

# PEKING REVIEW

25

June 17, 1977

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報

## **A New Brilliant Concept, A New Great Contribution**

— Notes on studying Volume V of "Selected Works of  
Mao Tsetung"

## **Reactionary Essence of New Soviet Constitution**

***Foreign Ministry's Statement: Seriously  
Protesting Japanese Government's  
Infringement on China's Sovereignty***

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北京周報

BEIJING ZHOUBAO

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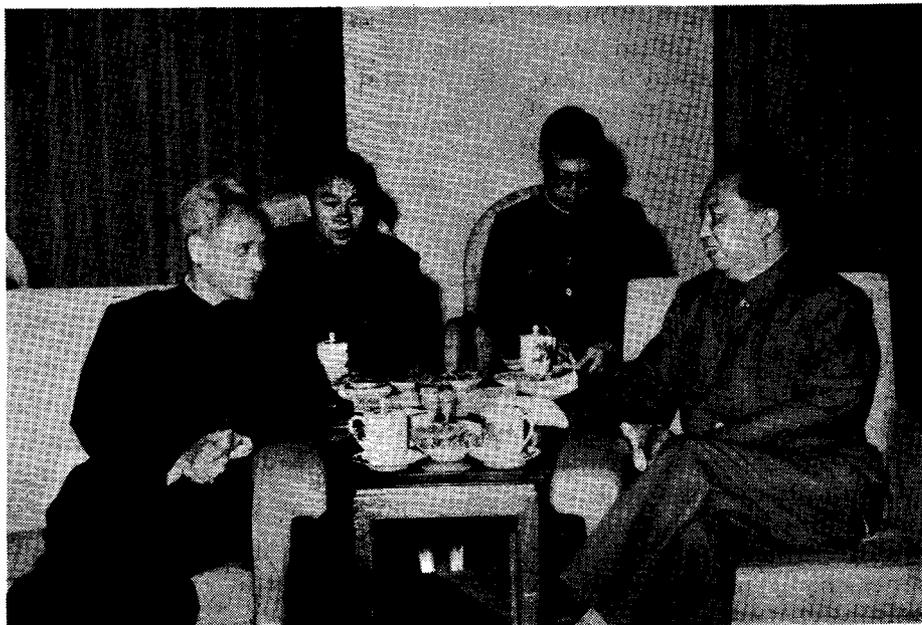
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## Chairman Hua Meets Premier Pham Van Dong

**H**UA KUO-FENG, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on June 8 met Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and Premier of the Government, in Peking's Great Hall of the People.



Chairman Hua and Premier Pham Van Dong warmly shook hands. Premier Pham Van Dong said: "I am very glad to meet Chairman Hua. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Government and the entire people of Viet Nam, I congratulate you on your tremendous victories." Chairman Hua thanked Premier Pham Van Dong for the congratulations and warmly welcomed him to Peking.

Chairman Hua and Premier Pham Van Dong had a cordial and friendly conversation in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship.

At the end of their conversation, Chairman Hua asked

Premier Pham Van Dong to convey the regards of the Chinese Communist Party, the Government and the entire people of China and his personal regards to President Ton Duc Thang, Comrade Le Duan and Comrade Truong Chinh.

Present at the meeting were: Dinh Duc Thien, Member of the C.P.V.N. Central Committee and Minister in Charge of Oil and Natural Gas; Nguyen Co Thach, Member of the C.P.V.N. Central Committee and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Nguyen Trong Vinh, Vietnamese Ambassador to China.

Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, Huang Hua, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, were also present.

Premier Pham Van Dong arrived in Peking on his way home after a visit to Europe. He was greeted and seen off at the airport by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien. Comrade Teng Ying-chao met Premier Pham Van Dong in Peking.

# Chairman Hua Meets Former Mexican President Echeverria

**H**UA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on June 10 met Luis Echeverria Alvarez, former President of the United States of Mexico, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Government on Special Mission Appointed by the President, and Chairman of the Centre of Economic and Social Studies of the Third World, Mrs. Echeverria and their party.

The meeting took place in the Great Hall of the People. Chairman Hua cordially shook hands with the distinguished Mexican guests and extended a hearty welcome to Mr. and Mrs. Echeverria on their revisit to China. They had photographs taken together.

Chairman Hua and Mr. Echeverria had a sincere and friendly conversation. Chairman Hua said: Mr. Echeverria is an old friend well known to the Chinese people and respected by them. Four years have elapsed since Mr. Echeverria visited China in 1973. We welcome you to revisit and see our country.

Mr. Echeverria said to Chairman Hua: I am honoured to meet you. We have come to visit China with special sentiments. We are very happy to see that your country is united as one and full of vitality. In their conversation, both Chairman Hua and Mr. Echeverria said that they would work for

the further development of the friendship between the people of China and Mexico and the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries, and for the strengthening of the unity of the third world countries.

Among the distinguished Mexican guests present during the conversation were Ruben Gonzalez Sosa, Special Adviser to Mr. Echeverria and former Vice-Foreign Minister; Omar Martinez Legorreta, Mexican Ambassador to China, and Eduardo Jimenez Gonzalez, former Mexican Ambassador to Norway.

Other distinguished Mexican guests present at the meeting

were: Tonatiuh Gutierrez, Vice-President of the World Handicrafts Council; Maria Esther Echeverria de Desvignes, daughter of Mr. Echeverria; Pablo Echeverria Zuno, Benito Echeverria, and Adolfo Echeverria, sons of Mr. Echeverria.

Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Hsiao Peng were present at the meeting and the conversation.

The distinguished Mexican guests arrived in Peking on June 8. Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei gave a banquet in their honour that evening.





both at home and abroad, and inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism.

In this struggle Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "The Marxist theory of the unity of opposites must be applied in examining and handling the new problems of class contradiction and class struggle in socialist society and also the new problems in the international struggle." (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees.*) By creatively applying this basic materialist-dialectical viewpoint of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao analysed the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and other countries, unfolded the law of development in socialist society, established the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and gave his answer to the most urgent issue in advancing the nation's and the world's revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Chairman Mao over the last two decades continuously enriched and developed this great theory in practice, the practice of leading China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, especially the practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

*For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads will continue to exist for a long time. On this basis rest the entire theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the tactics that go with it.*

In a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat where socialist transformation of the owner-

ship of the means of production has been basically completed, will there still be contradictions, classes and class struggle? Is the danger of capitalist restoration still there? A scientific and timely answer to this question was given by Chairman Mao in a series of articles he wrote in the winter of 1956 and throughout 1957. In his *Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees*, he made the point clear: "We have basically completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, but the bourgeoisie are still around and so are the landlords and rich peasants, local despots and counter-revolutionaries. They are the expropriated classes and are being oppressed by us, they nurse hatred in their hearts and many of them will give vent to it at the first opportunity. At the time of the Hungarian Incident they hoped that Hungary would be thrown into chaos and, best of all, China too. That is their class instinct." This was elaborated further in his writing *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. He said: "There are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bour-



Studying Chairman Mao's works.

A sculpture by Feng Yi-kuei

geoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." In these profound statements, Chairman Mao for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism made it clear that, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the entire historical period of socialist society, there is the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. Chairman Mao expounded the law and the peculiar features of class struggle in socialist society and laid the theoretical foundation for our Party's basic line. This was a new and major development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on class struggle.

Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that the principal contradiction in China's socialist society is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This contradiction is directly connected with the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Compared with the old society, the socialist system in our country has unrivalled superiority. Under it the relations of production are in harmony with the productive forces and the superstructure is in harmony with the economic base, although there are also contradictions between them, contradictions which can be resolved one after another by the socialist system itself. Class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the concentrated expression of these contradictions in class relations. True, the private ownership system provides the economic base for the existence of classes, but it does not follow that classes and class struggle will disappear with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of produc-

tion. This is not just because the members of the exploiting classes are still around and will never give up, but also because in the realm of the superstructure, there are still "survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions" (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*), which are in contradiction with the socialist economic base, because, in the relations of production, some survivals of the private ownership economy still exist, the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work, etc., are still being practised and capitalist traditions and traces still cannot be broken away completely, all this being in harmony as well as in contradiction with the productive forces. Moreover, in the case of both the superstructure and the relations of production, throughout the historical period of socialism, it is unavoidable that certain soil will remain for the bourgeoisie to exist or regrow. The bourgeoisie, both old and new, are sure to make use of these media and engage in activities for a comeback. Chairman Mao's thesis that in socialist society there is harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base explains in basic theory the fact that after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, socialist society is both stable and not so stable, and the struggle between the two classes and the two roads and the danger of capitalist restoration will continue to exist for a long time to come. This explains why it is imperative to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and persist in continuing the revolution under this dictatorship. Only by continuously carrying on the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and resolving the basic contradictions in socialist society can the dictatorship of the proletariat be consolidated, the productive forces steadily released and the cause of socialism advanced.

