprising on December 11 instead of December 13.

Early in the morning of December 11, the cadets of the officers' training corps led by Comrade Yeh Chien-ying shot the chief of staff, who was an agent of the enemy, and a number of other reactionary officers. They then made a solemn pledge and brought off the uprising as scheduled. Cheering enthusiastically and holding high revolutionary red banners, they marched to the city proper to join the battle there. At about the same time, the workers' Red Guards in various parts of the city began to attack designated targets. The guards regiment also rose in revolt after disarming a number of reactionary officers and soldiers. An hour later, the insurrectionary troops captured the public security bureau, the strongest bastion of the reactionaries, and set up the Soviet government there.

Part of the forces of the officers' training corps attacked and disarmed nearby enemy troops, while other insurrectionary troops took over the Kuomintang party and government organizations in various districts of the city. A large part of the city was thus captured in a little over two hours. Red-cloth streamers inscribed with such slogans as "Down with the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang" were hung in all streets.

The Canton Uprising caused great alarm among the reactionaries both at home and abroad. They promptly ganged up to launch an attack on Canton. The British and U.S. imperialists sent their gunboats to bombard the city and their marine corps landed in the assault. With the support of the imperialist warships, the counter-revolutionary troops left in the city made fierce counterattacks. The insurrectionary troops fought heroically, but in the face of a much superior enemy force, they had to evacuate the city proper on December 13.

Though the Canton Uprising met with failure, it represented an active and heroic counterattack by the revolutionary people against the ferocious counter-revolutionary forces at a critical juncture of the revolution. Part of the insurrectionary forces withdrawn from Canton joined the peasant armed forces in the rural areas of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. They spread the seeds of revolution to the vast countryside to continue the revolutionary struggle.

An Attempt to Restore Capitalism Under the Signboard of Opposing Restoration

— Refuting the “gang of four’s” so-called criticism of “On the General Programme for All Work of the Whole Party and Whole Country”

by Hsiang Chun



IN April 1976, the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan launched in the newspapers and periodicals under their control open criticisms of an article entitled “On the General Programme for All Work of the Whole Party and Whole Country” (hereafter referred to as “On the General Programme”), an outline report on the work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences submitted by the academy to the Party Central Committee and a document entitled “Some Questions Concerning the Speeding Up of Industrial Development” drafted at a meeting presided over by a responsible comrade of the State Council. In August when the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao was seriously ill, they whipped up a “new high tide” in criticizing what they called the “three poisonous weeds.” They likened the article and two documents to Khrushchov’s secret report and to Liu Shao-chi’s “February Outline Report” in 1966 which was designed to counter the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Lin Piao’s “Outline of Project ‘571’” which was a secret plan for launching a counter-revolutionary armed coup d’etat. The gang’s aim was to brand Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the Party Central Committee as persons of the same type as Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

The gang did all this without Chairman Mao’s knowledge, for he had never said that the article and two documents were poisonous weeds, still less that they should be criticized.

The gang alleged that “On the General Programme” was “cooked up at the bidding” of a leading comrade then in charge of the work in the central authorities, and charged that this comrade “regards the article as a fist hitting out at the proletariat.” This is a downright frame-up.

In 1974, Chairman Mao successively issued three important directives on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward. But the “gang of four” opposed and distorted these directives. This was a focal point of the struggle waged by our Party against the gang at that time. Proceeding from the actual situation in the class struggle of that period, the article “On the General Programme” propagated the above-mentioned three important directives of Chairman Mao’s and the guidelines of a series of important documents issued in 1975 by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao on solving the problems in railway transport, in the iron and steel industry and national defence industry and in learning from Tachai in agriculture as well as the problems in some areas and units. It elaborated a number of questions such as adherence to the Party’s basic line, consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, promotion of stability and unity and the quickening of the tempo of socialist construction. The first draft of this article written in early October 1975 contained some formulations which were incorrect; the formulation on “taking the three

directives as the key link," in particular, was a mistake in principle. In its second draft which came out in mid-October, this formulation was deleted and the title of this article was changed accordingly.

To oppose propagating and implementing Chairman Mao's three important directives, the "gang of four" attacked "On the General Programme" and slandered it as "a general programme for restoring capitalism," "a political declaration for restoring capitalism," and so forth.

The masses of the people, however, are capable of distinguishing right from wrong. Though it had some shortcomings and mistakes, "On the General Programme" implicitly exposed and refuted the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Thus it evoked strong repercussions among the people who maintained that those articles attacking "On the General Programme," rather than the article itself, were poisonous weeds.

Investigations have brought to light the fact that late in February 1976, Yao Wen-yuan wrote as many as 47 comments on a copy of this article and instructed the gang's hack writers using the pen-names of "Cheng Yueh," "Liang Hsiao" and others to write articles criticizing it. Both Yao's comments and the articles written at his bidding show by negative example that it was the "gang of four" itself, and not the article "On the General Programme," that aimed at restoring capitalism.

Chairman Mao's Directive on Studying the Theory of the Proletarian Dictatorship

Dwelling on Chairman Mao's directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "On the General Programme" explicitly pointed out: The principal contradiction in the historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism and revisionism. In studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is imperative to firmly grasp this principal contradiction, persist in carrying on the struggle between the two classes, the two

roads and the two lines, and be fully aware of the characteristics and complexity of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its complexity, the article noted, "mainly finds expression in the fact that agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party carry out underhand activities to restore capitalism under the cloak of Marxism."

It is not strange at all that these remarks should make members of the gang smart with vexation. This is because they were a bunch of counter-revolutionary ultra-Rightists in disguise pushing a counter-revolutionary, ultra-Right revisionist line. They completely distorted the historical task of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as pointed out by Chairman Mao in his directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their aim was to exercise bourgeois fascist dictatorship over all classes and people and in all spheres except those of their own cabal. And to push this ultra-Right line, they resorted to a variety of tricks. A very important trick of theirs was to deck themselves out as "Leftists" by donning the cloak of Marxism and flaunting the banner of being the "most revolutionary." Just as Chairman Hua pointed out in his "Speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture" last December: "They have deliberately turned things upside down as to the relations between ourselves and the enemy in the historical period of socialism, decking themselves out as 'Leftists' and 'revolutionaries' while regarding as the targets of their 'revolution' the revolutionary leading cadres of the Party, government and army at all levels who uphold Marxism. They have thus adulterated the very essence of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

When Yao Wen-yuan read the passage about "the complexity of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat" in "On the General Programme," he could no longer restrain himself. So he wrote in the margin: "What 'complexity'?" And when he came to the sentence "They practise revisionism under the signboard of opposing revisionism and try to bring about a restoration under the signboard of opposing restoration," he wrote these words: "It's you who are doing that. A self-portrait."

He was so sensitive because he and the other members of the gang had a guilty conscience.

In criticizing Lin Piao, "On the General Programme" said that it was in the light of what Lin Piao actually did that Chairman Mao saw through his "anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary ultra-Right revisionist essence under the cover of ultra-'Left' phraseology." On this Yao Wen-yuan wrote in the margin: "'Left?'" Later he charged groundlessly that the article was "flaunting the banner of opposing ultra-'Leftism'" and "changing Lin Piao's ultra-Right revisionist line into a 'Left' one." Not only was the "gang of four" afraid of being stripped of their disguise, but they also resented people who tore off Lin Piao's mask. This shows that they resorted to the same old counter-revolutionary tactics as Lin Piao and that they actually were cohorts of Lin Piao.

