

BEIJING REVIEW

Correct Approach
To Marxism



On Hanoi's White
Book



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COVER: *Tales of the Silk Road*, a dance-drama describing the friendship established on the Silk Road between the people of China and other countries during the Tang Dynasty, has been warmly received since its premiere in Beijing recently.

Picture shows Yingniang, the main character, strumming the *pipa*, a Chinese stringed musical instrument. (See p. 29.)

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CHRONICLE

November 11

• Vice-Foreign Minister He Ying left for home after visiting Somalia, Kenya, Oman, Lebanon, Egypt, the Yemen Arab Republic and Kuwait.

November 12

• The 113rd anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth was marked at meetings held in Beijing, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Guangdong and Hubei.

• The fourth plenary meeting of the Sino-Soviet negotiations on state relations was held in Moscow.

November 13

• Premier Hua Guofeng met with Bettino Craxi, General Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party.

• Foreign Minister Huang Hua concluded his visit to Romania where he was received by President Nicolae Ceausescu. Talks were held between Huang Hua and his Romanian counterpart Stefan Andrei on international issues of common interest and the promotion of relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Romania.

November 16

• The Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists closed in Beijing. Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian and other Party and state leaders met all the participants.

November 17

• Premier Hua Guofeng met with Bangladesh Foreign Minister Professor Muhammad Shamsul Huq.

November 18

• The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a message of congratulations to the Romanian Communist Party on the convocation of its 12th National Congress. A delegation from the Communist Party of China led by Ulanhu, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, arrived in Bucharest on November 15 to attend the congress.

• Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, met with a delegation from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Earlier, the delegation led by Milka Planinc, Member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the L.C.Y. and President of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, was feted by Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian.



Zhao Ziyang on Improving Economic Work

"All the economic patterns and restrictions that hamper the expansion of the productive forces must be done away with so that our potential may be fully tapped and the social productive forces may develop at a fast pace."

This statement was made by Zhao Ziyang, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and first secretary of the Sichuan provincial Party committee, at a recent meeting of secretaries of the provincial, prefectural and county Party committees of Sichuan.

He said that continued efforts must be made in the economic sphere to eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultra-Left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four.

He listed the manifestations of this influence as follows:

— In the relationship between class struggle and the expansion of the productive forces, instead of regarding the latter as the central task, emphasis has over a long time been laid on "taking class struggle as the key link."

— Instead of adapting the relations of production to the growth of the productive forces, emphasis has been laid solely on changing the relations of production with the result that these relations have gone far ahead of the level of the productive forces.

— Production has been carried on merely for the sake of production, thereby departing from the final goal of socialist production of continually meeting the increasing material and cultural needs of the whole society.

— Instead of acknowledging the theses that production under socialist conditions is still commodity production and that the law of value still plays the regulating role, they have been repudiated and criticized as capitalism. This has adversely affected the development of the economy.

— There have been rash and reckless advances without any regard to the need of a balance of all sectors of the economy, and arbitrary orders have been issued in violation of objective laws.

Zhao Ziyang said: "Of course, we must keep to the socialist road. But what is socialism? There was confusion in the people's minds, and many things which are not socialist were regarded as sacred and inviolable principles." Marx and Engels were the founders of scientific socialism, he added, but they did not and could not work out concrete measures for its realization. And Lenin did not impose a fixed pattern to restrict the people's initiative and creativity.

"The hallmark of socialism is the public ownership of the means of production," Zhao Ziyang stressed, "and the principle of socialism is 'to each ac-

ording to his work.' So long as these two principles are upheld, a demarcation line is clearly drawn between socialism on the one hand and capitalism and all other social systems based on the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man on the other. With these two principles as the prerequisites, we should adopt whatever system, structure, policy and method are most effective in promoting the development of the productive forces and in bringing the superiority of the socialist system into play. We must never cocoon ourselves like silkworms."

Economic work, Zhao Ziyang pointed out, is at present the central task of the Communist Party of China and is politics of the first magnitude. To concentrate our efforts on doing economic work well, it is imperative to further emancipate the mind and work hard for the four modernizations in a systematic and planned way.

Greek Prime Minister Visits China

Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis of the Hellenic Republic arrived in Beijing on November 12 for a five-day official visit to China. This is the first visit to China by a Greek government leader. It marks a new development in the relations between the two countries.

There exists a long-standing friendship between the Chinese and Greek peoples. They came to know each other long ago through the medium of silk. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972, the amicable relations and co-operation between the two countries and the friendly contacts between their people have made rapid progress. A cultural agreement was signed last year; another agreement on scientific and technological co-operation was signed this time during the Greek Prime Minister's stay in Beijing. Both Premier Hua Guofeng and Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis attended the signing ceremony.

At the banquet given in Beijing in his honour, Prime Minister Karamanlis pointed out that the unification of Europe "will be a great historical event that will influence the course of mankind. For it will enable Europe to make full use of her great potentialities and become a stabilizing factor in international life." Under the pressure of events, he said, the process of unification will be accelerated. This will be in the interest of Europe and the whole world. In Beijing, the Greek Prime Minister met with Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on separate occasions. They held talks on major international issues and bilateral relations and reached identical or similar views on a wide range of subjects, thereby enhancing mutual understanding and friendship.

Prime Minister Karamanlis not only takes a great interest in promoting West European

unity but also works for the development of friendly relations and co-operation with the Balkan and Mediterranean countries and the expansion of contacts between Greece and the Arab and other third world countries. These efforts have contributed to peace and stability in that region.

Vice-Premier Deng said to the Greek Prime Minister that the Chinese Government and people appreciated these efforts and contributions made by the Greek Government. He added: "We were happy to learn last May that the Greek Government had formally signed the treaty by which it joined the European Economic Community, and we considered it an important achievement on the road to the unification of Western Europe."

Tasks of Trade Unions

Trade unions in China should be organizations which are trusted by the workers and which speak and work for them. This was the keynote of the second enlarged meeting of the 9th executive committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, which closed in Beijing recently.

The meeting stressed that trade unions should be the spokesmen of the workers. While safeguarding the interests of the state and the collective, they should uphold the interests of the workers they represent.

The most important political task of the trade unions, it pointed out, is to organize the workers and staff to take an active part in the four modern-

izations and strive to fulfil and overfulfil the state economic plan. To achieve this, trade union organizations must uphold the vital interests of the workers and help solve the urgent problems in their daily life which can be solved. The trade unions must wage struggles against bureaucrats who are indifferent to the pressing needs of the people or encroach on their rights.

Trade unions must safeguard the democratic rights of the workers as masters of the nation. Democratic election of leading cadres at the grass-roots level is one of their major rights as well as an important reform in the cadre system. Active steps should be taken now to carry it out on a trial basis, so that it will be popularized within the next two to three years.

At the same time, the meeting noted, trade unions must strengthen political and ideological work among the workers who should be helped to get rid of the remnant influences of Lin Biao and the gang of four, combat anarchism and extreme individualism and resist evil trends. They should be educated to observe law and discipline, promote and consolidate stability and unity.

Reviewing the work done since liberation, the meeting pointed out that prior to the Cultural Revolution, the trade unions, led by the Communist Party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, had adhered to the Party's line and policies. The charges that the trade unions had practised "syndical-

ism" and "economism" were groundless.

Industrial Production Continues to Increase

Industrial production continued its upswing in October. Total output value registered a 17.5 per cent increase over that of the same month in 1978, and was the biggest monthly increase this year.

The cumulative total output value in the first ten months went up by 7.4 per cent over that of the same period of last year, approaching the 8 per cent increase as envisaged in the state plan for industrial production in 1979. Because production in the first six months fell short of the state plan, efforts have been made in the second half to make up for the deficiency.

There was a general increase in production in October for most branches of the industry. Output of electricity, coal, oil and rolled steel outstripped that of September by a wide margin, the increase for electricity being 1,070 million kwh.

As for cotton yarn, cotton cloth, synthetic detergents, bicycles, sewing machines, wrist-watches, radio sets, machine-made paper and paperboard, the increase in output in the first ten months ranged from 9.6 to 22 per cent, as compared with the same period of last year, and the increase for tractors, walking-tractors and chemical fertilizers was 17.2, 16.4 and 19.9 per cent respectively. The state plan for thirteen products, including motor vehicles, TV sets, mining



A multimetal reforming unit made in China has been put into operation in the Dalian Oil Refinery.

machinery and tractors, has been fulfilled two months ahead of time.

Profits handed over to the state by the industrial enterprises in October was 13.6 per cent more than in October last year. The light and textile industries, which can earn more profits and accumulate more funds, continued its increase in output in October, and the profits they handed over to the state last month made up 23.6 per cent of the total amount of profits from the various industries.

As a result of improving the quality of products, increasing variety and reducing the consumption of fuel and raw materials, many places have made headway in boosting both production and profit. In a few places, however, there was the tendency of solely going after output without considering other requirements. The State Economic Commission has asked departments concerned to overcome this tendency and work consciously for the all-round fulfilment of this year's plan.

Autumn Export Commodities Fair Closes

The autumn export commodities fair, attended by 24,000 businessmen from 97 countries and regions, closed in Guangzhou on November 15.

Business was brisk and transactions topped all previous fairs. The volume of exports of industrial and mining products increased by a wide margin. Compared with last year's autumn fair, the amount of chemical products sold more than doubled, that of metals and mining products increased by more than 50 per cent and that of machinery and equipment rose by 30 per cent. Sales of raw silk, green tea, goatskin, and handicraft products like drawnwork were so brisk that supply fell far short of demand.

Import transactions concluded at this fair included chemical fibres, raw materials for the chemical industry, insecticides, steel products, paper, instruments and medicines.

Peasant Markets

Since 13 markets run by the peasants opened last March just outside the city proper of Beijing, more of them have been set up within the city itself. One of them was set up at Baiwanzhuang in September to the east of the building housing *Beijing Review*.

The peasants bring their farm and side-line products to these markets to sell. Now, there are about 1,500 stalls in the capital every day selling more than 80 kinds of farm produce, such as vegetables, fruit, eggs, chickens, peanuts and tobacco. Vegetables sold here account for about one-tenth of the amount supplied by the state markets. It is estimated that total transactions in the months from March to August were well over two million yuan, which is only 0.133 per cent of the city's total retail sales for the corresponding period.

In China, commodities are mainly supplied by the state-

owned shops and supply and marketing co-ops, handling between them over 95 per cent of the total sales of commodities, with prices fixed by the commercial departments. Prior to the setting up of peasant markets, nearly all consumer goods in the cities were supplied by state shops.