When Chairman Mao spoke of the task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship

of the proletariat, he pointed out with emphasis: **"Socialist transformation is a twofold task: one is to transform system and the other to transform man. System embraces not ownership alone, it includes the superstructure, primarily organs of political power and ideology."** (*Repulse the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists.*) In making an analysis of the new situation and the new features of class contradiction and class struggle, he noted that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, class struggle will find its expression **"mainly on the political and ideological fronts:"** (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) Chairman Mao told us that to achieve the ultimate consolidation of the socialist system in our country, **"it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, various contributory international factors are required."** (*ibid.*) He also stressed the need to use the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guide to China's socialist construction, so as to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing production and so build up a powerful material base for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. He told us we must be mentally prepared for a protracted struggle as **"the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against bad people and bad things, is a long-term one which will take several decades or even centuries."** (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees.*) Only when we have fully recognized the arduousness and complexity of the struggle and take the initiative of class struggle into our own hands can we remain invincible.

The "gang of four" completely negated Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of classes in Chinese society. They tried in every way to

tamper with his basic theory of the existence of struggle between the two classes and the two roads throughout the historical period of socialism. They reversed the relations between ourselves and the enemy, confused right and wrong, surreptitiously substituting the so-called struggle between the "new cultural revolution group" and the "old government\*" and what not for the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as a veil to conceal the latter's onslaught on the proletariat.

*As explicitly pointed out by Chairman Mao, the target of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie; special attention must be paid to waging struggles against the representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party; it is imperative to guard against and prevent these people from usurping the supreme leadership of the Party and the state. He thus showed us the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle finds its concentrated expression in the two-line struggle inside the ruling party. Chairman Mao summed up China's experience in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, drew a painful lesson from the Khrushchov revisionist takeover, and, at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, stressed the need for the proletariat to pay attention to consolidating the political power it had seized and guard against the emergence of bourgeois agents inside the Party. He enjoined leading cadres to **"watch out lest we foster the bureaucratic style of work and grow into an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people."** Time and again he educated the whole Party with the anti-Party case of Kao

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\* The "gang of four" flattered themselves that they belonged to the "cultural revolution group" while vilifying the state organs presided over by Premier Chou under Chairman Mao's leadership as the "old government." — *Tr.*

Kang and Jao Shu-shih. He pointed out: "The emergence of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih was by no means accidental, but was an acute manifestation of the intense class struggle in our country at the present stage. The criminal aim of this anti-Party alliance was to split our Party and seize supreme power in the Party and the state by conspiratorial means, thus paving the way for a counter-revolutionary comeback." (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party.*) He also pointed out that they had formed an underground headquarters hidden inside the Party, and their purpose in "stirring up the sinister wind and lighting the sinister fire is to overpower the open wind and put out the open fire, that is, to overthrow a large number of people." (*Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.*) These statements by Chairman Mao laid bare the political characteristics of the representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and their criminal ends, and called for our high vigilance against these bourgeois conspirators and careerists.

Chairman Mao called the whole Party's attention to the fact that the surfacing of Kao Kang in China was "in the nature of things and will always happen." (*Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.*) Here the "things" Chairman Mao referred to are none other than the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—the main topic. The emergence of bourgeois representatives inside the Party is inevitable. Classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist all along in socialist society. "A political party is a kind of society, a kind of political society." (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees.*) Class struggle in society is bound to manifest itself inside the Party. As the socialist revolution continually advances in depth, the capitalists who have been expropriated of the means of production and who have fallen into disrepute will find it increasingly difficult to openly engage the proletariat in a trial of strength themselves; when they want to restore capitalism, they have to turn mainly to their

agents inside the Party. The Communist Party too is a unity of opposites always having a very few black sheep ready to act as agents of the bourgeoisie. Their activities, of course, are always responsive to those of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in the international arena. This is why Chairman Mao repeatedly warned us against a repetition of incidents like the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. Practice in struggle has fully testified to Chairman Mao's wise prediction. In the wake of that anti-Party alliance, there again appeared in our Party such typical representatives of the bourgeoisie as Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." A mixture of old and new counter-revolutionaries, the "gang of four" formed a counter-revolutionary faction, an underground "independent kingdom," . . . which hides in the revolutionary camp. Representing the interests of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the old and new bourgeoisie, they recruited the scum of society to make trouble everywhere and rabidly opposed the Communist Party and the people. However, as is the fate of all reactionaries, they started by doing others harm but ended by ruining themselves.

Summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, both domestic and foreign, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." Capitalist-roaders are the main target of the socialist revolution. Chairman Mao set up three basic principles as the fundamental yardstick by which we are to discern capitalist-roaders inside the Party. These principles are: "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These brand-new concepts conceived by Chairman Mao are important contributions to the Marxist-Leninist theory. He smashed, not only in theory but also in practice, the conspiratorial activities of the bourgeois representatives inside the Party one by one and consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

*Chairman Mao founded the theory of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions in socialist society which are different in nature — contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and set forth the general policy of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Chairman Mao summed up China's experience and, in the light of what had happened in the Soviet Union, brought up the issue of the correct handling of the two types of contradictions as a new major theme in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing the revolution. He taught us: "How to handle the contradictions between the people and the enemy and those among the people in socialist society is a branch of science worthy of careful study. In the conditions prevailing in our country, although the present class struggle consists partly of contradictions between the people and the enemy, it finds expression on a vast scale in contradictions among the people." (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees.*) In *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and some of his other works, Chairman Mao systematically expounded the question of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions of a different nature, scientifically brought forward class relations in socialist society, elucidated the antagonistic and non-antagonistic nature of the two types of contradictions as well as the law of their transforming into each other, defined the political criteria for distinguishing the two types of contradictions which are different in nature and worked out different methods of handling them, and put forward the basic policy of mobilizing all positive factors and changing the negative factors into positive ones, thereby laying the ideological and political foundation for the unity and victory in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The theory established by Chairman Mao of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions of a different nature is a new major contribution to the theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the

proletariat. In our country, he said, at the present stage, "the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favour, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Having made an all-round analysis of the political attitudes of the various classes and strata towards the socialist revolution and assessed the balance of class forces in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he pointed out: "Of our entire population 90 per cent are for socialism. We must have faith in this majority. Through our efforts and great debates we may win over an additional 8 per cent, which will bring the total to 98 per cent. The diehards bitterly opposed to socialism form only 2 per cent." (*Firmly Believe in the Majority of the People.*) These scientific theses by Chairman Mao have provided us with the theoretical basis for correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, correctly resolving the question of whom to rely on, whom to unite with and whom to strike at, and working out the strategy and tactics in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the forms of struggle.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Everything in society is an instance of the unity of opposites. Socialist society is also a unity of opposites; the unity of opposites exists both within the ranks of the people and between ourselves and the enemy." (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees.*) Having analysed the situation and the peculiar features of class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had in the main been completed, he came to the new conclusion that class struggle today to a large extent finds its expression in contradictions among the people. This is of extremely great significance because it gives guidance to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Throughout the historical period of socialism, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two principal antagonistic