A salient feature of representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party is that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they practise revisionism under the signboard of Marxism, carry out counter-revolutionary activities by waving revolutionary flags and use the mask of "Leftists" to cover up their ultra-Right essence.

Therefore, a very important task before the proletariat and other revolutionary people is to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and to discern Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. In 1955 when Chairman Mao summed up our Party's struggle to smash the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, he stressed the importance of discerning conspiratorial cliques. Chairman Mao said: "We should draw a lesson here: **Don't be misled by false appearances. Some of our comrades are easily misled by them. There is contradiction between appearance and essence in everything. It is by analysing and studying the appearance of a thing that people come to know its essence. Hence the need for science. Otherwise, if one could get at the essence of a thing by intuition, what would be the use of science? What would be the use of study? Study is called for precisely because there is contradiction between appearance and essence. There is a difference, though, between the appearance and the false appearance of a thing, because the lat-**

ter is false. Hence we draw the lesson: Try as far as possible not to be misled by false appearances." (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, 1955.*)

As the revolution advanced, Chairman Mao went on to sum up the experience gained in the struggles at home and abroad, particularly the experience of our Party in shattering the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, and more than once enjoined the whole Party to "**read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism.**" He emphatically pointed out: No matter how busy they are, senior Party cadres must find time to do some reading of Marxist-Leninist works so as to raise their ability to tell genuine from sham Marxism. He also laid down for us the famous basic principles for distinguishing genuine from sham Marxism and discerning capitalist-roaders in the Party: "**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.**" These directives of Chairman Mao's are an important component part of the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party are, in fact, engaged in counter-revolutionary activities, their counter-revolutionary acts inevitably contradict their revolutionary words. This is a contradiction they cannot resolve by themselves, and it is therefore impossible for them not to make slips which will finally show them up for what they are. Our Party's struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique showed that this was the case, and our Party's struggle against the "gang of four" was another illustration. Taking the stance of "super-revolutionaries," members of the gang distorted revolutionary slogans to the point of absurdity and engaged in counter-revolutionary activities in a most reckless manner. In doing so, they gradually revealed their counter-revolutionary features.

Speaking of the question of distinguishing genuine from sham Marxism, "On the General Programme" said: Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary people and revolutionary cadres "have increased their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and see clearly what the sham

Marxist political impostors are like. On the other hand, the anti-Marxist class enemies have also drawn lessons from their defeats and will mask their real features under more crafty guises." This passage was but an analysis of the class struggle at the time and did not mention who these "sham Marxist political impostors" and "anti-Marxist class enemies" were. Exceptionally sensitive to these words, members of the "gang of four" flew into a rage. Yao Wen-yuan demanded in his written comment: Sham Marxist political impostors? "Who do they refer to?"

Later, when he was polishing an article, he wrote this fantastic remark: The "anti-Marxist class enemies" mentioned in "On the General Programme" refer to "none other than the Chinese Communists who uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the Marxists who persist in taking class struggle as the key link." In other words, this referred to the members of the gang themselves, for it was widely known that they always used these two titles to disguise themselves and deceive the people. Here, Yao Wen-yuan, while styling himself as a 100 per cent Marxist, inadvertently confessed that he was an anti-Marxist class enemy.

Chairman Mao's Directive on Promoting Stability and Unity

On the question of stability and unity, "On the General Programme" began with these words: "Chairman Mao has said: **'It's already eight years since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started and now it is desirable to have stability. The whole Party and the whole army should get united.'** Our aim in studying theory and grasping the line is to promote stability and unity. **'Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school.'**" On this Yao Wen-yuan commented: "What about revolution?" This comment shows that in the "gang of four's" opinion whoever spoke of bringing about stability and unity was negating the socialist revolution and class struggle.

These absurd arguments of the gang actually wrote off at one stroke the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

and directed the spearhead of its attack at Chairman Mao.

Shortly after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started, Chairman Mao set forth the great strategic concept "**Great disorder across the land leads to great order.**" The Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" took over this directive of Chairman Mao's, distorted it and tried by hook or by crook to throw our Party, our army and our people into chaos. That was why there were two kinds of disorders, different in both class content and nature, during the Great Cultural Revolution. One was: the proletariat and other sections of the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, united as one and rebelled against those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road in order to upset and overthrow their revisionist rule in some places and departments; this resulted in throwing the enemy into disarray and in tempering the people. The other was: the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" used all sorts of intrigues and wiles in a bid to foment an "all-out civil war," overthrow all and mess up our country under the dictatorship of the proletariat; this was their counter-revolutionary tactic to seize power in the ensuing disorder. The former was what our struggle called for before great victories were won in the Great Cultural Revolution, while the latter is absolutely not permissible at any time and must be curbed.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao time and again stressed the need to take a correct attitude towards the cadres and opposed overthrowing all. He also repeatedly emphasized that it was imperative to strengthen the unity of the working class and of the revolutionary people and be on guard against the split-tact activities of class enemies. In fact, all these directives of Chairman Mao's were a scathing criticism of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four."

By 1974, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had already won tremendous victories after our Party led the people of the whole country in smashing the bourgeois headquarters with Lin Piao as its ringleader following the shattering of the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chieftain. At that time,

acting upon Chairman Mao's directives, our Party launched the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The aim was to continue the criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, eradicate its noxious influence and promote stability and unity, so as to consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and create more favourable conditions for the further development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The "gang of four," however, wanted the disorder to continue instead of stability and unity and wanted to throw the nation into utter chaos. They totally negated the victories of the Great Cultural Revolution and used this as a pretext for continued disorder. Taking over Chairman Mao's directive concerning the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, they attacked and framed charges against Premier Chou and a large number of other veteran proletarian revolutionaries. In quite a number of places, they continued to fan up bourgeois factionalism, knocked together groups and factions under their control and undermined more frenziedly than ever the socialist economy, all in a vain attempt to overthrow a large number of responsible comrades in the Party, government and army at the central and local levels and then go on to usurp the leadership of the Party and state at all levels. It was in these circumstances that Chairman Mao issued the directive calling for stability and unity. This was a head-on blow to the "gang of four."

In view of the grave situation arising from the gang's opposition to this important directive of Chairman Mao's and refusal to propagate it, "On the General Programme" dealt at length with the importance of stability and unity and the relationship between stability and unity and class struggle. The article pointed out: Only by promoting stability and unity can a political situation favourable to the socialist revolution and construction be created throughout the country and can the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat be fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level. Nevertheless, stability and unity can be realized only through fierce class struggle. At the time of writing this

article, a salient feature of class struggle was that the "gang of four," taking over Lin Piao's mantle, deliberately confused the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, reversed the relations between ourselves and the enemy, practised revisionism under the signboard of opposing revisionism and engaged in restorationist activities by making use of the slogan of opposing restoration.

In view of such a situation, "On the General Programme" stressed the need to continue criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy and between right and wrong. It also stressed the need to relentlessly expose the class enemies who, flaunting the revolutionary banners of "rising in rebellion" and "going against the tide," carried out counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities to foment bourgeois factionalism, disrupt the unity of the Party and the people and attack the proletariat. It drew attention to the need to thoroughly debunk and deal resolute blows at the anti-Party and anti-socialist new and old bourgeois elements, embezzlers and grafters, speculators and profiteers, corrupted and degenerated elements, law-breakers and criminals in those places and units controlled by the class enemies. Only thus can stability and unity be realized. All this mirrored the reality of class struggle at the time.