There are two locales for these markets. One is in the countryside, and there are now over 30,000 rural fairs in various parts of the country; the other is in the cities and towns. As members of the people's communes, the peasants mainly engage in collective labour in the production teams, but they also farm small plots for personal needs and engage in side-line occupations in accordance with the stipulations in the Constitution. They may take their surplus farm and other products to the markets to sell so as to buy whatever goods they need.

Prices on these markets are agreed upon between the buyer and seller. The prices of most

products are slightly higher than what state shops charge; some products are sold at double or triple the price in state shops. In general, there are minor price fluctuations and the tendency is that the prices are gradually falling.

These markets are not "free markets" in four respects: (1) Here, the seller has to pay a fee varying from 0.3 to 3 yuan per day according to the amount of products sold. (2) Transactions take place at a location specified by the people's government. (3) The commodities on sale are limited to farm and side-line products. (4) Cheating and speculation and the selling of contaminated food are prohibited.

Practice in the past six months shows that the opening of peasant markets in the cities helps promote interflow between the city and countryside, with the advantage of supplying more non-staple food to the cities. To protect legal transactions, curb illegal activities and punish speculation, there are administrative personnel who see to it that the peasants carry on their business in a normal and legal way. Those who violate the regulations are criticized, and in the case of severe offences, the dealers are fined and their goods confiscated.

Major Change in Settling Educated Youth

A major change is being taken in settling urban educated youth in the countryside. Instead of going to the production teams of "people's communes"



Commune members of minority nationalities buying goods at a rural fair in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

which are scattered in the rural areas, the young people will settle in collectively owned farms specially set up for them.

To date, more than 30,000 such farms have been set up with over one million middle school graduates working on them. The five million city youth who have settled in the communes will be gradually shifted to these collective farms where they can get double the amount of pay than hitherto. This will enable them to maintain the same living standard as in the cities.

The term "educated youth" refers to middle school graduates. During the Cultural Revolution, millions upon millions of them went to the countryside and settled down there. Now, there are about three million middle school graduates every year; apart from those who will continue their studies in the universities or be given jobs in the cities, about one million will go and settle in the countryside.

At present, there are four kinds of collective farms:

— Those run by urban factories and enterprises together with rural people's communes or production brigades by pooling their funds, land, farm tools and machinery;

— Those run individually by government organizations and enterprises in places where land is available;

— Those run by the rural people's communes or production brigades which can afford to do so; and



Shanghai middle school graduates who have settled on a farm in Xinjiang.

— Those run on a small scale by the educated youth themselves in the form of enterprises combining agriculture, industry and commerce.

Investments in these farms come primarily from the state in the form of loans, the rest from the factories and government organizations which sponsor the farms. The state also gives 500 yuan to each middle school graduate who goes to the countryside. The state and state enterprises have so far allocated about 10,000 million yuan for this purpose.

Young people working on the Red Flag Farm on the outskirts of Xiangtan city in Hunan Province get an average wage of 450 yuan a year. They work 8 hours a day, and get full pay on holidays as well as on wedding, maternity and sick leave. After work, they watch TV programmes or see films, play ball games or go to the libraries and evening schools to study.

The 166 collective farms for educated youth in the suburbs

of Benxi in northeast China are now running at a profit and have begun to repay the funds invested by the city enterprises. They have in addition paid three million yuan to the rural people's communes and production brigades in compensation for their land and farm tools.

Both Xiangtan and Benxi have done remarkably well in the work of settling educated youth in the countryside. The collective farms on their outskirts have become bases providing grain, fruit and other non-staple food for the cities; some have gradually become "satellite towns."

Chinese Scholars and Students Abroad

China has sent 2,230 scholars and students to 33 countries during the last 22 months.

Many students have been sent abroad to study since liberation. But the number has been increased by a wide margin since last year. The aim

is to learn the advanced science and technology of other countries so as to raise China's scientific and cultural level and speed up socialist modernization. Among those who have gone abroad, 1,600 are researchers or scholars, 180 are post-graduates and 420 are undergraduates. About 1,800 major in natural science and 400 in social science and languages.

There are at present Chinese students and scholars all over the world: 500 in the United States, 300 in Britain, 200 each in France and the Federal Republic of Germany, and 100 in Japan. There are also Chinese students and scholars in Algeria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

During their short-term study or visits abroad, the Chinese scholars and researchers have extensive academic exchanges with the scientists and scholars of the hosting countries, and some have achieved success in their research work. The post-graduates and undergraduates treasure the opportunity of studying abroad, and they spare no efforts to overcome the language handicap and other difficulties. Most of them have made rapid progress. Chinese undergraduates in France and the Netherlands have, after a period of studying French and Dutch, passed the entrance examinations and are now continuing their studies in the universities.

The exchange of scholars and students between China and

other countries has further promoted the friendship between the Chinese and other peoples. The governments and friendly personnel in scientific, educational and other fields in many countries have given various kinds of help to Chinese scholars and students. Some governments and organizations have granted scholarships to hundreds of Chinese students.

TV Colleges Popular in China

In China, television colleges have become an important means of training workers and staff members who remain at their posts.

Since Comrade Hua Guofeng issued the call last year to "raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation," TV colleges have been conducted in 28 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities. About 600,000 people are attending, more than double the number of college students enrolled this year, and of these 410,000 are regular students who have passed the entrance examinations.

The regular students have been put into 18,000 classes distributed all over the urban and rural areas as well as the mountainous regions and offshore islands. Most of the students are workers and staff members, technicians and middle school teachers. Apart from these, there are cadres, commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. and middle school graduates.

An article published in the October issue of the journal

Renmin Jiaoyu (People's Education) pointed out that the rapid development of TV colleges is "something unknown in China's educational history."

Referring to the importance of developing such colleges, the article quoted some figures from the city of Weifang in Shandong Province. Among the 60,000 workers and staff members in this city, more than 1,000 are technicians, but 3,000 more are needed, and it would take 100 years for the regular schools to train them. Hence the importance of the TV college to this city.

TV colleges in the whole country now have 20,000 full-time or part-time teachers. They are doing their best to raise the quality of teaching. The results of a national examination held last August showed that 80 per cent of the students were up to the mark.

TV colleges will continue to enrol new students in 1980. In the next three to four years, the main task is to do a good job in teaching engineering, physics, mathematics, chemistry and other basic courses. Facilities for conducting TV education will be improved, the TV colleges will be steadily expanded, and more courses will be taught.



Correct Approach to Marxism

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the science of proletarian revolution. Science and blind faith, like fire and water, are two different things incompatible with each other. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, not a "prophet," still less a deity. This article discusses what should be a revolutionary's correct approach to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. — Ed.

THE discussion about practice being the only criterion in attesting to a truth has been going on for more than a year. It is being continued in depth and in a still wider scope. In places and departments where discussion is well conducted, the cadres and masses there have emancipated their mind and broadened their visions. They now begin to agree with what they could not agree in the past and understand things which were beyond their comprehension before the discussion. They have been brought, quite smoothly, to see things in the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee and that of the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

As experience in the discussion in some localities shows, one issue that should not be evaded but should be tackled in the course of discussion is: What after all should be the approach and what really is adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought?

Two Different Approaches

How to deal with Marxism-Leninism has always been a controversial issue in the history of our Party. Comrade Mao Zedong, who persevered in seeking truth from facts and proceeded from reality in everything, combined the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolution and applied and developed Marxism in the light of actual conditions in China. This

was a genuine Marxist-Leninist approach. The opportunists inside the Party, the "Left" dogmatists represented by Wang Ming in particular, on the contrary, mechanically made use of passages from Marxist-Leninist classics in a wholesale way and blindly copied the experiences of foreign countries without making an inquiry into the Chinese reality. They accused comrades who insisted on seeking truth from facts of "breaking away from Marxism" while describing themselves as "one hundred per cent Bolsheviks." History has long ago reached the verdict to show which of the two diametrically opposed attitudes has really adhered to Marxism-Leninism.

This anti-Marxist-Leninist approach to Marxism-Leninism was poignantly repudiated by Comrade Mao Zedong who pointed out: "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But such people prefer to forget this statement which is of the greatest, indeed the utmost, importance." "The way many of our people study it [Marxism] runs directly counter to Marxism."

Comrade Mao Zedong led the whole Party in unfolding the well-known rectification campaign in Yanan (1942) to liquidate thoroughly "Left" opportunism in the ideological line and set free people hoodwinked by dogmatism. In this way he had unified the thinking of the whole Party on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism, which brought unprecedented unity to the Party and thus ensured the victories of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation.

But this fine tradition of our Party, namely, this tradition of seeking truth from facts and linking theory with practice established since the rectification campaign in Yanan, was seriously wrecked by Lin Biao and the

gang of four. A bunch of counter-revolutionary double-dealers, Lin Biao and the gang of four were also the most cunning political swindlers and the most tricky political speculators. While shouting themselves hoarse about holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, they actually opposed it entirely. Hadn't Lin Biao talked about the need for a "short cut" in studying Marxism-Leninism? And the fact is that they just made their claptrap of "holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought" become the short cut to higher positions and wealth, the short cut to seizing power. When they wanted to grab more power and seize the supreme leadership of the Party and state, they invariably paid more lip-service to "holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought."

They wantonly dismembered, adulterated, distorted and tampered with Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system and tore it to pieces so that it was difficult to tell genuine Mao Zedong Thought from the sham one. They gave much publicity to what they called "the theory of genius," "Mao Zedong Thought being the peak of Marxism-Leninism," "Mao Zedong Thought being the absolute authority," and preached that "every word [said by Comrade Mao Zedong] is a truth," that "every sentence [he said] should be followed," that "one must act in accordance not only with what is said and what one can understand but also with what is said but one can't understand," culminating in the slogan "for ever act according to the principles laid down." Lin Biao and the gang of four deified Comrade Mao Zedong and described the Mao Zedong Thought which they had distorted and falsified as the final, eternal truth. In those days when they rode roughshod, idealism and metaphysics ran rampant, modern superstition prevailed and people's minds were fettered.

After the downfall of the gang of four, the Party Central Committee made the call to grasp Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system comprehensively and accurately; it stressed the need to seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything and link theory with practice; it highly appraised the discussion about practice being the only criterion in attesting to truth and gave a great push to the discussion. All this has greatly helped set things right and clarified what is right and what is wrong in ideology, in theory, in line and policies.

But certainly we must not underestimate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four's ultra-Left line. Our country has been under the rule of feudalism for several thousand years and the patriarchal system of the small producers has for a long time been predominant in the country, and this was the social and historical background for the prevalence of modern superstition for some time. Although the gang of four has been smashed for more than three years, there are still a considerable number of comrades whose minds are either ossified or semi-ossified to this day.