classes, in the political, economic and ideological spheres, is sure to manifest itself constantly and in large measure among the people who constitute over 90 per cent of the total population. This kind of struggle, a clash of interests and will between the two principal antagonistic classes, takes place within the ranks of the people. After the socialist transformation of agriculture and of the handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was in the main completed, **“time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated, for the masses to become accustomed to the new system, and for the government workers to learn and acquire experience.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Struggle is also going on without letup between the Marxist ideology which guides the new socialist system in our country and the remnants of the old ideology which reflects the old system and has long been embedded in people's minds. Class struggle among the people, therefore, is an objective reality in socialist society. Not to admit the existence of this contradiction and struggle or treat struggles whenever they crop up within the ranks of the people as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy will inevitably lead to Right or “Left” mistakes. With a view to correctly handling contradictions among the people, Chairman Mao worked out for us a set of principles, policies and methods, namely, always respecting the facts, upholding the mass line, following the principle of unity, criticism, unity, and using the method of rectification. The “gang of four” did their utmost to confound the two types of contradictions, reversed the relations between ourselves and the enemy, and resorted to name-calling, violent attacks and suppression in dealing with those opposing them; as to their sworn followers and henchmen, be they rascals, riffraff or counter-revolutionaries, they gave them protection, put in a good word for them and appointed them to official posts or promoted them. Practice in struggle has proved time and again the undisputed correctness of Chairman Mao's theory, principles and policies of correctly distinguishing and handling the two different types of contradictions. They enable us to make a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines

so that no real enemy can escape and not a single innocent person will be wronged. They make it possible for us, from the viewpoint of classes and class struggle, to distinguish the many questions of right and wrong within the ranks of the people and intensify the education to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology. In doing so, we will be able to mobilize all positive factors and change as much as possible the negative factors into positive ones, unite with all those who can be united, build up a massive revolutionary contingent and launch offensives against the bourgeoisie and their agents inside the Party.

*Chairman Mao called for directly relying on the broad masses in waging class struggle, speaking out freely, airing views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates—these make up the new forms of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

In continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, **“our aim is to exterminate capitalism”** (*A Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle*), eliminate classes, eliminate the three major differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between manual and mental labour, and realize communism. As determined by the nature of this revolution and by the goal it fights for, it is more complex, more deep-going and more extensive than the democratic revolution. To carry out this revolution successfully, it is necessary to fully mobilize the masses and rely on them under the leadership of the proletarian political party. Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: **“Unswerving confidence in the majority of the masses, and first and foremost in the majority of the basic masses, the workers and peasants—this is our fundamental point of departure.”** (*The Situation in the Summer of 1957.*) Basing himself on this fundamental point of firmly believing in the majority of the people, Chairman Mao aroused millions upon millions of people in 1957 to beat back the bourgeois Rightists' unbridled attack, which they did by means of the sharp weapon of speaking out freely, airing views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates, thereby scor-

ing a great victory for the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts.

The struggle against the bourgeoisie in the form of speaking out freely, airing views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a great invention of the Chinese people. Chairman Mao, who spoke highly of this revolutionary form, pointed out: **"New revolutionary content must find a new form of expression. The present revolution is a socialist revolution, which is aimed at building a socialist country, and it has found this new form."** (*Firmly Believe in the Majority of the People.*) This new form is a powerful weapon of the proletariat in coping with and triumphing over the bourgeoisie as well as in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. By encouraging people to make use of this new form and by leaving the major issues of right and wrong related to the orientation and the line to the masses of people themselves to examine and make out what is Marxism, what is revisionism, what is socialism and what is capitalism, they will be enabled to improve their ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and raise their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. This new form per se does not have a class nature; it may be used by the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie. But, as Chairman Mao pointed out: **"If anyone resorts to what he calls great democracy to oppose the socialist system and try to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party, we shall exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over him."** (*Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees.*) Blinded by their gains, the "gang of four" vainly tried to make use of great democracy to bring chaos to this proletarian state in the hope of seizing power in the tumult and facilitating their takeover. What happened, however, was that they lifted a rock only to crush their own feet and revealed their true ultra-Rightist features. What we promote is the great democracy which we use to struggle against the bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletarian political party. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a new great

endeavour to exercise great democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to rely directly on the masses to struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is a practice of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the reliable guarantee that our Party and state will not change their political colour. Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, Chairman Hua led our Party in smashing the "gang of four" at one stroke; this is another instance of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice. In future, if revisionism and people in power taking the capitalist road ever make an appearance in our country, we will take Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution as the guideline and, under the leadership of Chairman Hua, use the form of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to overthrow them and unceasingly push forward the revolutionary cause of the proletariat left behind by Chairman Mao.

The theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat founded by Chairman Mao has greatly enriched the theories of Marxism-Leninism in the spheres of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. It is not only the beacon guiding our people in advancing along the road of socialism but also of great far-reaching world significance. Chairman Hua has rightly pointed out: "Chairman Mao's great theory has provided the solution to the most important issue of our time, the issue of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration, and has greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism." It can be said that the road of the October Revolution opened up by Lenin is the common road for the proletariat of all lands to seize power, whereas Chairman Mao's theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing towards communism under the conditions of socialism.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 5, 1977)

# Reactionary Essence of New Soviet Constitution

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**T**HE draft of a new constitution of the U.S.S.R. published by the Brezhnev clique on June 4 is the first of its kind since the usurpation of the regime of the proletariat and restoration of capitalism by that cabal of revisionist renegades. Allegedly following the theories of Leninism, the draft constitution spurns its basic principles and codifies into fundamental law the fascist dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and their social-imperialist policies today.

## Betrayal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The dictatorship of the proletariat is one of the fundamental principles for a socialist constitution. Yet the draft of the new constitution of the U.S.S.R., which claims to be socialist in character, openly declares that "having fulfilled the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people" and that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people." The same point was repeatedly emphasized by Brezhnev himself in his report on the draft constitution. Thus, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so it is said, has become a "state of the whole people." This is the hallmark of the Brezhnev clique's constitution completely betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat and endorsing the restoration of capitalism.

The term "the state of the whole people" was advanced by Khrushchov after his usurpation of power. It in theory constitutes a complete revision and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and in practice is nothing but a fig-leaf for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that the concept of the state is a class concept. Lenin pointed out that "the distinguishing feature of the state is the existence of a separate class of people in

whose hands power is concentrated." (*The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book.*) Every state is the dictatorship of a definite class. So long as the state exists, it cannot possibly stand above class or belong to the whole people. Elaborating more specifically, Lenin said in his work *The State and Revolution*: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from Communism." Thus it is obvious that throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism the dictatorship of the proletariat decidedly will not come to an end before the state dies out.

Why then should both Khrushchov and Brezhnev cling so fast to this sinister "state of the whole people" flag? As Lenin once pointed out: "The bourgeoisie are compelled to be hypocritical and to describe as 'popular government' or democracy in general, or pure democracy, the (bourgeois) democratic republic which is, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the working people." (*"Democracy" and Dictatorship.*)

Having seized Party and state power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique began to enforce "a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type," as Chairman Mao Tsetung once said. In the Soviet Union today, the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class controls all aspects of social life and ruthlessly exploits and oppresses the labouring masses. The rich become richer and the poor poorer and class antagonisms get sharper than ever. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique on the one

hand claims that the Soviet Union has "put an end once and for all to . . . class antagonisms" and established "a state of the whole people" while on the other it stresses the need to further enhance the functions of the state, law and legality. This is not only self-contradictory but it is intended to cover up the clique's betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat and intensification of its fascist rule. This reminds one of Hitler who declared that "no classes exist in this state of national socialism" which "stands above class."

Opposition to and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, proclamation of "a state of the whole people" under the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, and all-round strengthening of the functions of this "state of the whole people" to maintain a fascist regime at home and to commit aggression and expansion abroad—such is the treacherous line which runs from Khrushchov's "20th party congress" to Brezhnev's constitution. It is sheer mockery to talk about the existence of a "developed socialist society" in such a state.

To pile on more rubbish, the "party of the entire people" was also inserted into the draft constitution, which claims that "the communist party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the whole people." Facts show to the hilt that the so-called "party of the entire people," which is allegedly non-class and stands above class, has long ceased to be the vanguard of the proletariat and has turned into the representative of the interests of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie and a tool for dominating and oppressing the Soviet labouring people.