Sensing that the spearhead was directed at them, members of the "gang of four" therefore arbitrarily asserted that all this failed to deal with class struggle and alleged that it negated class struggle and the revolution. From this it can be seen that according to the "gang of four," revolution and class struggle meant protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole and attacking the proletariat by relying, among others, on the old and new bourgeois elements, embezzlers and grafters, speculators and profiteers.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

30th Anniversary of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region

THE Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region held grand celebrations on August 1 to mark its 30th anniversary.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council sent a joint message to the Revolutionary Committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, congratulating the people of various nationalities in Inner Mongolia on this happy occasion.

Celebration Activities

The Central Delegation with Chen Hsi-lien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, as its leader and Ulanfu (Mongolian nationality), Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Head of the United Front Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and five others as its deputy leaders, arrived in Huhehot, capital of the autonomous region, on the morning of July 30 by special plane, taking with them the solicitude of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee for the people of various nationalities in the region. They were warmly welcomed by more than 60,000 people of various nationalities who lined the streets to greet them.

The next morning, a mass rally was held to welcome the delegation. Comrade Chen Hsi-lien and Comrade Yu Tai-chung, first

secretary of the region's Party committee, chairman of its revolutionary committee and commander of the Inner Mongolia Military Area Command, spoke at the rally.

On the afternoon of the same day, Comrade Chen Hsi-lien cut the ribbon for an exhibition on the achievements of the autonomous region in socialist revolution and construction and saw the exhibition with other members of the delegation.

On August 1, people of various nationalities in Huhehot, 150,000 strong, held a rally to celebrate the anniversary. A message of salutations to Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee was read out at the rally attended by all the members of the Central Delegation. Comrades Chen Hsi-lien and Yu Tai-chung delivered speeches.

On behalf of the Party committee and revolutionary committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Inner Mongolia Military Area Command and army-men and civilians of various nationalities in the region, Comrade Yu Tai-chung expressed in his speech the highest respects for the wise leader Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairman Yeh, Vice-Chairman Teng and the Party Central Committee, and extended a warm welcome to the Central Delegation and other delegations from fraternal provinces and regions.

He said: All the victories and achievements our autonomous region has won in the

past 30 years are to be attributed to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua; they are great victories for Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and great victories for the Party's policy towards nationalities. He expressed the determination of the people of various nationalities in the region to rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, implement the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well, carry out the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Party, and greet the convocation of the 11th Party Congress with new achievements.

Yu Tai-chung also stressed the need to deepen the mass movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, carry through to the end the great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four," do a good job in Party consolidation and rectification, go all out in building socialism and bring about a new all-round leap in the national economy as quickly as possible. He added that it was necessary to carry out extensive and intensive education in the Party's nationalities policy, implement this policy and further promote the great revolutionary unity of all nationalities, take practical steps to strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude.

In his speech at the rally, Comrade Chen Hsi-lien conveyed the cordial regards of Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairman Yeh and Vice-Chairman Teng to the army-men and civilians of various nationalities in the autonomous region. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of

the C.P.C. Central Committee, he extended to them his warmest festival greetings.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he said, the people of various nationalities in Inner Mongolia, together with the people of other parts of the country, have over the past 30 years accomplished the tasks of the democratic revolution and scored great victories in socialist revolution and construction. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the cadres and masses of various nationalities in the region have taken an active part in the struggle to destroy the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. They have tremendously raised their political consciousness in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they cherish greater love than ever for the Party, the great socialist motherland and their great liberator Chairman Mao.

In the struggle to smash the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, he continued, Party committees at all levels in the autonomous region have led the cadres and the masses in resolutely implementing Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well and deepening the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," thereby winning tremendous achievements on all fronts.

Comrade Chen Hsi-lien added: In the current excellent situation both at home and abroad, the people of various nationalities in Inner Mongolia should respond to the call of the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and, under the leadership of the Party committee of the autonomous region and closely following the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, work for the accomplishment of the great task set by Chairman Hua of grasping the key link in running the country

well with initial success this year and great success within three years, advance from victory to victory and do a still better job in all fields of endeavour.

Following the rally, a grand and colourful parade was held.

On August 2, members of the Central Delegation attended a gala get-together in the festively bedecked People's Park in Huhehot. Over 20,000 people of various nationalities dressed in beautiful national costumes flocked to the park where an atmosphere of unity and victory prevailed. The Inner Mongolian Song and Dance Ensemble, the Ulanmuchi troupe and other professional and amateur troupes presented a rich repertoire of songs, dances, dramas, balladry and acrobatics. Members of the delegation also saw an exhibition of the Mongolian people's traditional horsemanship in the northern suburbs of the city.

"Renmin Ribao" Editorial

To celebrate the anniversary, *Renmin Ribao* on July 31 carried an editorial entitled "Build Inner Mongolia Into an Impregnable Great Wall Against Imperialism and Revisionism."

It said: "Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the wise leader Chairman Hua has shown great concern for the socialist revolution and construction in areas inhabited by the national minorities. Chairman Hua has instructed us: 'China has many minority nationalities and most of them live in the border areas. It is extremely important to do the work concerning minority nationalities well. We should do a good job of all work in the minority areas.' To achieve this, the most important thing is to persist in deepening the exposure and criticism of the 'gang of four.' The nation's scourge, the gang refused to admit that there exists the national question in the period of socialism. It slandered the implementation of regional national auton-

omy as 'a national split,' viciously attacked the basic policy laid down by Chairman Mao on solving the national question, fomented discord among the various nationalities, sabotaged national unity, created splits among the nationalities, thereby bringing serious consequences. In the great struggle to deepen the exposure and criticism of the 'gang of four,' Party organizations at all levels should organize the cadres and the masses of various nationalities to conscientiously study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and relentlessly criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies spread by the 'gang of four' on the national question. They should carry out re-education in the Party's nationalities policy on an extensive scale, so as to make it known to everyone. The exposure and criticism of the 'gang of four' will help the minority areas do a still better job in all work in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

"Cadres of Han nationality and of minority nationalities," the editorial pointed out, "should all foster the Marxist viewpoint on nationalities, guard against bourgeois big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism, hit hard at the activities by a handful of class enemies to sabotage the unity among the various nationalities, consolidate and develop the new-type relationship among the nationalities characterized by friendship, co-operation, unity and mutual help. The commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Inner Mongolia should closely unite with the people of various nationalities and the militia in the region, maintain high vigilance against aggression and subversion by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy who dares to intrude. Inner Mongolia is an inalienable part of our great motherland. We must build the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region into an impregnable great wall in north China against imperialism and revisionism."



Farm Mechanization in Wusih County (II)

Revolutionization in Command Of Mechanization

by Our Correspondent Chin Chi-chu

THE changes that have taken place in Wusih County prove the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis: **The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization.** But there are two different ways to achieve farm mechanization: one is socialist and the other capitalist.