Instead of proceeding from reality and instead of making investigations and study from the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to find out a solution, these comrades, in handling problems confronting them, try to find a ready answer from the books. In judging whether a thing is right or wrong, they just ignore the after-effect of practice but try to consult the books as the only authority. They do not have the courage to restore the things which were criticized before even though the criticism has been proved wrong in practice. They dare not boldly negate what was promoted in the past even though such promotion has been proved wrong in practice. They invariably think that there is something wrong about a thing, a policy, a measure, or a certain statement, if it was not said in the books or was not phrased in exactly the same way as in the books, even though it is in line with the actual situation and is welcomed by the masses. This shows that the task of getting rid of blind faith and emancipating the mind is by no means easy.

Eliminating Mysticism

If blind faith is to be eradicated and the mind is to be emancipated, we must eliminate mysticism with which Lin Biao and the gang of four had tarnished Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. What is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought? It is a science, the science of proletarian revolution. Science and blind faith, like fire and water, are two different things incompatible with each other. We want to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought simply because it is correct, because it alone can guide our revolutionary cause to victory.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, not a "prophet," nor a deity. Just as Comrade

Zhou Enlai put it, Comrade Mao Zedong was a great man born on the soil of China, having flesh-and-blood ties with the masses, and shaped by long practice in prolonged revolutionary struggle, not a born sage. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, too, pointed out in his report on the revision of the Party Constitution to the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party: "Love for the leader is essentially an expression of love for the interests of the Party, the class and the people, and not the deification of an individual."

Besides absolutizing and canonizing Mao Zedong Thought, besides referring to it as the product of the brain of a genius and disclaiming that it too must be subjected to test in practice, for many years Lin Biao and the gang of four did their utmost to create an air of mystery about the leader and incited a kind of religious fanaticism, so much so that they were simply trying to bring people back to the age of ignorance. Where can we find an iota of Marxism in this!

Opposing the Metaphysical Viewpoint

If we are to do away with blind faith and emancipate our minds, we must oppose the metaphysical viewpoint in dealing with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Historically, there were quite a number of thinkers who tried to speak of their own doctrines as the final truth. This, in fact, was a vain attempt. In sharp contrast to these people, Marxists openly declare that Marxism has not put a period to truth but continually opens up the road to know the truth through practice. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, being a science, will not and cannot stand still and make no progress. Those who think that all that is said by a revolutionary teacher should be followed, copied and carried out accordingly and take the attitude of thinking nothing, saying and doing nothing not said by him, are in direct contravention to Marxism.

It is common knowledge that neither Marx nor any other writers of Marxist classics, including Comrade Mao Zedong, ever advocated such blind application or such a noncommittal attitude. Comrade Mao was well versed in Marxism-Leninism and was faithful to its spirit and essence, but he was never a stickler for the words of Marxist-Leninist classics or a particular Marxist-Leninist thesis. He was not afraid of replacing the outdated theses with new ones in conformity with the new historical conditions, of replacing conclu-

sions not in line with the conditions in China with those that conformed to the Chinese conditions. By combining the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the democratic revolution in China, he succeeded in finding the road of encircling cities from the countryside; by integrating the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the socialist revolution and construction in China, he produced works like *On the Ten Major Relationships* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

Many things presented by Comrade Mao Zedong were not copied from the books of Marxism-Leninism; they incorporated features peculiar to China and thus enriched the treasure trove of Marxism-Leninism and creatively developed it.

Engels put it well: "We can only know under the conditions of our epoch and *as far as these allow*." With the development in practice and the change of historical conditions, knowledge of them will make further development, and so will theory. This is completely logical.

Our country has now entered a new period of development in which conditions have changed, in which our tasks and conditions (including the world conditions) also have changed. Using the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Party Central Committee has brought forth a new line, new principles and policies in the light of new conditions, while revising those old principles, policies, slogans and statements that no longer suit the conditions of today. This is entirely correct and also inevitable. In doing so, we are precisely upholding the most fundamental principle of Mao Zedong Thought: seeking truth from facts. Only in this way can we integrate Mao Zedong Thought with the nation's efforts to accomplish the four



modernizations and make it possible for Mao Zedong Thought to develop. This is what is meant by defending Mao Zedong Thought in its true sense.

To develop a thought and to defend it—the two are not opposed to each other. We must not approach this issue with a metaphysical viewpoint. If Lenin had failed to develop Marxism on the issue of winning victory for socialist revolution first in one country, he would not have been in a position to defend Marxism. If Comrade Mao Zedong had failed to develop Marxism-Leninism on the question of developing revolution from the countryside to the cities, he would not have been in a position to defend Marxism-Leninism either. Likewise, if we now make no efforts to integrate Mao Zedong Thought with the realization of the four modernizations and thus develop Mao Zedong Thought, its defence would also be out of the question.

Theory of Two Points

If we are to break away from blind faith and emancipate our minds, we must apply the theory of two points (one dividing into two) in our attitude towards a revolutionary leader. From the dialectical point of view, no political party or particular individual is free from shortcomings and making mistakes in its or his activities. That one divides into two is a universal law, applicable without exception to an outstanding revolutionary leader as well. This is why the Communiqué of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has said: "Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist. He always adopted the scientific attitude of 'one divides into two' towards every one, including himself."

In his speech to the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Ye Jianying, too, pointed out: "We must have a correct understanding of the interrelationship between the masses, classes, political parties and leaders; this is of special importance in a socialist society." "Leaders are not gods. They are not infallible and therefore should not be deified."

We want to emphasize that Mao Zedong Thought, viewing it as a whole, is a scientific system, and dismembering or quoting it out of context is not allowed. On the other hand, we must not expect that every proposi-

tion, every instruction from Comrade Mao Zedong is correct, perfect and flawless. Whether or not a particular saying or a particular viewpoint is a truth cannot be judged by who has said it, but by the result of a test in practice.

If we think that once someone has become a Marxist, every word and every proposition of his is unmistakably a truth, then this is blind faith indeed. Limited by conditions, it is possible that a proposition or a policy decision made by a revolutionary leader may turn out to be not so accurate, not so perfect. Apart from the historical limits, if and when a revolutionary leader has divorced himself from reality, from the masses and the collective leadership in a certain period on a certain question, if and when his way of thinking has deviated from dialectical materialism, he too is liable to make mistakes. There are precedents like this in the annals of the international communist movement. There is nothing strange about it.

Comrade Mao Zedong always taught us to uphold truth and rectify mistakes. He also said: "We must believe in science and nothing else, that is to say, we must not have blind faith in anything. What is right is right and what is wrong is wrong, whether it concerns the Chinese or foreigners, whether it concerns the dead or the living. To believe otherwise is blind faith. We must do away with blind faith. We should believe in what is correct and not in what is incorrect, be it ancient or modern. Not only that, we should criticize what is incorrect. This alone is the scientific approach."

In dealing with Comrade Mao Zedong's propositions, we uphold what is correct and revise what is incorrect after they have undergone tests in practice and after we have summed up the experience therefrom in real earnest. This is entirely in conformity with Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings, with the Party's fine tradition and the interests of the people. This is exactly what is meant by upholding the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and is certainly not an act, as some people put it, of "bringing down the banner."

The Banner of Victory

"Our struggle needs Marxism." This is a correct conclusion arrived at from the experience of the Chinese people in their 100-odd years of struggle and from their successes and failures. But the Chinese revolution

can be led to victory only when the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. And Comrade Mao Zedong was the one who had done this work of integration best, in a most outstanding way. The product of this integration is Mao Zedong Thought. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been and will remain in the years ahead the victorious banner of the Chinese revolution. In carrying out socialist modernization, we must uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. And the most basic point is to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Failing to do so, it will be impossible to keep to the first three and our socialist modernization will not succeed.

The study and discussion of the question of the criterion for truth is yet another great Marxist campaign to emancipate our minds launched by our Party and people since the rectification campaign in Yanan. Ideological emancipation has always been the harbinger of great social reforms. To achieve the four modernizations, we will have to make economic reforms and give scope to political democracy, which will be impossible in the absence of ideological emancipation, the prerequisite. We cannot go ahead with modernization if we do not eliminate modern superstition.

The rectification campaign in Yanan enabled the whole Party to shatter the shackles of dogmatism. It emancipated people's minds, unified their way of looking at things and thus laid the ideological foundation for the great victories won in succession in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation in the few years that followed.

The present campaign for ideological emancipation will certainly help our cadres and masses in smashing the mental fetters imposed by Lin Biao and the gang of four. It will also help them get rid of ossified or semi-ossified thinking caused by modern superstition. It will help them set their brains to work, seek truth from facts and thus quicken the pace of modernization and fulfil our glorious and great historic mission.

(An abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" article, October 30. Subheads are ours.)

Gansu Province

Discussions on Criterion of Truth

IN July the Gansu provincial Party committee organized a study class for the heads of the leading groups at provincial, prefectural and county levels. In class, they took up the question of the criterion of truth relating it to their actual work. In this way they further straightened out their ideological line.

Gansu Province, located in northwest China, has so far been relatively backward in agricultural production. Its per-hectare grain yield, average amount of grain output per person, grain rations and cash income of commune members have been lower than the nation's average. This was partly due to frequent natural calamities, particularly drought, but a more important reason was the interference and sabotage committed under the influence of the ultra-Left line. The agents of Lin Biao and the gang of four in Gansu, pushing the ultra-Left line, employed "the method of exercising dictatorship in the management of agriculture." This dampened the enthusiasm of the cadres and peasants and brought agriculture to the verge of collapse. In those years, cadres who adhered to seeking truth from facts and implemented the economic policy for the countryside were charged with "giving the green light to capitalism." For this they were subjected to attacks and persecution.

While studying theory at the class, the cadres re-evaluated their past work according to the test of practice in order to distinguish what was right and what was wrong. For instance, they regarded the notions — "class struggle is becoming increasingly sharp" and "take class struggle as the key link" — as laws. With this in mind, they wrongly criticized and struggled against a large number of cadres. In successive political movements following the land reform, they mistakenly classified many people as landlords and rich peasants, putting even larger numbers on tenterhooks. Cadres dared not take up leadership of production, while peasants could not concentrate on farm work.

Through discussions, they came to understand that the situation of class struggle had changed. In the past, they said, their wrong ideas led them in enlarging the scope of class struggle, now they should liberate themselves from the fetters of these erroneous concepts. They should not go in for large-scale movements any longer but should concentrate their energies on providing effective leadership to develop production.