### **Trying to Mislead People on the Question of Ownership**

The Brezhnev clique's draft constitution also tries to mislead people on the question of ownership. It says: "Socialist ownership of the means of production shall be the foundation of the economic system of the U.S.S.R. Socialist ownership shall comprise: state property (belonging to the whole people), property of collective farms and other co-operative organizations (collective-farm-co-operative property), and property of trade unions and other public organizations." In their analysis of ownership,

the Marxist-Leninists, however, have invariably linked it with the nature of the state. The nature of state ownership is determined by the nature of state power, by which class is in control of the state, which class' interests the state uses the means of production to serve. In revealing the essence of bourgeois nationalization, Engels pointed out in his work *Anti-Duhring*: "The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal aggregate capitalist. The more productive forces it takes over into its possession, the more it becomes a real aggregate capitalist, the more citizens it exploits." He continued that it is "a certain spurious socialism" that "declares all nationalization, even the Bismarckian kind, to be socialistic." Lenin said in his work *On Co-operation*: "In the capitalist state, co-operatives are no doubt collective capitalist institutions."

Since its usurpation of power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has controlled the economy of the whole country through the state machinery and pushed a revisionist line and policy in the economic field from top to bottom in the whole country. This has resulted in a qualitative change in the socialist public ownership which was established under the dictatorship of the proletariat following the October Revolution; the socialist public ownership has been turned into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. The state enterprises and collective farms, though still under the cloak of "ownership by the whole people" or "collective ownership," are actually no longer the property of the working people. They have become capital controlled directly or indirectly by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. The "economic reforms" and "new economic system" pushed first by Khrushchov and then by Brezhnev make it the sole purpose of production to seek maximum profits for the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, strengthen its fascist rule and serve its drive for world hegemony. The relations among people and the form of distribution have degenerated into relations of oppression and exploitation of the working class and other labouring people by the bourgeoisie. With the help of the state — "the ideal aggregate capitalist," a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists with Brezhnev as their representative

manipulates the country's entire means of production and its arteries of national economy, and monopolizes all economic spheres — production, circulation and consumption. The monopoly capital and state power of Soviet social-imperialism have formed a close entity with a much higher degree of capital concentration and monopoly than the monopoly capital of any capitalist imperialism. This has nothing in common with socialist ownership. Hitler once announced that "land and all movable and immovable properties . . . are the property of the German state." Didn't he also describe his system as the "national socialist" system? But no serious-minded person ever took it for socialism. Obviously, by putting up the signboard of socialist ownership in the draft constitution, the Brezhnev clique, in fact, confirms ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class.

Dealing with national relations, the Brezhnev clique inserted in the draft constitution such absurdities as "a new historical community of people, the Soviet people, has emerged" and "conditions must be created" "for drawing together all the nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R." In regard to the essence of these assertions, the Soviet press explains that the Russian is "the leading nation" and "the first nation" of this "community." "To draw together all the nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R." means in essence to use every possible means "to replace national languages with a common language (Russian)," "to eliminate the distinctions among nationalities," and finally "to create a single nation and a single language." This is typical great-Russia chauvinism and forced Russification of non-Russian nations and nationalities.

After ostentatiously listing various kinds of rights and freedoms to be enjoyed by Soviet citizens, the draft constitution declares that "exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the state." That is to say, the interests of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique must not be affected. Just as Stalin noted in his *Report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, the bourgeois constitution advertises "democratic principles, but at the same time it makes reservations and provides for restrictions which utterly mutilate these democratic rights and liberties."

In the Soviet Union today K.G.B. agents run amuck, concentration camps spread out in various parts of the country and a large number of people who have shown resistance to the new tsars' oppression and exploitation are subjected to persecution on false charges of "injuring the interests of society and the state." This reality is ample proof that the high-sounding phrases about citizens' rights and freedoms are worthless.

### **Pushing Social-Imperialism Under the Signboard of Peace**

For the first time a Soviet constitution devotes a special chapter to foreign policy. This is evidently intended to gloss over the essence of the social-imperialist policy which Brezhnev has been pursuing with all his might. The chapter is swamped with phraseology extolling peace: "The Soviet state shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international co-operation" and base its relations with other states "on the observance of the principle of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, and of the principles of sovereign equality, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs," etc., etc. The new tsars have even vowed to inscribe for ever on their banner "the word 'peace.'"

However, lies have short legs. The history of Soviet social-imperialism is one of aggression, expansion, intervention and subversion. With its truculence inflated after feverish arms build-up and war preparations, it occupied Czechoslovakia by force, attacked China's Chenpao Island, dismembered a sovereign state on the subcontinent of South Asia by provoking a war, manipulated and meddled in the affairs of the Middle East countries, employed mercenaries to commit armed intervention in Angola, instigated mercenaries to invade Zaire and is intensifying its scramble for the control of southern Africa and the Red Sea region. It poses a growing menace to the security of Western Europe, occupies the northern territories of Japan and constantly levels threats of force at adjoining countries. Its warships cruise all the oceans.

*(Continued on p. 28.)*

# China's Sovereignty Over Continental Shelf Is Inviolable

THE Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a statement of June 13 lodged a serious protest with the Japanese Government against its flagrant infringement of China's sovereignty in forcing through the so-called Japan-south Korea "Agreement on Joint Development of the Continental Shelf" by "automatic approval" in the Diet recently. The statement points out that the Japanese Government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

*Renmin Ribao* on June 14 carried an article on the matter by its commentator.

## Statement by the Ministry Of Foreign Affairs

According to the principle that the continental shelf is the natural extension of the continental territory, the People's Republic of China has inviolable sovereignty over the East China Sea continental shelf. Recently the Japanese Government, in disregard of the firm opposition of the Chinese Government, forced through by extension of the Diet session and consequent "automatic approval" the so-called Japan-south Korea "Agreement on Joint Development of the Continental Shelf" which unilaterally marks off a "joint development zone" on the East China Sea continental shelf. The Chinese Government seriously protests this action on the part of the Japanese Government which flagrantly infringes on China's sovereignty.

After the so-called Japan-south Korea "Agreement on Joint Development of the Continental Shelf" was signed on January 30, 1974,

the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China was authorized to solemnly state on February 4 of the same year that the marking off by the Japanese Government and the south Korean authorities of a so-called Japan-south Korea "joint development zone" on the East China Sea continental shelf behind China's back was an infringement on China's sovereignty, which the Chinese Government absolutely could not accept. This position was subsequently reaffirmed by the Chinese Government on several occasions. Recently, during the Diet discussion of the "agreement" submitted by the Japanese Government, the Chinese Government again solemnly pointed out to the Japanese Government that the "agreement" infringed on China's sovereignty and that if the Japanese Government ignored the position of the Chinese Government and insisted on having the Diet ratify it at the current session, this would be harmful to the development of Sino-Japanese relations. The Chinese Government firmly objected to this and expressed the hope that the Japanese side would set store by Sino-Japanese friendly relations and give serious consideration to the position of the Chinese Government. Yet, now the Japanese Government, ignoring the Chinese Government's repeatedly stated position and disregarding China's sovereignty and the interests of the development of Sino-Japanese relations, wilfully put the "agreement" into effect and deliberately took this act infringing on China's sovereignty. The Chinese Government deems it necessary to point out again that the Japanese Government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China is authorized to state

as follows: The East China Sea continental shelf is the natural extension of the Chinese continental territory. The People's Republic of China has inviolable sovereignty over the East China Sea continental shelf. It stands to reason that the question of how to divide those parts of the East China Sea continental shelf which involve other countries should be decided by China and the countries concerned through consultations. The so-called Japan-south Korea "Agreement on Joint Development of the Continental Shelf" signed by the Japanese Government with the south Korean authorities unilaterally behind China's back is entirely illegal and null and void. Without the consent of the Chinese Government, no country or private person may undertake development activities on the East China Sea continental shelf. Whoever does so must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

## Article by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

The commentator's article expressed full support for the solemn stand taken in the statement by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This stand "shows the firm will and determination of the Chinese people to defend their own territory and territorial waters," the article said.

It pointed out: "The Chinese Government has declared on many occasions that it is an infringement of China's sovereignty to unilaterally mark off a vast area on the East China Sea continental shelf as a Japan-south Korea 'joint development zone'; it has also stated that the question of how to divide those parts of the East China Sea continental shelf which involve other countries should be decided by China and the countries concerned through consultations. This proposal of the Chinese Government is reasonable. But the Japanese Government, disregarding China's sovereignty and without consulting China, has been making behind-the-scenes deals with the south Korean authorities in a vain attempt to create a fait accompli and impose it on China. All this cannot but arouse the indignation and stern protest of the Chinese people."