In his report *On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture* in 1955, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In agriculture, with conditions as they are in our country, co-operation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops capitalistically)." In 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party, which was presided over by Chairman Mao, pointed out that after the completion of the anti-feudal land reform, the basic line of our Party concerning agriculture was: First achieve agricultural collectivization and, with this as the basis, realize farm mechanization and electrification.

Co-operation Before Mechanization

We had a discussion meeting with some cadres of the county. Recalling the road their county had traversed, they stressed that it was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that showed the way for farm mechanization. Should we achieve co-operation before mechanization, or vice versa as Liu Shao-chi had advocated? This is by no means a question of method, but one of fundamental difference between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The cadres stressed that if they had followed Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, then Wusih County would not have become what it is today.

According to the Marxist basic viewpoint, the relations of production must correspond to the development of the productive forces.

Under the small peasant economy, it was impossible to use machines on a large scale because they were not practical on the small scattered plots farmed by individual peasant households. Moreover, the impoverished peasants could not afford them. As for the few well-off peasants, they could buy some machines, but it was not economical. Marx said: "**Proprietorship of land parcels by its very nature excludes the development of social productive forces of labour, social forms of labour, social concentration of capital, large-scale cattle-raising, and the progressive application of science.**" (*Capital*.) In capitalist countries, therefore, when they modernize their agriculture, they invariably amalgamate the land and develop their agriculture capitalistically to clear the way for using farm machines.

Farm mechanization in capitalist countries was a painful story. It accelerated class polarization and intensified the socio-economic crisis. Take for example the United States where farm work is highly mechanized. According to statistics issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in the 25 years from 1950 to 1975 half of the small farms, or an average of 110,000 each year, went bankrupt and were gobbled up by the larger farms. The technical revolution in agriculture and the raising of labour productivity in the United States have only resulted in fabulous profits for corporate farms and big farm owners, while large numbers of small farmers have been forced to become migratory farm workers or join the ranks of the unemployed.

In China, after the land reform abolished feudal land ownership, the agricultural co-operative movement was carried out, which transformed private ownership into public ownership, guided the peasants to embark on the so-

cialist road of common prosperity, and changed scattered individual farming into large-scale collective production. Thus, with the small plots merged into large level fields and with more funds and labour force available, conditions are created for mechanized farming. While co-operation provides the foundation for mechanizing farm work, it also ensures that the farm machines belong to the collective and serve as instruments to enhance the well-being of the working people and not tools for exploitation. Therefore, socialist farm mechanization which is based on collectivization not only prevents but will finally eliminate the root cause of class polarization.

Use of farm machinery naturally economizes on manpower, but this does not lead to unemployment in socialist China. **"They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more undertakings for their own well-being."** (Mao Tsetung: *Editor's Notes From "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside," 1955.*)

Wusih County is a good example. In the last 20 years or so since the universal establishment of co-operatives, its total agricultural output value has increased 2.7-fold and its aggregate industrial output value 15-fold. The average per-capita income of its 950,000 agricultural population has doubled. Everyone in the county has work to do and does not worry about their food or clothing.

Road Taken by Wusih County

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The social and economic features of China will not be completely changed until the socialist transformation of the social and economic system is completely accomplished and, in the technical field, machinery is used in all possible branches and places."** (*On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture, 1955.*)



The county's walking tractor plant.

Wusih County has followed the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. The land reform in 1951 abolished feudal exploitation by the landlords and rich peasants. But the small peasant economy still engulfed the countryside like a vast sea, and it was not stable either. Records show that over 78,000 households of poor peasants and farm labourers in the county got their share of land that year. But a process of class polarization soon took place. Owing to the lack of farm tools or manpower or because of natural disasters or family misfortune, over 5,300 households began to sell or mortgage their land or houses in 1953, while some well-off peasants hoarded grain and practised usury. Thus exploitation reared its head again. The people put it well: The fate of the small peasant economy is just like candlelight before the wind.

The formation of elementary co-operatives in 1954 and advanced co-operatives in 1956 halted class polarization. With the development of production, the basic needs of poverty-stricken peasants were ensured, but since production capacity was still very low, they were at the mercy of natural calamities.

In 1958, people's communes were established. Larger in size by far than the co-operatives, the communes can organize the labour force in a unified way and build water conservancy works on a scale the co-ops could not contemplate, and are thus in a much better position to resist natural disasters. Since then, farm production has developed as never before.

However, the vestiges left over by the small peasant economy were far from being completely eliminated. Take the Meitsun Commune for example. It is situated on a plain, but in the days of individual farming, its 2,000 hectares or so of paddyfield were divided up into more than 30,000 plots dotted here and there with mounds, graves and ponds. All these were obstacles to the growth of production. After the co-operative movement, the situation improved somewhat, but there was no basic change.

In the winter of 1970, members of the Meitsun Commune began to learn from Tachai in real earnest and speed up farm mechanization. After seven years of hard work, they have levelled all the mounds, filled in the unneeded ditches and ponds, dug underground water

channels and built tree-fringed roads. Today, 90 per cent of its farmland are irrigated, giving stable and high yields. Its mulberry fields — over 270 hectares in all — have been linked together, thereby facilitating management. All this makes for large-scale socialist agriculture. Farm mechanization has speeded up farmland capital construction and the latter, in turn, has created favourable conditions for a still higher degree of mechanized farm work. Such changes are inconceivable without the formation of the co-operatives and the people's communes.

No Plain Sailing

At the discussion meeting, the comrades pointed out to us that mechanizing farm work in

Wusih County's Farm Machinery

(1976 figures)



Tractors	4,355	53,890 h.p.
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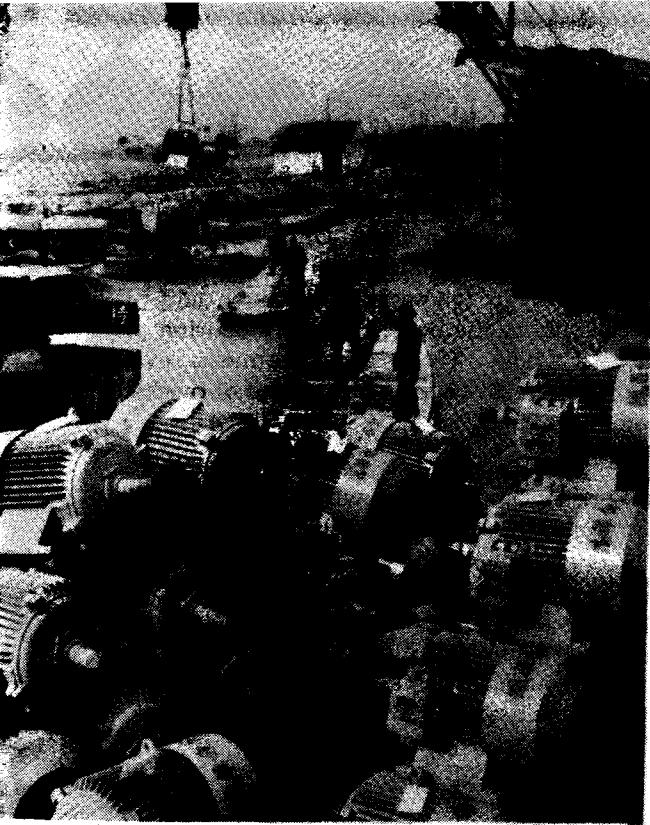


Electric motors and diesel engines for farm use	26,479	193,486 h.p.
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Other farm machinery

Threshing machines	11,707
Winnowers	8,294
Plant-protecting machines (sprayers and others)	20,953
Grain and fodder processing machines	3,184
Motor boats	2,517
Rice-seedling pullers	96
Rice-seedling transplanters	277
Ditch digging machines	522
Harvesters	651
Power-operated pumping stations	1,445





Electric motors produced by a commune-run farm machinery plant ready for shipment.

the county involved a tortuous and complicated struggle against, first and foremost, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and also against capitalist tendencies.