While discussing the economic policy for the countryside, the cadres recalled that Lin Biao and the gang of four had branded as "capitalist" not only the socialist principle of distribution "to each according to his work," but commodities, money and the law of value existing in socialist society, and had criticized them accordingly. As cadres, they, too, in different ways, had gone along with it. Particularly on the question of distribution, they tended to be equalitarian, making little distinction between those who did more and those who did less. As a result, the peasants' enthusiasm was dampened, the province's rich resources could not be utilized, the masses' initiative could not be brought into play, the collective economy was weakened and the peasants' livelihood could not be improved.

In some places, the peasants had to purchase grain from the state and relied on government relief for their daily life. This had long before aroused the dissatisfaction of the masses. Some people remarked: Before liberation, the Communist Party was determined to liberate the poor; does it now want us to be poor?

During discussions, the cadres unanimously criticized their past ultra-Left mistakes in carrying out the policy for the rural areas and came to understand that this sort of implementation, far from leading the rural economy to socialism, would only wreck it.

One topic evoked a lively discussion. A commune member in Kangxian County, by cutting lacquer trees and keeping bees, earned a net income of 2,000 yuan last year after paying what was due to the production team. Was this matter right or wrong? At the beginning, the cadres had differences, but after discussions, they agreed: legitimate household side-line occupation of the commune members was a supplement to the socialist economy, and this was allowed and encouraged by

Party policy, and therefore should be supported.

Through analysing this typical case, they arrived at a better understanding of the real meaning of socialism: Socialism meant adherence to the system of public ownership, to the principle "to each according to his work" and to the promotion of production. Socialist public ownership did not exclude household side-line occupations, still less was it against the commune members' income from side-line occupations.

In recent years, the province has been hit by frequent natural adversities affecting larger areas than before. By analysing the reasons for this phenomenon, they agreed that it was not only a matter of adverse natural conditions, it was mainly due to long years of violating natural laws, to one-sidedly emphasizing "grain as the key link." Thus grain production was stressed, to the neglect of keeping a rational proportion between agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. This led to the indiscriminate felling of trees, the damage of grasslands and disruption of the ecological balance of nature. It was necessary to respect natural laws, to analyse and study the natural features of the localities, they said, and under no circumstances should they repeat the mistakes of giving arbitrary and impracticable orders. From now on, they were determined to bring about an all-round development of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry in the light of the local conditions.

With better understanding, the people in places hit by serious natural calamities are adopting concrete measures for carrying out the policy laid down for the countryside by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and are working out plans for developing production.



Fundamental Change in China's Class Situation

This is the second and concluding part of an article part one of which appeared in our last issue, pointing out that in China landlords, rich peasants and capitalists no longer exist as classes. The Party's policy in this respect is one of eliminating these classes while remoulding their members. — Ed.

Shift of Focus

THE fundamental change in the class situation in our country is the objective basis for the shift in the focus of our Party's work to socialist modernization.

In the light of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat should swiftly shift the focus of its work to economic construction once it has seized political power and basically accomplished its task of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes. After completing the democratic revolution, our Party began working for the goal of building our country into a modern, powerful socialist state as rapidly as possible.

Back in the early years of the People's Republic, especially after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly mentioned that the whole Party should shift the focus of its work to economic construction. He said in 1957 in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*: "Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production." In 1958, in the article *Continued Revolution*, he explicitly pointed out that the stress of the Party's work should be on the technical revolution.

Towards the end of 1964, in his Report on the Work of the Government to the Third National People's Congress, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in line with the opinion of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, for the first time officially announced to the Chinese people the four modernizations — the magnificent programme of placing our national economy in the front ranks of the world — should be

achieved by the end of the century. At the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, he again brought up this programme.

All this shows that our Party has consistently followed the guideline of rapidly shifting the focus of its work to socialist modernization as a result of the change in the class situation in our country and the development of both the domestic and world situation.

But why was the implementation of this shift delayed for so long? The causes are multifarious and complicated. One major factor is that for a period we made an estimation of the class situation in our country that did not tally with reality, viewing the class struggle as much graver than it actually was. Accordingly, there was one political movement after another.

Lin Biao and the gang of four, in particular, wreaked havoc for a whole decade. Their ultra-Left line was based on the idealist appraisal of the class situation, and its main feature was to extend the scope of class struggle. They treated the enemy as the people and the people as the enemy, confounded right and wrong, branded ordinary incidents as cases of class struggle everywhere, dismissed and arbitrarily repudiated production and construction as a manifestation of the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces," regarded the idea of the four modernizations as the "general programme" for capitalist restoration and attacked it accordingly in a feverish way.

In such circumstances, the shift became impossible. It was only after the overthrow of the gang of four, after their counter-revolutionary force was smashed and their ultra-Left line criticized, that it became possible for us to put an end to country-wide, large-scale political movements and resolutely shift the focus of the work of the whole Party to socialist modernization.

Our proposal to shift the focus of our work, which was made on the basis of a scientific analysis of the fundamental change in the class situation in our country, means that the class struggle no longer is the principal contradiction

that needs to be resolved at the present stage. As Premier Hua Guofeng said in his Report on the Work of the Government: The realization of the four modernizations by the end of the century, the raising of our present low level of productivity to that befitting a modern nation and the consequent transformation of those parts of our present relations of production and superstructure which hamper modernization and the eradication of all old habits detrimental to it — these constitute the principal contradiction in our country to be resolved at the present stage.

The masses and cadres have a strong desire and demand for the four modernizations. Some people, however, do not understand the series of new principles and measures that have accompanied the shift in the focus of work, and even think that these principles and measures have a "Rightist" leaning. Such people lack an understanding of the fundamental change in the class situation in our country and have failed to perceive the change of the principal contradiction in society. For many years, Lin Biao and the gang of four talked a great deal about "all for class struggle," leaving people with a false impression that throughout the period of socialism, class struggle is the core, while economic construction takes only a subordinate, secondary place; and that waging class struggle is the sole task of the Communists and if there were a time when class struggle was no longer the principal contradiction, it would signify that we were writing off the socialist revolution and had forgotten the mission of the Communists. This viewpoint is incorrect.

At all times class struggle is a means; the basic goal of revolution is to liberate and develop the social productive forces. Socialist revolution is not confined to class struggle alone, for it also includes struggle for production and scientific experiment. After the October Revolution, Lenin recommended a general plan for the electrification of the whole country to the entire body of deputies to the 8th All-Russia Congress of the Soviets as the "second Party programme." He also pointed out that the Party programme should serve as the programme for our economic construction or else it would cease to be a Party programme. Isn't it a bit too narrow-minded to view class struggle as the only historical mission of the working class?

A fundamental principle of Marxism is: politics is the concentrated expression of economics and, in the last analysis, serves the economic base.

How is the proletariat to ultimately triumph over the bourgeoisie and how is socialism to ultimately triumph over capitalism? Obviously, this cannot be achieved by just waging class struggle without energetically developing the social productive forces, raising labour productivity, working successfully for the four modernizations and expanding the economic base of socialism. Accordingly, shifting the focus of the Party's work to economic construction, on the basis that a fundamental change in the class situation has occurred, is by no means "writing off the revolution" but, on the contrary, is an in-depth development of the socialist revolution.

Characteristics of Present Class Struggle

Some people have asked: Since the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes have ceased to exist in our country as classes, doesn't it follow that class struggle has disappeared?

Premier Hua Guofeng clearly explained in his Report on the Work of the Government that there are two aspects to this question. On the one hand, a fundamental change has taken place in the class situation within our country and the exploiting classes as such have been eliminated. On the other hand, "there are still counter-revolutionaries and enemy agents, criminals and political degenerates who seriously disrupt socialist public order, and new exploiters such as grafters, embezzlers and speculators. Remnants of the gang of four and of the old exploiting classes including the few unreformed landlords and rich peasants will persist in their reactionary stands and carry on anti-socialist activities in the political and economic spheres. What is more, class struggle at home is closely connected with class struggle abroad. For these reasons there will still be class enemies of all kinds in China for a long time to come, and we must exercise proletarian dictatorship over them. Although they are few in number, we must under no circumstance relax our vigilance or lower our guard. Within the ranks of the people, the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideologies will continue for a long time. In face of these influences we must engage in long-term struggle and education."

In other words, while realizing the four modernizations and making great efforts to develop the social productive forces and raise labour productivity, we must also carry on class struggle in the economic, political and ideological spheres.

However, admitting that class struggle has not yet come to an end does not signify that in the future there still will be large-scale, turbulent class struggles launched by the masses, because class struggle has ceased to be the principal contradiction in our society. The class struggle at the present stage has a special form and new special features. The class struggle in the past mainly consisted of a life-and-death class contention between the proletariat and all the exploiting classes. Today, the hostile classes have ceased to exist. Under the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, the class enemy can no longer grow into a fully developed reactionary class and openly confront the proletariat. Therefore, class struggle in the days to come will no longer be a struggle between classes as a whole, as it was historically. This is why it is no longer necessary for us to adopt the form of a country-wide mass class struggle in our struggle against them.

Class struggle in the past usually manifested itself directly in the struggle between those wanting to seize political power and those wanting to hold on to their political power, between those trying to take over and those fighting against it. In the future, class struggle will mainly centre around socialist modernization and be made to serve socialist modernization; its main manifestation will be the struggle between those defending the four modernizations and those trying to undermine the realization of these modernizations. At the same time, we must also realize that our construction for the four modernizations is taking place in the international presence of imperialism and hegemonism. We will continue to encounter many serious, complex conflicts and struggles, including enemy invasions, small-scale wars and even a world war. When these occur, the remnants of the reactionary classes will take the opportunity to engage in sabotage and cause trouble. Therefore, we must not relax our political vigilance in the course of the four modernizations.

Some people ask: Since the hostile classes no longer exist, why retain the dictatorship of the proletariat? According to Marxist theories, the suppression of the hostile classes' resistance is not the sole function of this dictatorship. It also has such important tasks as organizing



Party branch members of a production brigade in Tongxian County, Beijing, explaining the Party's policy towards children of landlords and rich peasants.

socialist economic construction and safeguarding socialist democracy. In an international environment such as we find today, when class struggle continues to exist, can the people's democracy and interests be safeguarded without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Without this dictatorship, is it possible to work for the four modernizations in an atmosphere of unity and stability?