The article continued: "China's sovereignty over the East China Sea continental shelf is inviolable. Certain members in Japanese government circles alleged that 'the Japan-south Korea joint development zone is restricted to the Japanese side of the intermediate line equidistant from Japan and China,' and does not infringe on China's sovereignty. Such an argument is futile and utterly untenable. The Chinese Government and people will absolutely not tolerate any activity violating China's sovereignty and deliberately trampling on the norms of international law."

It said: "When diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored in September 1972, the Chinese and Japanese Governments issued a joint statement affirming the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Such an important issue as the development of the East China Sea continental shelf which involves state sovereignty should be decided in full consultation with the governments of China and the countries concerned. But the Japanese Government has completely ignored the many stern statements issued by the Chinese Government and acted unilaterally. This cannot but have a harmful effect on the development of friendly relations between China and Japan. The Japanese Government, while declaring its desire to adhere to the joint statement of the two governments and promote relations between the two countries, has in fact violated the China-Japan joint statement and damaged the friendly relations between the two countries. This cannot but arouse vigilance."

The article went on: Chairman Hua stated at a recent meeting with Japanese friends: We are neighbours separated by only a strip of water. So long as we make joint efforts, not only will friendly relations exist between China and Japan in our generation but our future generations will continue to live in friendship.

The article said in conclusion: "We advise the Japanese authorities to consider the Chinese Government's solemn stand seriously. Any action detrimental to friendly relations between China and Japan or to the interests and aspirations of other countries concerned is unacceptable and will certainly meet with resolute opposition from the peoples of China, Japan, Korea and other countries."

# Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh Issue Call to Learn From "Hard-Boned 6th Company"

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**C**HAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng has pointed out: The People's Liberation Army should learn from Taching and Tachai, learn from the people of the whole country and, in addition, learn from advanced examples in the army units. In accordance with this instruction, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to launch a mass movement in the army to learn from the "Hard-Boned 6th Company" of the Nanking Units of the P.L.A.

Recently, Chairman Hua wrote this inscription: "Learn From the 'Hard-Boned 6th Company' and strive to accelerate the revolutionization and modernization of our army." Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying made the following call in his inscription: "Launch a widespread mass movement to learn from the 'Hard-Boned 6th Company,' and build more companies of its type." On June 5, *Renmin Ribao*, *Jiefangjun Bao* and other papers throughout the country front-paged these two inscriptions.

## Accelerating the Revolutionization and Modernization of the P.L.A.

On the same day, *Jiefangjun Bao* carried an editorial in celebration of the inscriptions by Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh. The editorial was entitled "A Great Call for Accelerating the Revolutionization and Modernization of Our Army."

The editorial pointed out: "Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh have shown their cordial concern for the People's Liberation Army

in writing the inscriptions which constitute a great honour to the commanders and fighters of the whole army. This is a big happy event in the political life of our army! Carrying forward Chairman Mao's concept 'China must build a powerful army of national defence,' the inscriptions are a great mobilization call to the whole army and will give a tremendous inspiration, encouragement and impetus to the building of our army."

"The truth that without a people's army the people have nothing," the editorial added, "has been borne out by the practice of the democratic revolution as well as the practice of the socialist revolution in the past two decades and more. In the history of human class society, every class and every state attaches importance to a position of strength. We must use revolutionary strength to deal with counter-revolutionary strength. China's powerful socialist economic strength and her armed forces are concrete manifestations of the strength of her proletariat and other labouring people. In the present-day world, if we are not to be bullied by other countries and if we do not want our country to sink to the status of a colony or semi-colony like the old China, then we must steadily strengthen our national defence. Without a strong, revolutionized and modernized People's Liberation Army, it will not be possible for us to defeat aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism and safeguard our socialist motherland of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and there will be no guarantee for us to carry the continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship through to the end.

"We must not only strengthen but speed up the revolutionization and modernization of our army. The question of speed is a very sharp political question and a major question of life and death to our country and people. In the world today, factors for both revolution and war are increasing and the contention between the two hegemonic powers — the Soviet Union and the United States — is becoming ever more acute. A world war is bound to break out some day. Shouldn't we be prepared for a war? Shouldn't we get prepared at an early date for a war? In particular, we must bear in mind that Soviet revisionism has not given up its wild ambition to subjugate China. This fact can never be concealed by the outcries of Brezhnev and company that it is a 'fabrication' and a 'lie' from China; it is a reality the people of the world can see for themselves. A war means a competition of strength. The earlier and the more fully we are prepared, the more assurance we will have in defeating the enemy. Backwardness means we will find ourselves in a passive position of being beaten. We must not be misled by the phenomenon that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists are shouting themselves hoarse about 'detente' and 'disarmament'; actually they are accelerating the pace of arms expansion and war preparation. The situation is pressing and time waits for no man. We must be prepared for war breaking out at an early date and be prepared for a big war. We are racing against the enemy and we must act as quickly as possible, do two years' work in one, and work with revolutionary drive and a death-defying spirit. We must step up the work of army building in a still better way at the same time as we speed up socialist economic construction so that we will be fully prepared for any possible contingency. We are determined to liberate our sacred territory Taiwan."

The editorial went on to say that "in accelerating the revolutionization and modernization of the army, it is necessary to earnestly learn from the 'Hard-Boned 6th Company.'" This is because, the editorial added, "the company is a red banner in implementing Chairman Mao's line in army building and an advanced example in putting revolutionization in command of modernization. If every company of



Commanders and fighters of the 6th Company hail the inscriptions written by Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh.

our army is trained like the 6th Company and adheres to the line, policies, principles and system laid down by Chairman Mao for the army, inherits and carries forward the fine tradition of our Party and our army, displays the immense power of political work, has the same dauntless willpower as the 6th Company to overwhelm all kinds of enemies, the same unyielding spirit and endurance to fight to the bitter end as well as the hard-boned spirit of the proletariat, then there is great hope and the day will not be far off for our army to be built into a revolutionized and modernized powerful army."

The editorial stressed: "The 'Hard-Boned 6th Company' has been tempered and has developed in the course of class struggle and the two-line struggle, especially in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao 'gang of four.' In learning from the 'Hard-Boned 6th Company' and accelerating the revolutionization and modernization of our army, it is necessary to

deepen the exposure and criticism of the 'gang of four.'" The editorial called for building thousands of companies like the 6th Company, and said that not only must there be hard-boned companies, but hard-boned battalions and regiments as well.

### **Celebration Meetings**

On June 4, the various P.L.A. general departments, services and arms and the Peking Garrison held a meeting in celebration of the inscriptions written by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying. The participants expressed their determination to respond to the call of Chairman Hua and Vice-

Chairman Yeh and rapidly bring about an upsurge in learning from the 6th Company. The meeting called on the whole army to carry forward the revolutionary tradition and win still greater honour, to see through the nature of imperialism and social-imperialism and be ready to fight against any aggressors and to liberate Taiwan.

On June 5, the Nanking Units to which the 6th Company belongs held a celebration meeting in different places, attended by 130,000 people. The commander of the 6th Company read at the meeting a written pledge to Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairman Yeh, the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission.

### **Background Information**

## **The "Hard-Boned 6th Company" — A Banner of the Chinese People's Liberation Army**

**A** MOVEMENT to learn from the "Hard-Boned 6th Company" is being carried out in the Chinese People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.).

Founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao, the P.L.A. is a new-type people's army. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, it has made immortal contributions in defeating domestic and foreign reactionaries and in founding and defending New China. "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." (Mao Tsetung: *On Coalition Government*.) The 6th Company has proved itself capable of standing severe tests politically, ideologically and militarily, in maintaining strict discipline or in the style of work. It is a good example in building up the company in accordance with Chairman Mao's military line and military thinking.

### **Outstanding Military Exploits**

This company has a history of 38 years. Its forerunner was a company formed in May 1939 on the north China plain during the War

of Resistance Against Japan. The force at its core comprised a dozen or so Red Army fighters.

For many years it fought in north China and took part in many battles against the Japanese invaders. In the War of Liberation to overthrow the reactionary Kuomintang rule, it participated in the battle directly commanded by Chairman Mao to defend the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region where the Party Central Committee was located.