In 1958, when the people's communes were set up and a big leap forward took place in the national economy, the county built a tractor station and 652 small plants serving agricultural production. Later, however, when the nation was hit by serious natural disasters, Liu Shao-chi and his henchmen took advantage of the temporary economic difficulties to slash construction projects. Not only all the county's tractors were moved to other places, but all commune- and brigade-run plants were ordered to shut down. This chiefly accounts for its slow development of farm mechanization in the ten years before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution.

In the last few years, the "gang of four" sabotaged production and construction. They spread liquidationist views such as: "It is impossible to basically achieve farm mechanization by 1980," and "mechanization is no concern of the Party committees, it is something for the

professional departments to look after." These fallacies had, of course, an adverse effect on the pace of our country's farm mechanization. The Wusih county Party committee, however, drawing lessons from its past experience, resolutely adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and led the people of the whole county in resisting the "gang of four's" interference. Thus, farm mechanization developed apace.

But there were also ups and downs due to the capitalist tendencies inside the communes.

Beginning in 1970, the county went in for large-scale farmland capital construction. This quickened its pace of farm mechanization. In 1971, agricultural production went up by a big margin. More farm machines were used in 1972, and output was expected to increase further. But the result was output dropped. Why?

The reason was that certain leading comrades in some communes concentrated their efforts only on industry to the neglect of agriculture. That year 75,000 people, or 16 per cent of the county's total labour force, were diverted to boosting industrial production. This proportion was obviously too large, since farm machines were not in wide use. What made matters worse was the irrational distribution that year. Commune members engaged in industrial production were paid twice as much, or even more, compared with able-bodied members doing farm work. The latter were discontented with this and began to show unwillingness to do their work.

The county Party committee maintained that this was a manifestation of capitalist tendencies for which the leadership should be held responsible. Why did the commune cadres pay more attention to industry than agriculture? The answer is industry yielded greater profits than agriculture. It seemed that there was nothing wrong to make more money to augment the collective income of the communes and brigades and not to line the pocket of individuals. But actually it weakened agriculture, the foundation of the national economy. It was only beneficial to the immediate interests of the small collective but harmful to developing socialist agriculture and to socialist construction as a whole. Therefore it was a capitalist tendency. Consequently the county Party committee

helped the commune cadres to see things in their right perspective so that they would correct their mistakes of their own accord. The result: leadership over agriculture was strengthened and a rational distribution system was established, giving equal work-points to commune members for equal work done, whether they are engaged in agricultural or industrial production. Some 30,000 people were transferred back to do farm work, thereby reducing the proportion of people engaged in industrial work to 9.7 per cent. This has fired the commune members with greater enthusiasm for socialism. Since 1973, the county's agricultural and industrial production has developed continually at a high speed.

Comrades of Wusih County regarded this wave-like development of production in the years 1971-73 as a lesson which they should not

forget. It has opened people's eyes to the fact that people are the masters of machines and what people do is decided by his thinking or the ideology of a certain class. Only when people's thinking is revolutionized can farm mechanization develop in the socialist direction and play its full role to the benefit of the labouring people as a whole. This is what we mean revolutionization must be in the command of mechanization.

Wusih County has persisted in following this principle, and this is why its farm mechanization has developed rapidly in the last few years. The county did not have a single tractor before 1949, the year of liberation, and in 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution started, it had only six. Now, as the box on p.38 shows, it already has a considerable number of farm machines.

Background Information

A New-Type University

THE Kiangsi Communist Labour University was set up in 1958 when there was a big leap forward in China's national economy and, in the countryside, the advanced producers' co-ops developed into people's communes which are larger in scale and have a higher degree of public ownership.

In the winter of the previous year, the Kiangsi provincial Party committee established throughout the province farms combining agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupation and fishery in order to change more speedily the outlook of this old revolutionary base area. At the same time, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour. Working people should master intellectual work and intellectuals should integrate themselves with the working people," it decided to set up a communist labour university to train for the rural areas

personnel who are sound in ideology and have a certain level of cultural, scientific and technical knowledge.

In the initial stage, there were in 1958 the Kiangsi Communist Labour University and 29 extensions scattered in the Ching kang Mountains and other old revolutionary base areas in the province. But in less than three years there were more than 100 of them with an enrolment of nearly 50,000.

The university won praise and support from Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. At a critical moment in 1961 when Liu Shao-chi was trying to shut down the university, Chairman Mao, after hearing a report from its responsible members, wrote a letter, known as the "July 30" Directive (see p. 3) to the university's teachers and students. Since then, every time Chairman Mao went to Kiangsi on an

inspection tour, he inquired about the university and encouraged the comrades to run it better and better every year. Premier Chou inspected the university on many occasions and received its teachers and students; he also wrote for it the inscription: "Communist Labour University." N.P.C. Chairman Chu Teh went to the university three times and attended some classes, listening to the teachers' lectures.

Over the past 16 years, the university has adhered to Chairman Mao's "July 30" Directive.

Whether in enrolling students or assigning them work after graduation, the university has never departed from the principle "From the communes and to the communes." It enrolls from the communes, production brigades, state farms and farm machinery plants workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and their children who have practical experience as well as educated young people who have tempered themselves for a period of time in labour. Most return after graduation to where they have come from and a few are sent to work in agricultural scientific research institutes or other departments.

The schools are scattered in the villages on the plains or in hamlets in the hilly areas. At the beginning, students were enrolled first and then both teachers and students together built the classrooms and teaching bases.

The Kiangsi Communist Labour University is run on the basis of part-work and part-study and self-support through work. Some courses are given in classrooms by combining theory with practice and some on the teaching bases where productive labour is combined with scientific research. While making study their main task, the students take part in labour, have production quotas to fulfil and do scientific research. While teaching is the main duty of the teachers, they are at the same time technicians assigned to take part in production and scientific research.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." Of the 200,000 graduates of the Kiangsi Communist Labour University in the past 19 years, 170,000

have returned to their communes and production brigades or farms as technicians or cadres who do not divorce themselves from productive labour in agriculture, forestry or animal husbandry. Born and bred in the countryside, they have the similar ideas and feelings as the labouring people. Together with the commune members they have promoted the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and transformed the backward production brigades or teams into advanced ones. They help run political night schools, do cultural and propaganda work, popularize education and consolidate the cooperative medical care system in the countryside. Today practically all the production teams in the hilly areas or on the plains in Kiangsi Province have graduates from this university who have become a new force in building up the socialist new villages.

The university has developed in the course of the fierce struggle between the two lines. After the Tenth Party Congress in 1973, the "gang of four" became more frenzied than ever in opposing the university, slandering that "the Kiangsi Communist Labour University hasn't been run well," that it "has only blossomed but hasn't borne any fruit in Kiangsi" and that it "has forsaken the revolutionary traditions." In 1975, the Kiangsi provincial Party committee got approval from the Party Central Committee to publish in the newspapers extracts from Chairman Mao's "July 30" Directive. When Chang Chun-chiao learnt of this, he was furious and even wanted to find out "who gave the approval."