Since class struggle still exists in our country at the present stage, we must uphold the proletarian dictatorship. But in the days to come we will be confronted by an enormous quantity of contradictions among the people themselves. We must give a proper place to class struggle, make a strict distinction between the two types of contradictions, which are different in nature, and handle them properly. In dealing with contradictions among the people, we must insist on using the democratic method of persuasion and solve them according to the unity-criticism-unity formula. Issues which do have a class struggle nature should be handled strictly within the framework of the socialist legal system.

The question of correctly handling the class struggle at the present stage boils down to opposing two different kinds of tendencies—the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the expansion of the scope of class struggle. Only in this way can we accurately and effectively strike blows at the enemy and protect the people, and only in this way can we unite with all forces that can be united to work with one mind for the four modernizations.

(An abridged translation of an article by Commentator of "Jiefang Ribao" in Shanghai)

On Hanoi's White Book

Following is the first of a series of articles by "Renmin Ribao" and Xinhua commentators on the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's White Book on Viet Nam-China Relations. The article was published in "Renmin Ribao" on November 15. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE 30-year history of Sino-Vietnamese relations, as the world knows, is in the main one of friendship and co-operation. The Vietnamese authorities' overt hostility towards China and the deterioration of relations between the two countries happened against the wishes of the Chinese Government and people and in the last two years only. Though the relations have worsened as they did, still, we have refrained from abuse and have no desire to dwell too long on the past. However, Hanoi's anti-China propaganda has been increasing and escalating. On October 4, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam issued a white book entitled "Truth About Viet Nam-China Relations Over the Last 30 Years," slandering China in an all-round way by falsifying history. We have been forced to take up the challenge, tell the truth and straighten out the historical facts.

History cannot be fabricated or tampered with. It is a record of objective facts. The history of Sino-Vietnamese friendship and co-operation cannot be changed into one of enmity because the relations between China and Viet Nam have now worsened. Yet the Vietnamese authorities have taken such an historical idealist position. The Chinese people have always held that it was their internationalist obligation to support the Vietnamese people and that support was mutual. We will never regret our past support for the Vietnamese people because of Hanoi's current anti-China campaign. The support was determined by the historical conditions prevailing then.

Confession of Betrayal

What is in the white book? In short, it is both a confession of the Vietnamese authorities' complete betrayal of Sino-Vietnamese

friendship and a scandal rarely seen in the annals of international relations.

In this 40,000-word white book, the Vietnamese authorities did their utmost to distort, tamper with and fabricate history in an effort to convert the history between the two countries in the 30 years which was interwoven mainly with friendship and co-operation into one in which China tried to take control of Viet Nam. The white book cursed China from the time of its birth up to this day and attacked Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and the present Chinese Party and government leaders by name. They tried to convince people that the Chinese leaders have been trying since 1949 to annex Viet Nam and opposing it in collaboration at first with France and then with the United States. They concluded that in the periods of Vietnamese resistance against France and the United States and since the reunification of their country, "three times China betrayed Viet Nam, each time more cruelly than in the previous period."

In this way, President Ho Chi Minh's well-known statement that the Sino-Vietnamese relationship is one of "deep kindness, great brotherhood and profound friendship" and one between "both comrades and brothers," has been totally trampled underfoot by the Vietnamese authorities. The solemn statements in praise of Sino-Vietnamese friendship and co-operation which have been repeated by themselves countless times in the past have all been thrown overboard. People might still remember that Le Duan more than once stated: "Without China's support, the Vietnamese revolution could not have developed," "without help from the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao our successes would have been impossible." On November 20, 1977, he still declared in Beijing that "the Vietnamese Communists and people are proud of having such close comrades-in-arms as the Chinese Communist Party and the people, who, as the late Premier Zhou Enlai put it, 'have always regarded doing their utmost to support the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and socialist construction as their proletarian

rian internationalist duty.'” And now Hanoi charges in the white book that China has never been Viet Nam’s comrade-in-arms and brother, but a “vile,” “mean,” “frantic,” “wicked” “devil.”

The Vietnamese authorities have so tampered with history that they described China’s aid to Viet Nam to win the fight against French and U.S. aggression as China’s betrayal of Viet Nam. Then, where do they place President Ho and the then Vietnamese Party Central Committee, who were policy-makers over various questions in the Sino-Vietnamese relations? Does it not mean that President Ho and others were accomplices and henchmen in the Chinese “betrayal”?

In the white book Le Duan and his followers claimed that they had all along resisted the non-existent “Chinese control.” This proves precisely that when President Ho was adhering to the principle of friendship and co-operation with China, Le Duan and his like within the Vietnamese Party had already opposed President Ho’s principle by adopting the dual tactics of complying with it in public but opposing it in private. Since 1978, they have openly abandoned this principle and launched a rabid anti-China campaign. This is but a historical development from covert sabotage of Sino-Vietnamese relations to open frantic opposition against China. This is a tragedy for the Vietnamese Party founded by President Ho and for the Vietnamese people who dearly treasure Viet Nam-China friendship.

The Vietnamese authorities’ degeneration was shocking in present international relations. They have become internationally notorious for their various scandals: eating their words, playing tricks, spreading rumours and telling lies, expelling refugees and making money out of it. The wilful tampering with historical facts known to the world by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry in its white book is nothing but a frightful scandal in contemporary international relations. This cannot but raise the vigilance of those who are dealing with it.

Falsification of Facts

The white book has its own interpretation of the “stick and carrot.” It describes China’s substantial aid to Viet Nam as a “carrot” to please and woo Viet Nam and her failure to completely satisfy Viet Nam’s excessive greed

as a “stick” to coerce Viet Nam. In a word, once disagreement was voiced with the Vietnamese policy of aggression and expansion, any aid, be it colossal or not, was seen by Hanoi as a sin. This logic of Hanoi is an eye-opener for all the countries that are giving aid to Viet Nam or prepared to do so.

The way the white book tampers with and falsifies historical records is rare in international relations. Any country which has to deal with the leaders of Hanoi should be on its guard against them, because their statement today can be distorted by them tomorrow in the form of a white book. They allege that China supported Lon Nol and “discarded Mr. Sihanouk” when Lon Nol staged a coup in 1970, distorting the well-known fact that China had extended firm support to Samdech Sihanouk. The Chinese support was confirmed by Samdech Sihanouk in his memoirs where he said, “Premier Zhou Enlai had convoked the entire diplomatic corps, which was lined up for my arrival. ‘You remain the Head of State,’ he said. ‘The only one. We will never recognize another.’” In fact, the awkwardness in the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry’s white book is self-evident. No wonder that foreign correspondents in Hanoi, when commenting on the white book, said that the Vietnamese authorities even do not know how to make rumours.

Why Was the White Book Issued?

Why did the Vietnamese authorities issue this white book at this time? The answer is: the need of policies pursued by them both at home and abroad. At home, they try to deceive the Vietnamese people, blur their memory of the Sino-Vietnamese friendship, and mollify their dissatisfaction with the actual life and the policy pursued by Hanoi towards China. In the days of the war for national liberation, what many Vietnamese soldiers, cadres and civilians ate, wore and used was provided by China and the weapons in their hands were made in China. Today, China-supplied vehicles are still seen running in Viet Nam, the Chinese-aided projects are still to be found in various places north of the 17th parallel, the remains of many Chinese martyrs are still buried there, and the friendship between the two countries can still be sensed in various aspects of Vietnamese life. All these are great obstacles to the anti-China policy followed by the Vietnamese authorities which try to defend their anti-China policy by claiming that China has never

been a friend of Viet Nam but an "enemy from generation to generation."

Internationally, they try to escape from the difficult predicament resulting from their aggression in Kampuchea, occupation of Laos and expansion into the Southeast Asian nations and to divert the attention of the international community. Now, the 200,000 Vietnamese troops in the dry-season offensive in Kampuchea are posing a threat to the security of Thailand's border areas. The Vietnamese authorities have been severely condemned by world opinion. In such circumstances, the author of the white book racked his brains to sow dissension between China and other nations — particularly the Southeast Asian nations — alleging that China wants to annex Southeast Asia, and "Southeast Asia has been a traditional target for Chinese expansion throughout the centuries." The author believes that his book will make the Southeast Asian nations and the whole world deaf to the shootings and bombardments in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas as well as the groans of the hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean people trampled underfoot by the Vietnamese occupation troops. This is just like someone who plugs up his ears while stealing a bell.

U.N. General Assembly

Foreign Forces Called on to Withdraw Immediately From Kampuchea

ON November 14, a resolution calling for "the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea" was adopted by a vote of 91 in favour, 21 against and 29 abstentions at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly.

The resolution jointly initiated by the five ASEAN countries and 25 other countries points out that the armed conflict in Kampuchea has escalated and is gravely threatening the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. It deeply regrets the armed intervention by outside forces in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and is extremely concerned that the present conflict may spill over to neighbouring countries and in-

The white book further shows that Viet Nam's attempt to achieve hegemony in South-east Asia and its anti-China policy are two aspects of one and the same thing. The Vietnamese authorities want to lord it over Indochina and the Southeast Asian region but China disagrees. So Viet Nam has become hostile to China and consequently the conflicts between the two countries have occurred. Since the Vietnamese regional hegemonists who failed to get their needed foreign aid from China have turned to the Soviet Union for help, they have not hesitated to follow Moscow more closely in hostility to China, acting as the "Cuba of Asia" and serving the southward thrust policy of Soviet hegemonism. The Vietnamese authorities' wilful distortion of the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations and their ridiculous escalation of anti-China propaganda prove that they have met with great obstacles both at home and abroad in their path to seeking regional hegemony. The white book is very good material for teaching people in a negative way to see the true features of the Vietnamese regional hegemonists and their degeneration in international relations. It also serves as a lesson to all who may make contact with the Vietnamese authorities.

crease the danger of further involvement by outside powers.

Two Opposing Draft Resolutions

The resolution put forward by ASEAN and other countries had been stubbornly opposed by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. At first, they opposed the inclusion of the Kampuchean question on the agenda, and then exerted pressure on the President of the General Assembly to postpone discussions after their intentions failed. Viet Nam also brought up a so-called draft resolution on the "Kampuchean question" to counter the ASEAN proposal.

The joint proposal of the five ASEAN states and other countries calls on all foreign

troops in Kampuchea to withdraw immediately, but Viet Nam's proposed resolution evades this by stating "all states refrain from any activity which could be detrimental to the exercise of the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination" and claiming that Viet Nam was "invited" into Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese authorities' large-scale armed attacks on Kampuchea, begun in late December last year, are still fresh in people's minds. It was not until the second day of their seizure of Phnom Penh that they rigged up the so-called "people's revolutionary council" of Kampuchea, which is completely under their thumb. And it was not until February this year that they concluded with the Heng Samrin puppet clique a so-called "treaty between Viet Nam and Kampuchea" in which the puppet asked for "assistance" from Viet Nam.