It won renown by its many splendid victories. Fighting together with other companies in a battle in northwest China in the spring of 1947, for instance, it captured alive a brigade commander of the Kuomintang troops. In the spring of 1948 when it was assigned the task of intercepting the enemy in a major campaign, it succeeded in repeatedly repulsing the invading enemy troops numerically scores of times stronger. This was a gruelling battle. Although the company had suffered heavy losses, with only 13 men left, it held fast to its position together with other fraternal units, thus ensuring the main force to put all 20,000 invading enemy troops out of action.

The company has been awarded the honourable titles of "A Courageous and Combat-Worthy Vanguard in Wiping Out Enemy Troops" and "Model Combat Company." And 15 famous combat heroes have come to the fore from its ranks.

On December 7, 1946, all the commanders and fighters of the army unit to which the 6th

Company belonged were received in Yen-an by Chairman Mao and other leading members of the central authorities. That same year when the Northwest Field Army won three victories in succession, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee Chou En-lai went in person to the front to congratulate this unit and encourage its officers and men to make new contributions to the people in the War of Liberation.

### New Honours

Since liberation the company has maintained the fine traditions of our army. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, its officers and men joined the Chinese People's Volunteers and fought on the Korean battlefield. In 1962 when the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang raised a hullabaloo about carrying out harassment against the mainland of our motherland, officers and men of the company vied with one another in applying for combat duty. During a long march which was part of their preparations against war, many comrades did not even enter their homes when they happened to pass by on their way. The company has been cited for having distinguished itself in being ideologically prepared against war, maintaining a militant style of work, mastering military techniques and observing army and government discipline. In 1964, the Ministry of National Defence issued an order conferring upon it the honourable title of the "Hard-Boned 6th Company." Comrades Yeh Chien-ying and Ho Lung, Vice-Chairmen of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, wrote inscriptions encouraging its officers and men to hold still higher the red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and continue their advance.

In the last 13 years since the company received this title, it has kept to the correct orientation of building up the company.

Members of the company have persevered in studying works

by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. They have carried out political and ideological work by following the principle of combining theory with practice. They have made it a practice to recount revolutionary traditions, learn from heroes, constantly criticize bourgeois ideology and educate the cadres and fighters in Mao Tsetung Thought.

They have persisted in giving full play to the role of the Party branch as a fighting bastion and trained a body of cadres with a high level of class consciousness, utter devotion to the revolutionary cause, an exemplary style of work and ability to do meticulous ideological work.

They have persistently carried out the movement of army consolidation with class education as the main content and have always maintained their preparedness against war and a strong revolutionary fighting will.

The company has educated its cadres and fighters in strict revolutionary discipline so that they always obey orders in all their actions. The cadres cherish the fighters who in turn respect the cadres. They respect the opinions of local Party committees and government organs, love the people, do everything in the people's interests and firmly implement the



A drill in bayoneting.

### Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.\*

They have persisted in hard military training and they have the high morale to overwhelm all enemies and the skill and ability to wipe them out.

### Struggle Against Lin Piao and The "Gang of Four"

During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique attacked the 6th Company as "a typical example of not giving prominence to politics." The "gang of four" also lashed out at the company, labelling it as "a bad model having a purely military viewpoint." They slandered that the company was prepared to fight only foreign aggressors but was unaware of the need to oppose capitalist restoration at home. This meant, of course, the company failed to follow their wishes and work for them in their plot to usurp Party and state power under the signboard of "struggling against the capitalist-roaders." Standing up to the pressure of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," the company resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's line in army building and inherited and carried forward our army's glorious revolutionary traditions.

In 1974, Chiang Ching sent one of her cohorts to a place near where the 6th Company was stationed. In a speech this flunkey clamoured for ferreting out the "capitalist-roaders in the army," attacked the army for abiding by revolutionary discipline, labelling it as slavishness, and slandered those observing discipline as "docile lambs" in an attempt to incite the rank and file to rise against their superiors.

To counter this, the company's Party branch called a meeting and organized everyone to study Chairman Mao's instructions on strengthening Party leadership and Party discipline. Deputy commander of the company Chang Chien-kuo pointed out: "That scoundrel's speech is a poisonous weed; his intention is to oppose the Party and create confusion in the army." Deputy political instructor Sung Ming-fu said: "That speech is wrong, and it is designed to lead us astray. So we must firmly reject it." They reaffirmed in one voice: We

must obey the orders of the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission in all our actions. Consequently, the Party branch adopted a decision to conduct education in the revolutionary traditions and further strengthen education in discipline; at the same time it commended a number of comrades for their conscientious efforts in strictly observing discipline.

In August 1976, the "gang of four" propagated a so-called "new experience," inciting those at the lower level to oppose those at the higher. The 6th Company quickly realized that the gang's evil intention was to advocate anarchism and undermine army discipline in an attempt to liquidate Party leadership and therefore it must be firmly repudiated.

The "gang of four" opposed educating the rank and file in our army's fine traditions fostered in the long years of revolutionary wars, alleging that these traditions had become outdated. The 6th Company, however, has made it a point to educate all its members in these traditions. Last year, it invited seven veteran heroes and former leading cadres who had served in the company to give lectures on the company's history and our army's glorious traditions.

The "gang of four" vilified the 6th Company as having a "purely military viewpoint." The company ignored the charge and persisted in training hard to raise its ability to wipe out the enemy. Combining revolutionary drive with scientific approach, it has improved the content, system and methods of training in the light of the equipment it has at present and characteristics of future warfare. Through rigorous training the fighters have achieved remarkable successes.

\* The Three Main Rules of Discipline are:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention are:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

## "Gang of Four's" Abortive Counter-Revolutionary Coup

**A**FTER the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao passed away in September last year, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, who were a tightly knit gang in the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, seized the opportunity to step up their long-premeditated plot to launch a counter-revolutionary coup to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state.

The gang's scheme to launch a coup was a desperate move before destruction. It had for a long time tried to shape public opinion and engaged in conspiratorial activities organizationally and militarily in an attempt to usurp Party and state power.

### Creating Counter-Revolutionary Opinion

The "gang of four" controlled the nation's mass media and cultural affairs. Using such media as newspapers and periodicals, news agency, broadcasting, TV, films and dramas, they arbitrarily emasculated Marxism-Leninism, distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's directives and the Party's line, principles and policies. While shamelessly prettifying themselves, they levelled attacks by innuendo at Premier Chou En-lai, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and a large number of leading Party, government and army cadres upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Behind the back of the Party Central Committee, the gang formed the so-called mass criticism groups of Peking and Tsinghua Universities and of the Shanghai municipal

Party committee. Using the pen-names of "Liang Hsiao" and "Lo Szu-ting," these groups wrote many articles at the gang's bidding and published them in the newspapers and periodicals to create counter-revolutionary opinion. Among the 168 articles published by the mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities in the last three years were "Confucius—the Man" and other articles, which attacked Premier Chou by insinuation, and "Wu Tse-tien, an Outstanding Stateswoman" and other writings which were meant to prepare public opinion for Chiang Ching to become an empress. These articles were all written on instructions from Chiang Ching.

Four months or so before Chairman Mao died, he heard a report from Comrade Hua Kuo-feng on the domestic situation and wrote for him "Act in line with the past principles" as a guide to solve certain problems. The "gang of four" went so far as to change this into "act according to the principles laid down\*\*." Making a surprise assault behind the backs of Chairman Hua and the Party's Political Bureau, they published this as Chairman Mao's "last words" in an editorial by *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* on September 16 last year. Their aim was to charge the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua with concealing Chairman Mao's "last words." When their fabrication was exploded by Chairman Hua, they published an article in *Guangming Ribao* on October 4 last year signed by "Liang Hsiao," clamouring that "whoever tampers with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao will surely come to no good end." This was an attack on Com-

\* This is the last in a series of articles exposing the major crimes of the "gang of four" since the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966. The previous reports appeared in Nos. 3, 13, 15, 16, 21 and 23.

\*\* See "A Desperate Move Before Destruction," No. 52, 1976.

rade Hua Kuo-feng and was intended to create opinion for a coup.