With the "gang of four" smashed, the stumbling block has been swept aside and the Kiangsi Communist Labour University has made new progress. The university and its 107 extensions now have over 3,000 hectares of farmland, nearly 24,300 hectares of afforested land and a total of 350 farms, lumber yards, grazing grounds and farm machinery plants. Over the last decade and more, they have together created for the state a wealth to the value of 400 million yuan and produced 150,000 tons of grain. The university itself and half of its extensions have become self-sufficient either in grain, edible oil, meat, vegetables and managing funds or in grain and living expenses for the students.

Strike Movements in the United States and Western Europe

RECENT years have seen endless strikes in the United States and major capitalist countries of Western Europe as the working class there continued to struggle against exploitation and oppression by monopoly capital and demand higher wages, secure employment and better working and living conditions.

In the United States, the working class has made considerable headway in its struggle. In the 60s, there was an average of 4,000 strikes every year involving some 2 million people; in 1970, the number of strikes reached a new high of 5,716 involving 3.3 million workers; in 1976, there were 5,600 strikes with 2.5 million people downing tools.

This year there has been a spate of struggles against monopoly capital shifting the burden of the economic crisis on to the working people through more ruthless exploitation and oppression. Taking part in these struggles were workers and employees in the steel, auto, coal, copper-mining and machine-building industries, transport and telephone companies, and stevedores. The first quarter of this year saw 1,223 strikes break out, involving 613,000 workers. The number of strikers was larger than in any corresponding period since 1970.

In addition to strikes, workers and employees of various trades have taken going slow and absenteeism as a form of protest against monopoly capital.

While fighting against monopoly capital, the masses of workers also attacked the handful of union leaders acting as agents of the bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement. In the course of this struggle various militant organizations of workers sprang up to play an ever more important role. This is a significant sign of the in-depth development of the workers' movement in the United States.

Since the year began, the working class and other labouring people in Western Europe have held meetings and demonstrations and staged strikes.

The development of the workers' struggle in Western Europe reflects the sharpening class contradiction in the capitalist countries there. Many West European countries are haunted by runaway inflation, while industrial production remains stagnant. In Italy, for instance, the 1976 annual rate of inflation was as high as 22 per cent. Equally serious is the problem of unemployment. By the end of 1976, the total number of jobless in the E.E.C. Nine reached 5.4 million, with France, Britain and West Germany having each more than one million unemployed.

All this year, the economic situation in West European countries has shown no signs of recovery but has further deteriorated, so monopoly capital has resorted to curbing wage increases, large-scale layoffs and even to lockouts in transferring the burden of economic crisis on to the workers and other labouring people. This has stirred up strong resentment and resistance from the workers.

The British economy is all along beset with serious crises and difficulties; workers' living standard has been constantly going down and in the first four months of this year, the number of jobless welled up to 1.3 million. On April 20, tens of thousands of workers held rallies and demonstrations in more than a dozen cities demanding an immediate wage rise. Statistics show that there were 673 strikes in the first quarter of this year, involving auto, iron and steel, aviation, machine-building workers and dockers.

In France, workers this year have battled continually against layoffs and for wage in-

creases and secure employment. On March 9, Dunkirk dockers struck in protest against a steel plant deciding not to employ dockers any more to load ores. On April 16, a total of 18,000 dockers in all ports struck in solidarity with the Dunkirk stevedores. On May 24, nearly 10 million labourers throughout France went on a 24-hour strike to protest inflation and unemployment and demand higher wages. It was the biggest of its kind in France since 1968, taking in practically all industrial branches and such public utilities as postal and telecommunication services, communications and transport and the power industry. About 4 million strikers rallied and marched through Paris, the capital, and other big cities.

In the West European workers' movement, strikes in Italy are of a considerable size. The number on strike often comes to a million and, sometimes, to over 10 million. In 1974, there were four big nationwide strikes of over 10 million workers each. In 1976, there were altogether 13 big strikes involving over a million people each, in two of which more than 10 million participated. In the wake of the big

March 11 strike of hundreds of thousands of machine-building workers, more than 10 million working people quit work on March 18. On April 27, another million workers downed their tools in protest against inflation and soaring prices. On July 8, a four-hour stoppage was held by over 4 million workers in the metallurgical machinery, textile, garment, food and building industries.

In **Holland** the biggest strike in its postwar years broke out on last February 7 and spread rapidly across the country. At its height there were about 30,000 workers out every day. After three weeks capital was compelled to agree to the workers' demand for an automatic increase of wages with the rising living costs.

In **Belgium**, 680,000 workers took part in two work stoppages, one at the end of February and the other in early March. Workers of **Finland** in the chemical, shoe-making, metal-working, building and electric-machinery industries were on strike in early March.

In **Switzerland**, printers recently staged their biggest walkout since 1948.

Number of Jobless in U.S. and Major Capitalist Countries in Western Europe

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977 Jan.	1977 Feb.	1977 Mar.
U.S.	4,304,000	5,076,000	7,830,000	7,558,000	6,960,000	7,185,000	7,100,000
Britain	618,800	614,900	977,600	1,371,000	1,448,000	1,422,000	1,384,000
France	393,900	497,700	839,700	1,037,000	1,068,000	972,400	1,002,500
W. Germany	273,000	582,000	1,074,000	1,090,000	1,249,000	1,214,000	1,084,000
Italy	668,000	560,000	654,000	732,000			

Price Indices in U.S. and Major Capitalist Countries in Western Europe

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977 Jan.	1977 Feb.	1977 Mar.
U.S.	133.1	147.7	161.2	170.5	175.3	177.1	178.2
Britain	93.5	108.5	134.8	157.1	172.4	174.1	
France	120.2	136.7	152.8	166.9	173.8	174.3	
W. Germany	118.8	127.1	134.7	140.8	143.8	144.7	
Italy	61.46	73.2	85.6	100	110	112.5	114.2

Note: For U.S., 1967 is taken as 100; Britain, January 15, 1974 as 100; France and W. Germany, 1970 as 100.

— by Ou Mei

What Sort of Brew Is Begin's "Peace Plan"?

THE new Israeli Prime Minister Begin served up a so-called "peace plan of the Middle East" during his recent visit to the United States. He hypocritically declared, "We yearn for peace, pray for peace, and shall do everything humanly possible and make all the possible endeavours to bring us to real peace." Is this notorious Zionist really yearning for peace when he chants his "peace" litany? The answer readily emerges with a brief study of his "peace plan."

One of its main points is: Israel will continue to occupy Palestinian land; exercise military control over the West Bank of the Jordan River, grant it only semi-autonomy and oppose the establishment of an independent state of Palestine in the area; and refuse to recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.).

As is well known, the crux of the Middle East issue is the question of Palestine. The Middle East question cannot be solved unless the question of Palestine is solved, the Palestinian people return to their homeland and their legitimate national rights are restored. And it is impossible to solve the Middle East question and the question of Palestine without the participation of the P.L.O., the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. The Israeli Zionists, neglecting the Palestinian people's national rights and trying to liquidate their revolutionary cause, not only refuse to return what they have seized, but also to acknowledge the rightful owner. This is indeed a gangster's plan. Where can one find any trace of peace in it!