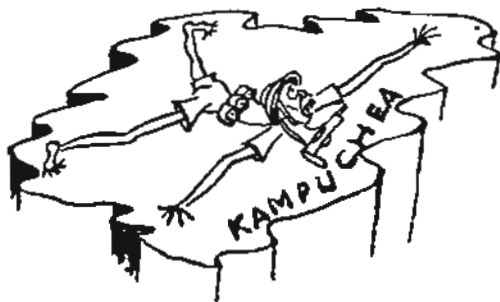
Facts show that Viet Nam's draft resolution is based on the strange logic that Hanoi's aggression against Kampuchea, its occupation of Kampuchean territory and its setting up of the puppet regime in Kampuchea are "the right to self-determination" and the "internal affairs" of Kampuchea which allow no "intervention." According to the resolution, the ASEAN and other countries would not be allowed to say anything against the current intensified Vietnamese military aggression in Kampuchea which endangers the security of Thailand. If they voice their opposition, it would constitute an "action detrimental to the exercise of the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination."

Predominant Opinion

Discussing the question of the Kampuchean situation at the U.N. General Assembly, most of the speakers condemned Hanoi for carrying out armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, creating famine there and forcing large numbers of Kampuchean people to flee their homeland. They opposed Viet Nam's draft and demanded an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

The representative of Australia said: "The Heng Samrin regime is almost entirely dependent on the presence and support of the Vietnamese army."

The Nepalese representative declared: "The cause of the present situation of instability is the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam in December last year." New Zealand's representative pointed out: Viet Nam's invasion "could



Posture of Vietnamese aggressor.

by Hua Junwu

spread beyond the borders of Kampuchea to threaten peace and security in the Southeast Asian region." "Relief activity for the Kampuchean people can only heal the aftermath caused by the war and social chaos but cannot eliminate its root cause," he added. The Canadian representative repudiated the pretext of border conflicts used by Viet Nam to cover up its aggression against Kampuchea. The Pakistani representative said that the essence of the political problem in Kampuchea arises from foreign military intervention in the affairs of that country. The representative of Yugoslavia pointed out: "No foreign country has the right to change existing governments and set up or impose new ones, nor has it the right to determine the fate of other countries in any way."

Speaking at the meeting, representatives from Britain, Egypt, Bangladesh, Zaire, Papua-New Guinea, West Germany, Sweden and other countries demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea's territory so that the Kampuchean people will be able to exercise their legal self-determination without any outside interference.

Speaking on behalf of the nine member states of the European Community, the representative of Ireland said that a political solution, both to ensure the integrity and independence of Kampuchea itself and serve the interests of peace and stability in the (Southeast Asia) region as a whole, must be pursued without delay.

The draft resolution on the question of Kampuchea tabled by the representative of

India was couched in fine language but in effect was designed to legalize Viet Nam's aggression and give recognition to the puppet regime. Later, the Indian representative withdrew the resolution on his own initiative.

After the draft resolution tabled by the ASEAN and other countries was adopted at the U.N. General Assembly, the Senegalese representative said that the adoption made it unnecessary to vote on the Viet Nam draft resolution, but the representatives of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam refused to give up their attempt. So the Senegalese motion was put to vote and adopted by the majority, which rejected Viet Nam's draft.

Speech by Chen Chu

Chinese permanent representative to the United Nations Chen Chu said that the vote fully demonstrated that the international community upholds justice resolutely in opposing Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea.

On November 12, at the start of the debate on the situation in Kampuchea, Chen Chu in his speech called on the General Assembly to adopt measures to halt Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea without delay and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Vietnamese aggressor forces so as to enable the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny. He said that this is the crucial and most pressing task in seeking a settlement of the Kampuchean question.



"Guarantee."

by Liu Yongzuo

Chen Chu pointed out that the massive war of aggression against Kampuchea by Viet Nam is a colonial war in which the strong bullies the weak with the aim of subjugating an independent small nation. This naked aggression, he said, tramples underfoot the United Nations Charter and all norms of international relations and it constitutes a serious threat to the peace and security of the Southeast Asian and Asian-Pacific regions and the world as a whole and is also a challenge to the just cause of mankind. He said that Viet Nam had launched its armed aggression against Kampuchea simply because Democratic Kampuchea had refused to become Viet Nam's slave and vassal or to join the "Indochina federation" plotted by Viet Nam for the purpose of controlling Indochina and the whole of Southeast Asia.

He noted that Viet Nam's aggression is the result of collusion between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and an important component of Moscow's global strategy for world hegemony. While Viet Nam must rely on the backing of the superpower, the Soviet Union, to realize its ambitious design of dominating Indochina and Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union needs the Vietnamese authorities as its stooge in its plot to control Southeast Asia, push its policy of driving south, link up its strategic deployments in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean and then dominate the whole Asian-Pacific region.

At present, the Vietnamese authorities are taking advantage of the dry season to step up their war of aggression against Kampuchea and create greater famine in pursuance of their genocidal policy. Chen Chu urged the General Assembly to condemn Viet Nam in the strongest terms for these acts. If Viet Nam's armed aggression is not stopped in time, there is the danger that the war will spread to the whole of Southeast Asia, he said.

Referring to the draft resolution proposed by the ASEAN and other countries, Chen Chu declared that the resolution's basic direction was correct, although it did not directly condemn the aggressive acts of the Vietnamese authorities or include fully effective measures to put an end to Vietnamese aggression. The resolution expressed deep regret over the armed aggression in Kampuchea by outside forces, explicitly demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country, and called for strict respect for Kampuchean sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. The Chinese Delegation, he said, would therefore vote for it.

International Conference of Solidarity With Kampuchea

THE International Conference of Solidarity With the Kampuchean People's Struggle for National Independence and Against Vietnamese Aggression was held in Stockholm on November 17 and 18.

The conference was presided over by Mrs. Marita Wikander, Chairman of the Swedish-Kampuchean Friendship Association and member of the organizing committee for the conference. Some 250 delegates and observers from 35 countries participated in the conference. Among them were representatives of mass organizations, well-known individuals and experts from Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America and North America on Southeast Asian problems.

Head of the Democratic Kampuchean Delegation Mrs. Ieng Thirith was present and made a speech which was warmly received by all the participants.

Mr. Jan Myrdal, well-known Swedish writer and member of the conference organizing committee, said that Kampuchea was the victim of Vietnamese aggression. The Vietnamese government by its actions had posed a grave threat to the world community. If the world accepted the invasion and occupation of a small country by a larger and militarily stronger country, then no country would be safe.

"Behind the Vietnamese aggression stands the Soviet Union," he said.

"The cause of Kampuchean sovereignty and independence is the common cause of all nations who want to safeguard their own sovereignty and independence and the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Vietnamese aggressor forces is the common demand of all people who want to live in peace. Aid to the Kampuchean people must not go to the aggressor and his troops and must not be

used as blackmail by the Soviet and Vietnamese governments," the Swedish public figure declared.

On November 18, the conference adopted a general resolution which strongly condemns Viet Nam's brutal occupation of Kampuchea and calls for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese and other foreign troops in Kampuchea and removal of all Vietnamese settlers introduced into Kampuchea since the invasion.

The general resolution says, the conference "warmly acclaims the decision of the United Nations General Assembly of September 21, 1979 to maintain the seat of Democratic Kampuchea and the resolution of November 14, 1979 calling for the removal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea."

It "demands that the Kampuchean people be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, free from all outside interference, subversion or coercion, recognizing that only in a genuinely independent Kampuchea, following a total Vietnamese withdrawal, can the Kampuchean people be truly free to determine their own social and political system and institutions."

It appeals to all who believe in peace, independence and justice to support the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against the Vietnamese aggression and invasion, and not rest until the last Vietnamese soldier is removed from Kampuchea and the independence of the Kampuchean people and nation is once again secure.

The conference also adopted a resolution on organizing humanitarian aid for the Kampuchean people and a resolution on continuing the work of the international conference on Kampuchea.

Tense Iran-U.S. Relations

A CRISIS in Iran-U.S. relations surfaced on November 4 when students in Teheran occupied the U.S. Embassy and seized over 60 American hostages to press their demand for the extradition of the former Shah, Pahlavi, who is undergoing cancer treatment in New York, to face trial in Iran.

The ex-Shah flew to New York for medical treatment from Mexico on October 22. The Iranian Foreign Ministry sent a note to the U.S. State Department on October 30 officially requesting that the ex-Shah and his wife, Farah, be handed over. In a separate memorandum on the same day, the Iranian Government asked the U.S. Government to return all properties of the ex-Shah and his family to Iran.

On November 5, the Iranian government radio broadcasted a speech by Khomeini which endorsed the students' action.

On November 7, the U.S. Government sent two special envoys, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Senate Committee senior staff official William Miller, to Iran with a message from President Carter to try to settle the matter. However, Khomeini announced that he and other members of the Revolutionary Council of Iran refused to receive the two envoys. Clark and Miller had to cool their heels in Turkey before being recalled. This was followed by President Carter postponing his scheduled official visit to Canada so as to be on hand to directly deal with the situation.

The U.S. State Department on November 7 issued a statement calling on all U.S. companies to withdraw their personnel in Iran as the U.S. Government could no longer provide them with consular protection. On November 9, President Carter ordered a stoppage of all further shipments of spare parts for military equipment to Iran as long as U.S. embassy personnel were still being held. On November 12, the U.S. President ordered an end to Iranian oil purchases.

The Revolutionary Council of Iran announced a ban against exporting oil to the United States as of November 13. Iran, furthermore, announced that U.S. films would be prohibited in all parts of the country, and that no U.S. aircraft or ships would be allowed to

enter Iran's territorial air or waters. On November 14, Iran announced that it was withdrawing its 12,000 million dollars from U.S. banks and transferring the funds to banks in those European countries which did not join the U.S. oil boycott. But on the same day President Carter ordered the freezing of all Iranian assets in the United States, including bank deposits.

For several days running Iranian students in some U.S. cities have demonstrated in support of Khomeini, demanding that the U.S. Government hand over the ex-Shah. Some Americans also held demonstrations to protest Iran's holding of U.S. embassy personnel as hostages. President Carter ordered the U.S. Justice Department to begin deportation proceedings against Iranian students illegally residing in the United States.

Meanwhile, many countries in the world such as Turkey, Pakistan and Morocco, as well as the European Economic Community and the Palestine Liberation Organization, have endeavoured to mediate the conflict and the Ambassadors of France, Sweden, Syria and Algeria in Iran have gone to the occupied U.S. Embassy to see the hostages. However, no results have been obtained.