### **Expanding Factional Forces**

Organizationally, the "gang of four" enlisted and fostered confidants and sworn followers to expand its ranks. It recruited counter-revolutionaries and hoodlums and bestowed on them such titles as "representatives of the newborn forces" and "heroes going against the tide."

As early as 1973, just before the convocation of the Tenth Party Congress, Wang Hung-wen abused the power in his hands as a participant in the preparatory work for the congress and repeatedly instructed his confidants to look in Shanghai, their base area, for possible candidates for Members or Alternate Members of the Party Central Committee. This was in violation of the Party Constitution.

When preparations were under way for the Fourth National People's Congress in 1974, Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao' secretly instructed their confidants in Shanghai to select a number of people whom they could trust so as to send them to Peking to take over the various ministries. After clandestine deliberations, they hatched a list of candidates—scores of them—for the posts of vice-ministers and department directors. They even groomed a number of persons in Shanghai for "ambassadors" in an attempt to take over Chinese embassies abroad. Behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, they worked out a list of candidates to head a number of crucial ministries. They also planted their followers in a number of provinces and municipalities.

The gang did not overlook any opportunity to seize power. For example, in October 1974, the gang bypassed the other Members of the Political Bureau and sent Wang Hung-wen to submit to Chairman Mao, then on an inspection tour of the country, false accusations against Premier Chou En-lai and other leading comrades on the Party Central Committee. Their attempt was to form a "cabinet"

of their own at the Fourth National People's Congress. This was severely denounced by Chairman Mao.

The "gang of four" again tried to form their own "cabinet" after Premier Chou died in January last year. In Shanghai, which was then under their control, big-character posters were put up clamouring for Chang Chun-chiao to become the premier. This was meant to exert pressure on Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Chairman Mao firmly resisted this and appointed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Acting Premier instead.

While expanding its factional forces, the gang deliberately attacked a large number of leading Party, government and army cadres who dared to struggle against them. Behind the back of the Party Central Committee, they secretly instructed their sworn followers in Shanghai to compile dossiers on more than 50 high-ranking cadres, including Members of the Party's Political Bureau, Vice-Premiers, Vice-Chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, ministers and first secretaries of provincial Party committees, and framed charges in an attempt to overthrow these fine leading cadres.

Chairman Mao anticipated that Chiang Ching and her cohorts would make trouble after his death. In April last year, he proposed that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed First Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. The Chinese Communist Party had never before had a First Vice-Chairman. By breaking with this rule, Chairman Mao purposely served notice to the whole Party and the people of the whole country that he was designating Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. This decision was a mortal blow to the "gang of four."

### **Organizing Counter-Revolutionary Armed Forces**

The "gang of four," however, were not reconciled to their defeat. They tried to realize their ambition of seizing Party and state

power by armed force. Failing in their scheme to sabotage the People's Liberation Army, they did their utmost to control the militia. They had previously spread the counter-revolutionary ideas that "the army is not as good as the militia" and that "the army is not reliable." Wang Hung-wen ordered his sworn followers in Shanghai to turn Shanghai's militia into a "second armed force" under the gang's direct command to counter the People's Liberation Army. They clamoured that the militia should also take up public security work and that it should have the power to arrest, try and sentence anyone it wanted. This was an attempt to substitute the militia for the instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Wang Hung-wen also plotted to set up a "militia command of the People's Republic of China" with himself as the commander-in-chief.

### **Last Desperate Move Before Destruction**

The "gang of four" intensified their counter-revolutionary activities when Chairman Mao was seriously ill and they moved into high gear after he passed away. On **September 10** last year, that is, the day after Chairman Mao died, Wang Hung-wen sent a notice in the name of the General Office of the C.P.C. Central Committee to all parts of the country, specifying that all major matters should be reported in time to him and his cohorts. He did this behind the backs of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng who was then in charge of the work of the Party Central Committee and all comrades in the Political Bureau other than members of the gang. This was a vain attempt to cut off communications between the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions so that the gang could issue orders and control the whole country. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng saw through this scheme and promptly forestalled it.

It was at about this time that Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Ching, without the approval of the Party Central Committee, went to some factories, schools, army units and rural com-

munes in Peking to make demagogic counter-revolutionary speeches and launch oblique attacks on the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

Three weeks after Chairman Mao's death, the old-time counter-revolutionary Chang Chun-chiao wrote the words "kill people" and "suppress the opposition" as a part of the gang's fascist plan in an outline he had drawn up. This was clear proof that the gang planned to persecute revolutionary cadres and masses once it assumed power.

Meanwhile, the gang secretly ordered its sworn followers in Shanghai to arm the militia with rifles and guns. Six million rounds of ammunition were issued to the Shanghai militia the day after Chairman Mao passed away. On September 28, Chang Chun-chiao dispatched a messenger to transmit to their henchmen in Shanghai a verbal mobilization order for a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion: "Shanghai will face a big test; get ready for war."

In accordance with this instruction, his sworn followers plotted to use the Shanghai militia to launch a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. Even several days after the downfall of the "gang of four," these diehards still sought to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup; they deployed armed units, set up secret command posts, drew up a "plan of operations," issued counter-revolutionary slogans, and plotted to blow up bridges and stop water and electricity supply.

In October, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng took the wise decision of resolutely smashing the "gang of four" in one stroke, thereby averting a major retrogression in Chinese history. Led by the municipal Party committee, the people in Shanghai implemented the correct policy and tactics of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and quickly smashed the gang's counter-revolutionary plot without firing a single shot or shedding a drop of blood. The "gang of four's" plot to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat thus ended in complete failure.

# Friendship Notes

## How French People View "The White-Haired Girl"

The modern revolutionary dance-drama *The White-Haired Girl*\* was for the first time performed in Western Europe by the Shanghai Dance-Drama Troupe of China. What do people there think of it?

An AFP reporter wrote after the Paris premiere on April 1: The whole of Paris applauded the troupe's depiction of the Chinese revolution through the dance.

The Chinese ballet-dancers made the viewers feel strongly with the Chinese peasants, said *le Quotidien du Peuple*. "We had a mind to jump on stage to join Hsi-erh (principal character) in beating up the landlord and to dance for joy with the liberated peasants."

Violette Vorty, the famous ballerina and President of the Ballet Ensemble of the Paris Drama Troupe, said to the Chinese performers: The task you have set yourselves to show the life of your people through classical ballet, in itself, is a tremendous thing. Your dancing is graceful, elegant, sincere, expressive of your lofty

\* The modern revolutionary dance-drama *The White-Haired Girl* is an adaption of the opera with the same title composed more than 30 years ago about the story of Hsi-erh, daughter of a poor peasant. Driven to take refuge in the mountains by a despotic landlord, she led so lonely and wretched a life that her hair turned prematurely white. Not until the Eighth Route Army led by the Communist Party of China liberated her village did she get a new lease of life.

sentiments. In *The White-Haired Girl*, nothing is commercialized. Ballet like yours is indeed lofty art. In this regard, I can see in *The White-Haired Girl* certain hope for the future of ballet.

Veteran French ballet-dancer Minvielle said to the Chinese ballet director: Your ballet is different from the West's. Your subject-matter is contemporary, your motifs are revolutionary. It is closely linked to real life. It has political principles and is full of poetry. It has rich instructive significance.

Many in the audience were French working people. They had some interesting things to say. "This is genuine people's art." "It finds a sympathetic response in us." "We find it instructive and inspiring" — these are some of their comments. Letters of greetings and congratulations were received from workers of Lyons by the Chinese visitors. One said: "Your proletarian drama strengthened the friendship between our two peoples." An old nurse said: "When I saw Hsi-erh's hard lot I could not keep back my tears. It called to mind the wretched life of my grandmother brought about by landlord oppression. Your dancing is linked to the people."

Altogether, ten performances of *The White-Haired Girl* were given in Paris and Lyons from April 1 to 28. Eleven performances of excerpts from *The White-Haired Girl* and Chinese national dances and music were staged in Paris, Nice and Nancy. *Militiawomen of the Grass-*

*lands, Tea-Picking Dance*, and traditional Chinese instrumental music, *erh-hu*, flute, *cheng* and *pipa* solos were well received by audiences and members of the art community. A French musician who won a first-class award at Florence went backstage to congratulate Wang Chang-yuan who played the ancient *cheng* (a flat, five-stringed instrument). She gave Wang and Min Huei-fen who played the *erh-hu* (a two-stringed instrument) a record album of music popular in medieval Europe as a souvenir. John Mclean, a musician, sought out the flautist Yu Hsun-fa and introduced him to a dozen types of flutes and played some folk pieces. Before they parted, he presented a piccolo wrapped in red cloth to Yu, who reciprocated with a small flute he had made himself.