Another main point of the plan is: Israel rejects the boundary line before the "June 5" Middle East War of 1967 and indicates its willingness to negotiate Israeli withdrawal only from part of the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights. This means that Israel wants to occupy some of these territories for ever. Begin announced that Israel is willing to negotiate

separate peace treaties with Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries and stressed that such peace treaties should contain clauses ending the state of war and determining boundaries as well as establishing diplomatic and economic relations. Obviously Israel wants to legalize its occupation of the Arab territories by using "peace treaties" to trap these Arab countries. This is an aggressor's attempt to have its aggression legalized by the victims, a brazen plan for aggression without the slightest flavour of peace!

Begin proposed that if the Geneva conference cannot be held because Israel refuses any participation by the P.L.O., the Arab countries confronting Israel should bypass the P.L.O. and hold direct, bilateral talks or indirect talks with Israel. Evidently these are tricks of Begin to create contradictions between the P.L.O. and Arab countries and set them against one another so that Israel will be able to crush them one by one.

Less than a month after he took office, Begin journeyed to far-off Washington to dish up this carefully concocted plan. He is really making "all the possible endeavours." His endeavours, however, are not intended to bring "real peace" as he claimed but to promote Israeli policies of aggression and expansion. The fact that while clamouring for "peace" in Washington Begin requested a large quantity of weapons from the United States shows that Begin will never lay down his butcher knife.

What Begin calls a "peace plan" is a "war plan" in reality. As soon as it was brought to light, it was immediately denounced by the Palestinian and other Arab people. Syrian President Hafez Assad pointed out penetratingly that the plan is "to legalize the Israeli occupation and bury the Palestinian people's rights." Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy said that Israel "is attempting right now to obstruct peace efforts." "This is a war plan, not a peace

(Continued on p. 46.)

ROUND THE WORLD

BRITAIN

Revolutionary Communist League Founded

The Revolutionary Communist League of Britain was founded recently at a congress held in a city in northern Britain by the Communist Federation of Britain (M-L) and the Communist Unity Association of Britain (M-L). The Central Committee is composed of the leading members of the two organizations.

A communique issued at the founding congress reported that the Revolutionary Communist League is now a fully democratic centralist organization, and is pledged to accomplishing the central task in Britain today of rebuilding the Revolutionary Communist Party of the working class.

The congress adopted the Manifesto and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist League as well as other resolutions. The manifesto stated: "The League takes as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the crystallization of the most correct and most revolutionary scientific thought of the world proletariat. The British Revolutionary Communist Party must integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the British revolution."

It pointed out that the great strategic concept of the three worlds put forward by Chairman Mao provides the interna-

tional class struggle with an extremely valuable orientation.

Referring to the internal class struggle of Britain, the manifesto said: "The basic programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party will be the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party will be the realization of a communist, classless society."

It added: "Revisionism is the most dangerous enemy in the working class movement because it uses the name and terms of communism to deceive the working class, and it paves the way for aggression by Soviet social-imperialism." Therefore, particular attention must be paid to the struggle against opportunism inside the working class.

The manifesto emphasized: "It is essential to strengthen our unity with the international communist movement in the worldwide struggle against modern revisionism, as well as in the struggle against imperialism, especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers."

ASEAN

Seeking a Zone of Peace And Neutrality

The Second Summit Meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was

held in Kuala Lumpur on August 4 and 5.

A joint communique issued after the meeting said that the heads of government of the five ASEAN countries expressed the confidence that a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality could be established in Southeast Asia and held that efforts should be continued to achieve this objective.

Since the establishment of ASEAN in August 1967, its member countries have time and again stated that efforts should be made to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. The Southeast Asian Neutralization Declaration (Kuala Lumpur Declaration) signed by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Kuala Lumpur in November 1971 proclaimed that the member states were determined to make preliminary and necessary efforts to obtain recognition of and respect for Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from any form or manner of interference by outside powers. The joint communique issued at the end of the first summit conference in 1976 also reaffirmed efforts for this objective.

During their discussions at the recent session, heads of the five member countries stressed the importance of co-operation in the economic and social fields.

The communique said that ASEAN's economic co-operation with other countries or groups of countries, notably Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the European Economic Community, should be further strengthened and expanded for mutual benefit.

It stated that the heads of government "viewed with concern the spread of protectionist tendencies in developed countries adversely affecting the economic well-being of the ASEAN countries and they called on the developed countries to take immediate steps to remove such protectionist measures."

After the conclusion of the summit meeting, the heads of government of the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand stayed in Kuala Lumpur to hold meetings with Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and New Zealand Prime Minister Robert D. Muldoon who arrived in Kuala Lumpur on August 6.

"EUROPEAN SECURITY" FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE

Hurried Ending of Preparatory Session

The preparatory session of the "European security" follow-up conference which started on June 15 ended on August 5 in Belgrade.

The session was designed to fix the date and agenda for the "European security" follow-up conference. But, owing to the overt and covert struggle that went on between the Soviet and U.S. delegates at the ses-

sion, it failed to reach agreement on questions under discussion and ended its work hurriedly after 59 plenary meetings in eight weeks.

The session began with continuous bickering between the Soviet and U.S. delegates over the agenda. The United States insisted that the main task of the follow-up conference was to examine the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act of the "European security conference." Its intention was to exert pressure on the Soviet Union through the review of the "question on human rights" and the "free interflow of personnel and ideology." The Soviet Union, on the other hand, opposed giving prominence to the "human rights issue," maintaining that the main task of the follow-up conference should be discussions on how to act in the future. Then they went on to squabble about matters of procedure of the follow-up conference. The Soviet Union insisted that a definite duration should be fixed for the follow-up, while the United States maintained that no such duration should be fixed but should depend on the results of the follow-up.

The overt and covert struggle between the Soviet and U.S.

delegates actually reflected Soviet-U.S. contention for hegemony in Europe. Each was trying to channel the follow-up conference into its own orbit to serve its interests. At the same time, the brawl between them at the session was an expression of recent changes in their relations.

The Soviet Union and the United States were certainly unwilling to give up the "European security conference," which they are using to cover up their contention for world domination. But due to pressures from both inside and outside the session—the dissatisfaction of representatives of many countries, a warning from the secretariat of the session and the expiry date of employment of interpreters—the delegates of the two countries reached a compromise after a final round of bargaining on August 2.

The preparatory session has decided to open the "European security" follow-up conference on October 4 this year in Belgrade. Agreement on the final document of the conference is to be reached on December 22. If no agreement is reached by then, the conference will resume from mid-January to mid-February next year.

(Continued from p. 44.)

plan," said official P.L.O. spokesman Mahmoud Labadi. He vowed that the P.L.O. would not "concede a single inch of the West Bank or any other occupied Palestinian territory. We shall carry on our struggle to liberate all our land."

The unreasonable and provocative stance the Zionists dare to take results from the connivance of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. In their conten-

tion for the Middle East, the two superpowers are trying their best to maintain the tense situation of "no war, no peace" in this area, which facilitates their scheme to meddle in it and fish in troubled waters. But neither the butcher knife nor the "peace plan" of Begin and company can halt the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab people to restore their national rights and recover their lost land.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

ON THE HOME FRONT

Oceanological Research

CHINA recently completed an oceanological research in the Pacific carried out by the vessels *Xiangyanghong No. 5* and *Xiangyanghong No. 12*.