Throughout the crisis, the Soviet propaganda machine has continuously churned out material to exacerbate Iran-U.S. relations. A spokesman for the U.S. State Department has time and again expressed dissatisfaction with such Soviet propaganda and has asked the Soviet Union not to pour oil on the fire.

As people around the world, on the whole, hope for an early settlement of this crisis, Iranian Acting Foreign Minister Abol Hassan Bani-Sadr on November 13 sent an open letter to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim asking him to personally take a hand in resolving the problem.

Two groups of women and black American hostages, totalling 13 people, have been released on November 18 and 19. The Iranian students holding the American hostages have declared that if the United States do not hand over the ex-Shah, they will put the remaining hostages on trial.

RHODESIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

Agreement on Transitional Arrangements

The tripartite constitutional conference on Rhodesia which began on September 10 in London reached an agreement on transitional arrangements for pre-independence in Zimbabwe on November 15.

The conference was convened by the British Government upon a proposal of the Lusaka Commonwealth Summit held last August and was attended by representatives of Britain, the Patriotic Front and the Muzorewa regime in Salisbury.

After the Patriotic Front conditionally accepted Britain's draft constitution on October 8, the three sides began the second stage of talks to discuss arrangements for the transition period.

Under the agreement based on the British formula there will be a transition period of two months until the granting of formal independence. The transition period will start from the date when a ceasefire becomes effective. During this period, the present Muzorewa administration will cease its functions while a British governor will take charge on a care-taker basis and elections to form a government will be held under the supervision of British government authorities and in the presence of Commonwealth observers.

At the plenary session on November 15, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference, said that the Patriotic Front forces would have equal status with the Salisbury forces under the authority of the governor. This

is a major concession made by Britain to pave the way for the Patriotic Front delegation to finally agree to the British proposals.

The transition period, a Patriotic Front leader said in a TV interview on the same day, would be longer than two months. Reuters reported that Britain had agreed to extend it from eight to eleven weeks.

With the end of the second stage of the conference, talks on a ceasefire began on November 16.

CHAD

Transitional Government

The Provisional National Unity Government of Chad was established on November 11 with Goukouni Oueddei as President and Wadal Kamougue Abdelkader as Vice-President.

At the inaugural ceremony the President said that the formation of the government constituted an important step towards national reconciliation. He appealed to the whole Chadian people to unite to build a new Chad.

The country has experienced both internal conflict and external interference for a decade. It was plunged into an even worse state of division following armed clashes in Ndjamenia in February and the dissolution of the presidency and government headed by President Felix Malloum and Prime Minister Hissene Habre in March. The national economy was paralysed, the living standards dropped and the social order deteriorated. Vestiges of civil war could be seen everywhere, and the people yearned for peace and stability.

In fact, the popular pressure for peace and national unity expedited the efforts made by various factional leaders for national reconciliation. With the mediation of several African countries, the 11 factions signed an accord at the Lagos Conference in August.

The Lagos accord provided the formation of a Transitional Government of National Union in Chad; the demilitarization of Ndjamenia, the capital; the stationing of a neutral African force in the country; and the disbanding of the various armies involved in the conflict before being brought under a united command.

The Chadian people now place their hope in the transitional government. It is impossible, however, to solve all the existing problems overnight. Part of the tasks outlined in the Lagos accord still remain to be accomplished. Considerable time is required to form a united armed force, establish confidence between various factions and rehabilitate the paralysed economy.

BOLIVIA

Provisional President

The Bolivian Congress unanimously elected its Speaker, Lidia Gueiler, President of the country for a one-year term, ending the turmoil created by Colonel Alberto Natusch's coup on November 1.

Mrs. Gueiler, 51, is the first woman president of Bolivia. She has been a congresswoman for more than two decades.

After assuming power, Natusch met strong opposition from many political parties, trade unions, the Catholic

church and part of the military. The Bolivian Workers' Centre organized a week-long strike to press for his resignation, and the students held demonstrations. The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the Left-Wing Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the Christian Democratic Party and the Socialist Party all agreed to oust Natusch. Meanwhile, former President Walter Guevara went underground after being toppled by the coup.

To solve the political crisis, representatives of the Congress and the Workers' Centre agreed that Natusch must give up the presidency and that the Congress' right to choose a new president must be respected. The military, however, proposed the formation of a new military-civilian junta represented by the Congress, the Workers' Centre and the military, and insisted on Natusch's maintaining the presidency. The Workers' Centre on November 15 reiterated its rejection of a triumvirate and reaffirmed that only the Congress could appoint a new president. That same day Congressman Marco Domic, who participated in the negotiations, reported that representatives of the military had finally agreed to "any solution" that did not include Natusch or Guevara. So Mrs. Gueiler was elected President.

MIDDLE EAST

Israeli Expulsion Order Condemned

The Israeli authorities arrested the Mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shakaa, on November 11 and decided to expel him on the grounds that he had made remarks sympathizing with a Palestinian guerrilla attack. This action has aroused condemnations and protests from



Protest against the firing of the Mayor of Nablus.

the Arab countries, the Command of Palestine Revolution and the inhabitants in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

Mayor Shakaa reportedly described a Palestinian guerrilla raid on Tel-Aviv-Haifa road in March, 1968 as "a logical consequence of the Israeli occupation." He also declared that "the operation was justified and I am in solidarity with the men who carried it out."

An Egyptian Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a statement on November 12 denouncing the Israeli government decision as incompatible with Israel's pledges at Camp David and contrary to basic human rights.

The Command of Palestine Revolution on November 13 appealed to all mayors on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip to tender their collective resignations in protest against the expulsion of Bassam Shakaa. In a memorandum to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat said that Israel had carried out intima-

tion and repressions in the occupied areas and that in recent years Israel had expelled over 1,560 famous Palestinians.

Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi on November 14 strongly condemned the arbitrary practice of the Zionist regime.

In his statement, he declared, "The rising of the Palestinian people again manifests their firm resolution to continue their resistance against the Zionist colonialist regime and their opposition to all proceedings to set up an internal pseudo-autonomous regime."

More than half the Arab mayors on the West Bank protested by submitting their letters of resignation. Members of the City Council of Nablus, the biggest town on the West Bank, resigned on November 11. Meanwhile, 70,000 residents of the city have held a general strike since November 12. Students demonstrated, shops and schools closed.

CORRECTION: In the table on page 18 of our last issue (No. 46), the figure for Japan in 1976 should read "4,193."

● **China's Smallest Minority Nationality**

Liberation means something very special to the Hezhe people, the country's smallest nationality.

Before the People's Republic was founded, the Hezhe people who live in Heilongjiang Province, northeast China, had no written language. They caught fish with fishing-forks and made their homes underground. But now they have tractors, motorized fishing boats, brick houses, university teachers, doctors and technicians. Many own bicycles, radios and TV sets.

Before liberation this nationality with a population of 300 was on the verge of extinction. Now they number more than 800. China's Constitution provides that "all the nationalities are equal." On the basis of the nation's population, each N.P.C. deputy should represent at least 200,000 people. The Hezhe people have always had a representative even though their population is far below this number.



Two Hezhe girls.

After the democratic reforms and the socialist transformation in the early post-liberation years, they stopped depending exclusively on fishing. They engaged in farming, hunting and fish raising. Now the Hezhe people are organized into three production brigades and have 15 tractors, two small hydropower stations as well as agricultural machines. One of the production brigades has organized special hunting teams and set up a sable farm which supplies the state with 200 fine sable furs each year.

In the past the Hezhe people could not get an education. Now all Hezhe children can go to school, and there are 15 university graduates. In addition junior middle school education has already been made universal.

● **Girl Wins Annulment of Forced Marriage**

To safeguard their rights, sometimes Chinese citizens have to fight against people in powerful positions who violate state laws and Party discipline. It is easier to win success these days because of support from the courts and public opinion.

The case of Jiao Shuzhi, 21, is an example. She filed a lawsuit against the manager of her factory for forcing her to marry his son, and finally won an annulment.

Jiao, a worker at the 13th Metallurgical Construction Company in Shanxi Province, was introduced by Sun Yanling, manager of her factory, to his son, then an armyman. They met once when he was on leave and corresponded. When he was

demobbed, he came and asked her to marry him immediately. She replied that she was only 21 and they didn't know each other very well.

To her amazement he produced a marriage certificate proving they were already legally married. She found out that the manager had certified that she had applied for a marriage certificate and he had forged her seal on the document. Infuriated, she disputed the validity of the marriage. However, at first the court only agreed to grant her a divorce. She persisted by filing a suit with the higher court and won an annulment.

She wrote a letter to *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily), describing how the manager misused his authority to bully her. The paper's investigation verified her version of the facts. The Party committee of the company replied that they agreed with the court decision but since the manager had made a self-criticism, it would not take further action.

The paper then ran a short commentary on October 8 pointing out that as a Communist Party member the manager had violated state laws and Party discipline by forging letters and a seal to illegally obtain a marriage certificate for his son. "Self-criticism is not enough," it asserted. "The Party committee of the company should take disciplinary action against this manager."

● **Guilin Improves Tourist Facilities**

Longsheng Huaping forest, the popular scenic spot, has recently been made a part of the Guilin tourist circuit.

Longsheng Huaping is a tract of 14,000 hectares of virgin forest 70 kilometres away from Guilin, where the rare *Cathaya argyrophylla* tree grows. The forest is also known for its many waterfalls and is a recognized summer resort.

The tourist attractions of the Guilin area include the city of Guilin, Yangshuo County, both banks of the Guilin-Yangshuo section of the Lijiang River, an irrigation trunk canal and the virgin Longsheng Huaping forest. The tourist department of Guilin put a lot of effort into making these places more attractive and accessible to tourists.

— Nine two-storeyed hotels in the traditional Chinese architectural style covering a total floor space of 11,500 square metres and with 600 beds have been built. Larger hotels are presently under construction.

— Some 300,000 trees, including a number of precious species, have been planted on the mountains near the scenic areas.

— A few factories polluting the environment have ceased production and nine factories in the area are installing equipment and taking measures to halt pollution.

In the first eight months of this year, over 50,000 visitors from abroad or Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao), more than last year's total, visited Guilin.

● **Yue Fei's Tomb Restored**

The tomb of Yue Fei, a Chinese national hero in the 12th century, has recently been reopened to the public in the scenic city of Hangzhou.

Yue Fei (1103-1142) was a prominent general during the Southern Song Dynasty who led the struggle against the southern campaigns of the Nuzhen nobles. He was persecuted to death on a fabricated charge by the treacherous prime minister Qin Hui.

Later, a tomb was built in Hangzhou to commemorate Yue Fei. During the past 800 years people have gone there to pay their respects. The tomb was placed under the protection of the state after liberation, but during the Cultural Revolution it was badly damaged and closed for 12 years.

Now the tomb has been repaired and renovated. The new statue of Yue Fei is four metres high, is attired in martial garb and has a general's helmet. The iron statues of Qin Hui and three other traitors kneel before the tomb of Yue Fei just as in the past. In a gallery set among the trees there are 120 stone tablets, including those bearing his own inscriptions and the poems of famous personages of all dynasties praising him.

● **Water Conservancy Works on Farmland**

Tremendous results have been achieved in China's farmland capital construction. About 46 million hectares have been irrigated, half of which can give high yields despite dry spells or waterlogging. Such improvements are vital to the agricultural development of a country that has a large population, a relatively small area of arable land and is subject to many natural disasters.

Following are the main achievements:



Teachers from the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts putting the finishing touches to the statue of Yue Fei.

During the 30 years since liberation in 1949 the country has built some 80,000 large, medium and small reservoirs and 5,000 irrigation networks, each capable of irrigating 600 or more hectares of land.

Some 2 million power-operated wells have been installed. The aggregate power used for irrigation and drainage amounts to 60 million h.p. as compared to 90,000 h.p. in the early post-liberation days.

Two-thirds of the waterlogged land and half of the saline land have been turned into cultivated land. Terraced fields now cover one-fourth of the hilly land.

More than 80,000 small hydropower stations with a total capacity of 5 million kw. have been built in the rural areas.

China's agricultural development owes much to farmland capital construction.



DANCE-DRAMA

"Tales of the Silk Road"

As the curtain rises, a pair of Apsaras are seen floating among the misty clouds. The stage suddenly brightens up. Three Goddesses of Mercy are moving their 18 arms (each with six arms) as if inquiring whether they can offer any help to the people on earth. A camel caravan passes across the stage. In an instant, the audience is brought to Dunhuang, site of the world-famous grottoes in northwest China.

A full-length dance-drama, *Tales of the Silk Road*, staged by the Gansu Song and Dance Ensemble, has captivated audiences, Chinese and foreigners alike, because it has breathed life into the dancers of the world-famous murals of Dunhuang.

Dunhuang was a busy town on the old trade route between the ancient capital Changan (present-day Xian) and central Asia, West Asia and Europe. In those days, Chinese silk was transported to the West along this route. Hence its name, the Silk Road.

The Mogao Caves in Dunhuang were first excavated in 366 A.D. In the ensuing 1,000 years, many sculptures were made and murals painted. Up till now, 482 caves with 45,000 square metres of murals and 2,000 coloured sculptures have survived in spite of natural erosion and destruction wrought by man. Apart from taking their themes from Buddhism, these works of art also reflect social life from the 4th to the 14th centuries. From these works we can trace the development of Chinese plastic art.

The story of the dance-drama takes place in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Zhang, a master Mogao cave painter, is separated from his daughter, but they are reunited with the help of their friend, a Persian merchant.

It begins with painter Zhang saving Enus, a Persian merchant who is about to perish in a desert sandstorm on the Silk Road, but the painter's daughter Yingniang gets lost. Years later at a Dunhuang market, he finds her, then a slave-dancer in a theatrical troupe.

The painter is too poor to redeem her. Enus, now head of a Persian caravan, gives some of his riches to secure her release. Father and daughter are reunited. But the local magistrate in charge of trade has designs on the girl. To prevent her from falling into his hands, the painter entrusts her to Enus, who takes her to Persia. In the foreign land, the girl considers Enus as her father, develops a deep friendship with the Persians and exchanges skills with them.

Later, Enus comes to China on a mission, and Yingniang returns with him to her mother-

land. The magistrate seeks revenge on Enus for taking Yingniang away, and orders his men to sack the Persian caravan. Master painter Zhang once more comes to the rescue of Enus by lighting a signal fire, but he himself is killed.

Yingniang, in disguise, discloses the crime of the magistrate through a dance pantomime at a 27-nation trade fair held in Dunhuang. With the magistrate apprehended and duly punished, a hidden danger on the Silk Road is removed.

This drama was first written in the winter of 1977. The gang of four had been toppled but the artists somehow were not yet free of the mental shackles with which the gang had bound them for so long. Only too often, different theatrical companies in China would stage works of the same theme. For a change, someone suggested to



Yingniang performs a dance.

the Gansu Song and Dance Ensemble: "You're right at the door of Dunhuang! Why don't you compose songs and dances reflecting the art of Dunhuang?"

Inspired by this idea, the members went into action. They invited the famous painter Chang Shuhong, director of the Dunhuang Research Institute and an expert on the history of art, to lecture on Dunhuang. The choreographers, directors and dancers studied the paintings and sculptures of the Mogao caves. They learnt from historians and delved into history books. After repeated trials, the present theme and version were decided upon.

The events are fictitious but in-keeping with historical truth and background. During the Tang Dynasty, China's economy and culture flourished. Many foreign traders came to China on the Silk Road; and often more than 1,000 merchants from Central Asia were gathered at one time in Changan, the capital. Here also Biroze, a Persian prince, once lived. The whole story is based on the friendship which existed at that time between the peoples of China and other countries.

The climax is reached in Scene 6 when a trade fair of 27 nations takes place in Dunhuang. Dancers of different nationalities perform, demonstrating the long-standing friendship between peoples of various countries. Neither is this scene fictitious; it is based on historical records of such a trade fair actually held in Zhangye, Gansu Province, during the Sui Dynasty, which preceded the Tang.

The dances in *Tales of the Silk Road* are unique. Deriving a lot from the postures of musicians and dancers in the Dun-



Yingniang (played by Fu Chunying).



Master painter Zhang.



Persian merchant Enus.
Sketches by Zhao Shiyong

huang murals, the choreographers designed what people now call the Dunhuang dance. This was hard, exacting work, but their efforts were tireless. For days on end the artists studied the graceful dance poses in the murals, trying to understand their rhythm and style; they did their best to analyse whether the next move was to go upward or downward, for-

ward or backward; they pondered over whether a gesture was in preparation for a whirl or part of the whirl itself. From the stationary postures they sought to deduce the sequence and development of the movements.

For instance, "strumming the pipa on her back" (the pipa is a stringed musical instrument), a solo by Yingniang, is based on several Buddhist paintings of the early, mid- and late Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties. The paintings show musicians and dancers playing the pipa on their backs or half covering their faces with it.

The choreographers also drew inspiration from Tang poetry. Inspired by the poem "Rainbow-Coloured Delicate Garment Song" by the great Tang poet Bai Juyi (772-846) and drawing on images from the murals, they created a dance suite of the same name. One line of the poem reads, "The hanging arm soft and light as the willow." In cave No. 148 of Mogao, the choreographers discovered a painting of a celestial in light clothing, reclining, with one of her elbows lifted high, the forearm and hand hanging gracefully beside her cheek, and her other arm stretching out. The gesture, resembling a willow swaying in the breeze, was later adapted and woven into the dance movements.

The costumes, fresh and colourful, were also based on Dunhuang murals. One possible drawback is that the musical imagery is not expressive enough, and fails to do justice to the production as a whole.

The choreographers and main dancers all grew up in New China. Two of the five choreographers are just over 40, three

are under 40. The dancer who plays the part of Yingniang is 23. She was enrolled in the Gansu Song and Dance Ensemble in 1970.

PUBLICATION

Academic Periodicals of Natural Sciences

Some 50 academic journals, magazines and periodicals have been published by the Science Publishing House in recent years.

In addition to reviving many old publications, ten new academic journals, magazines and periodicals have been brought out since the downfall of the gang of four, including *Applied Mathematics*, *Computers*, *Earthquake*, *Low Temperature Physics*, *High Energy Physics* and *Nuclear Physics*,

Environmental Science, *Atmospheric Science*, *Natural Resources*, *Mechanics and Its Application* and *Electronics*.

The Science Publishing House now publishes 37 scientific journals, 13 academic ones and 7 others which popularize fundamental scientific knowledge.

To meet China's modernization needs, 7 journals and magazines will be published next year: *Sciences* (in English), *Transistor*, *Engineering Heat Physics*, *Numerical Calculation and Its Application to Computers*, *Catalysis*, *Water Conservancy and Information on Publication*. In addition, 30 academic journals will be printed at a later date, such as *Space Science* and *Biology*.

These magazines and periodicals now have the largest cir-

ulation of any in Chinese history with some printing hundreds of thousands of copies per issue. Most are available abroad, and are selling well in 50 countries and regions.

These periodicals often carry important essays and academic reports by Chinese scientists and researchers.

1,200 Kinds of Periodicals

China is now publishing 1,200 journals, magazines and periodicals for national distribution, including 900 on science and technology, 130 on literature and art and the rest on social sciences. Another 610 are published locally. In addition, 300 more will come off the press at a later date.

ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

Modern Drama

● *Jian Zhen Crosses the Sea to Japan* is about the celebrated 8th century Chinese monk who introduced Buddhist scriptures and Tang dynasty culture to Japan.



Hamlet with Ophelia.

● *Through Here to Heaven*. P.L.A. air force artists depict the life of commanders and fighters and the current struggle over striding forward boldly and being smugly satisfied with things as they are in China's march to modernization.

Visiting Foreign Troupes

● A Mexican trio (violinist, cellist and pianist);

● The "George Enescu" National Philharmonic Orchestra of Romania;

● The British Old Vic Company presented *Hamlet*;

● The Orchestra and Wind Ensemble from the Tokyo College of Music;

● The Reykjavik Male Voice Choir from Iceland.

Pingju Opera

● *Second Handshake*, adapted from the best-selling novel of the same title about the work and

life of scientists over the past several decades.

Kunqu Opera

● *Romance of the Lute Players*, a tragedy based on a story from the classical novel *Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio*.

Hebei Local Opera

● *Dou E Wrongly Charged*, a tragedy by the famous playwright Guan Hanqing who lived 700 years ago.

● *Iron Bow the Go-Between*, a traditional comedy.

● *Sanxian Bridge*, a full-length opera based on a fairy tale.

Acrobatics

● Performing horses, bears, dogs, monkeys, goats, doves and camels from the China Acrobatic Troupe circus.

● Performing animals, acrobatics and jugglers from Wujiao County not far from Beijing. Over the past three decades 1,000 acrobats from this county have found work with 50 acrobatic troupes.

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