Compared with the first oceanological research carried out early last year, this research had a more difficult objective, required much more time, covered a longer distance and gained greater achievements. Sailing and working successfully in the Pacific for 72 days, the two ships fulfilled research projects in marine hydrology, meteorology, chemistry, gravity and magnetics as well as seabed geology and topography. The first anchoring test and the test for China-made ocean telecommunication equipment in the Pacific provided a large amount of first-hand information and data. The research helped correct a number of inaccurate marks on foreign sea maps and provided data for ocean mag-

netic fields, navigation and ocean telecommunications. A number of items surpassed the record of the first oceanological survey, while some reached the advanced world levels.

This research was carried out after smashing the "gang of four" and overcoming the obstacles they had created to scientific development. With keen revolutionary enthusiasm, the workers, cadres and scientific and technical personnel expressed their eagerness to speed up the development of scientific research on the high seas, and to make up for the time-lag caused by the "gang of four's" sabotage. Sailing across the equator and between the eastern and western hemispheres, the vessels conducted research in complicated sea areas for which there have been extremely limited navigation data. Relying on their collective strength and wisdom, the workers, cadres, scientists and technicians overcame one difficulty after another and obtained a rich supply of scientific information.

Scientific Farming In Tachai

LAST year the Tachai Brigade, pace-setter in China's agriculture, reported an average grain yield of 8.4 tons per hectare, 4.5 times that in 1953 when the elementary agricultural co-operative was set up. Some 1,100 metres

above sea level, this brigade in Shansi Province has increased its grain output almost every year from 1953 to 1976, gathering in rich harvests even in years of severe flood or drought.

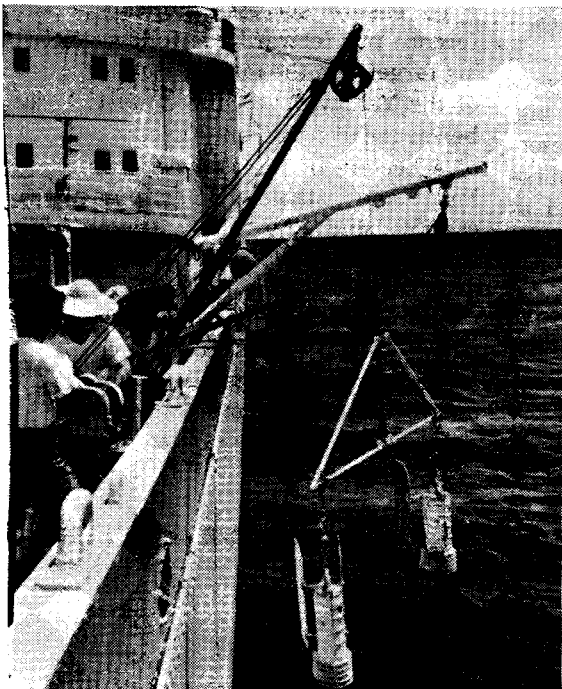
One of the reasons responsible for its steady grain increases is the scientific farming practised by its cadres and members, who have implemented in an all-round way Chairman Mao's Eight-Point Charter for agriculture (soil amelioration, rational application of fertilizer, water conservancy, improved seed strains, rational close-planting, plant protection, field management and innovation of farm implements).

In 1953 the brigade started using the strength of the collective to transform the mountains and gullies over which its arable land was scattered. Small plots on the slopes were combined and built into large terraced fields which conserve water, soil and fertilizer. The problem of soil erosion was thus basically solved.

Next, the Tachai Brigade tackled irrigation, fertilizer and other problems. Beginning from 1972, it suffered prolonged drought for three consecutive years. But the Tachai people raised the slogan: "The worse the drought, the greater our efforts; let's bring most of our farmland under irrigation." Several years' efforts resulted in a network of waterways linking reservoirs, ponds and ditches which irrigates 70 per cent of the cultivated land.

With better conditions, they changed their farming methods.

Lowering hydrodynamometers into the sea.



The brigade used to plant from 10,500 to 12,000 maize seedlings a hectare. Following improvements in soil, irrigation and fertilizer they planted 36,000 instead and considerably increased per-hectare yields. In recent years, they adopted a new method of close planting on wide ridges and brought the number of maize seedlings to 45,000 a hectare, which raised output further.

Apart from these measures, Tachai has bred and planted new strains giving higher yields.

The brigade has organized and trained a team of cadres, experienced peasants and scientific and technical personnel to conduct scientific experiments. It calls on the cadres to take the lead not only in class struggle and the struggle for production, but also in scientific experiment, so that the masses, too, are encouraged to participate in agricultural experiments.

Now Tachai is trying a method of planting three crops a year — wheat, maize and sorghum (or millet) — and plans to get 15 tons per hectare from the experimental plot.

Erosion Control in Middle Reaches of Yellow River

A RECENT conference on water and soil conservation in the middle reaches of the Yellow River held in Yen-an, northwest China, called for further efforts to conserve water and soil, develop agricultural production in the region quickly and transform the loess highlands at an early date.

Along the middle reaches of the Yellow River is an enormous area of loess highlands, the biggest in China and the world. It embraces, mostly or in part, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Shansi and Chinghai, and the Ningsia Hui and Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regions.

The pre-liberation system of cultivation in this vast area had remained backward owing to the cruel exploitation of the labouring people by the reactionary ruling classes. The reckless felling of trees and irrational reclamation of slopes denuded the mountains of vegetative cover. Each year, a layer of fertile topsoil was washed into the Yellow River, leaving numerous bald hills and large stretches of barren fields cut by ravines and gullies. The river deposited its silt in the lower section and raised the river-bed. All this resulted in frequent floods and droughts in the river basin.

In the last 20 years and more since liberation in 1949, the people of the Yellow River valley, under the leadership of the Party and the People's Government, have engaged in harnessing the river on a large scale. They have strengthened dykes in the lower reaches, built big, medium-sized and small reservoirs along the main course and tributaries, and worked at water and soil conservation along the middle section of the river.

In the last four years since 1973, the people in 115 counties where erosion was the most serious have built a total of 933,000 hectares of land, adding

76 per cent to the cultivated area, afforested 600,000 hectares, increasing the forest land by 60 per cent, and planted grass on 366,000 hectares, expanding the grassland by 110 per cent.

Delegates to the conference exchanged their experience in controlling erosion at the meeting.

To transform the loess highlands is the common aspiration of the 20 million people in the area. Its vast expanse of land and thick layer of soil provide favourable conditions for developing agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. To conserve water and soil, it is not enough to terrace fields, build dams, plant trees and raise grass. It is necessary to draw up a comprehensive plan for conserving soil and water and afforestation. Cropland should be improved to ensure high and stable yields. The method of intensive farming should be thoroughly adopted to replace the old practice of planting over a wide area with low yields. And there should be all-round development of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry.

To ensure success, the conference put forward the following targets: In the middle section of the Yellow River, there must be, on the average, one-fifteenth of a hectare of farmland giving high and stable yields per capita, and by 1980 two-fifteenths of a hectare of forests and more than one-fifteenth of a hectare of grassland for each person. All counties, communes and production brigades should make long-term comprehensive plans which must be carried out stage by stage.