The Chinese troupe's visit was an unusual event in Parisian art circles. One cultural critic compared this meeting of Chinese and French artists to a merging of the waters of the Yangtze and the Seine, flowing forward in a full spate of friendship.

## Chinese "Wushu" Team's West African Tour

In its tour of Ghana, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria and Mali early this year, the Chinese *wushu* (Chinese boxing and swordplay) team was cordially welcomed and accorded warm hospitality. The tour helped enhance the mutual understanding and friendship between the people of these African countries and the people of China.

There were no language barriers to overcome. The dexterity and quick, precisely co-

ordinated intricate movements of the Chinese *wushu* performers at once captured the intense interest of the audiences. The spectacular fight of spear against cudgel held spectators spellbound. In another item, when a vertical column of three men made a sudden forward tumble together, there were shouts of alarm and concern from the spectators which instantly changed to loud sighs of astonishment and relief as the three athletes adroitly somersaulted to a standing pose. This act never failed to draw stormy applause.

Before the performance began in an open-air theatre in the city of Kumasi, Ghana, there was a heavy downpour. When the visiting *wushu* athletes asked if the rain might affect the show, a Ghanaian friend replied: "You have brought us rain. This is a good sign. It means we'll have a bumper harvest. Your performance is sure to be a success!" As soon as the rain stopped, the show was staged as scheduled to a packed theatre and a huge crowd outside the railing. The 50-item show was greeted with repeated, prolonged applause. In Bamako, Malian audiences called for many items to be repeated.

The friendly people of these west African countries made the Chinese *wushu* athletes feel quite at home. In Nigeria, students of Calabar University went to where the Chinese athletes were staying to chat as friend to friend. In Rio Muni Province, the Chinese team was greeted by young men and women dressed in festive costumes, waving green palm branches and shouting: "Long

live the friendship between Equatorial Guinea and China!"

### **Yugoslav "Abrasevic" Folk Song and Dance Ensemble**

The multi-national state of Yugoslavia has a rich and varied tradition of folk music and dance. And the "Abrasevic" Folk Song and Dance Ensemble which was in China in May and June is famous for its presentation of these. The ensemble brought with it a splendid varied programme that included some dances already familiar to Chinese audiences and those new to them, such as *Women of Macedonia* and *Battle Dance*. The items are permeated with a national feeling, unpretentious and healthy local flavour and colour as well as a strong atmosphere of life.

Items setting forth in song and dance the Yugoslav people's glorious tradition of struggle, in particular, were much appreciated. They vivid-

ly showed the defiant militancy of the people of Yugoslavia who took up arms to fight against aggressors. *Insurgents*, performed by seven youths, tells the moving story of the freedom-loving people of Macedonia who rose time and again against alien rule. Within the framework of the local dance — reconnaissance, vigil, ambush, and sallying out to attack — the director has highlighted the heroic fighting image of the insurgents. *Battle Dance*, a traditional dance from Korcula Island in the Adriatic Sea, shows how the Yugoslav people took up arms to fight foreign aggressors and won victory. The dance movements depicting the fight with scimitars against the enemy are particularly impressive.

The Chinese people who have suffered from aggression and outrages at the hands of alien invaders have always sympathized with the Yugoslav people's struggles to defend their independence and state sovereignty. The dances in



*Insurgents*

praise of resistance arouse shared common feelings today when a struggle is waged against superpower hegemonism.

At the end of each performance the Yugoslav artists sang in clear Chinese the revolutionary Chinese song *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention*, which they had learnt in a very short time.

### **Norwegian Pianist Kjell Baekkelund Welcomed**

At the theatre of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Peking, the Norwegian pianist

Kjell Baekkelund included in his recital *Wild Lilies Bloom Red As Flame*, a Chinese composition based on a north Shensi Province folk song, as an expression of his friendship for the Chinese people.

In the course of his tour, the pianist brought to Chinese audiences many works by Grieg, among them *Ballad* marked by deep thoughts, a melancholy mood and dramatic effects, *Wedding* showing simple folk-custom, and *Waltz, To Spring* and *Scherzo*—the three portraying emotional changes from ease of mind to excitement. His vivid and natural playing

brought before appreciative audiences the beautiful land and everyday life of Norway. The composition *Ballad of Revolt* by Seaverud describing the militancy of the Norwegian people and their confidence in victory during World War II evoked strong sympathy and admiration.

Baekkelund's rendering of works by the classical composers Handel, Mozart, Beethoven and Chopin was characterized by beautiful and harmonious tonal quality, clear development and rich variation. His mastery of piano technique is impressive.

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(Continued from p. 15.)

The whole world is thrown into unrest. This is what Brezhnev's "policy of peace" and his assurances of "no threat," "non-interference" and "non-aggression" amount to in reality.

Lenin once pointed out that all imperialists "pay lip-service to peace and justice, but in fact wage annexationist and predatory wars." (*Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*.) This is exactly what the Brezhnev clique has been doing.

The Khrushchov-Brezhnev gang has gone to great pains to work out this reactionary constitution, spending over 17 years. As early as 1959, Khrushchov first spoke of framing a new constitution to take the place of the one adopted in 1936. As soon as Brezhnev came to power in 1964, he also took over the chairmanship of the "constitutional commission" and promised to have the draft of a new constitution ready before the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1967. But for years, the unceasing struggle of the people of the Soviet Union and the world against social-imperialism and endless squabbles within the Kremlin had made the drafting very difficult.

In his report on the draft constitution, Brezhnev negated Lenin's scientific theories on the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism

and viciously branded as "dark years" the period during which the Soviet people built socialism under Stalin's leadership. On the other hand, he proclaimed that in the Soviet Union under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the "whole society has profoundly changed" and that "major and fundamental changes have taken place in all aspects of social life." Indeed, in the past two decades and more, major and fundamental changes have taken place in the nature of the Soviet state and society with the usurpation of power and restoration of capitalism by the revisionist renegade clique in Lenin's motherland. Hence the new constitution to make this restoration legitimate. This is, in a way, a good thing. The people of the world will now see more clearly than ever how irrevocable is the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Kremlin rulers.

Speaking of bourgeois constitutions, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao emphasized that the constitutions of the imperialist countries "are all designed to deceive and oppress the majority of the people." (*On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*.) Framed by the Brezhnev clique and filled with lies, the new Soviet constitution which is reactionary provides an example.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

# ROUND THE WORLD

## FOUR ITALIAN MARXIST- LENINIST ORGANIZATIONS

### Unified Communist Party Formed

The Unified Communist Party of Italy with Osvaldo Pesce as General Secretary has been founded. This was announced at a congress of unity of Italian Marxist-Leninists held from May 6 to 8 by the Organization of the Communists of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), Struggle of Long Duration, Consciousness of the Workers, and Proletarian Ideology.

In his political report to the congress, Osvaldo Pesce stressed that the rivalry between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is becoming more acute. It has extended to every sphere—from land to sea and from ocean to outer space—and constitutes an absolute and comprehensive antagonism. The two superpowers are rattling their sabres, Soviet social-imperialism being most aggressive, he said.

He pointed out that Europe, the stage of continuous conflicts among imperialist powers from the First to the Second World War, is still a key area of contention between imperialism and social-imperialism. To encircle Europe militarily, he

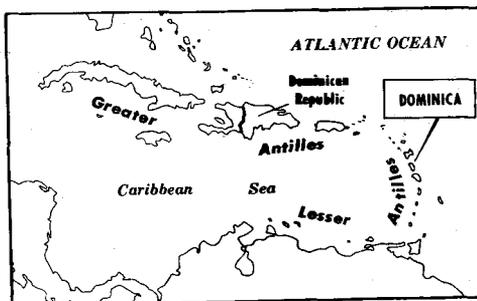
noted, the social-imperialists have launched offensives on Europe's flanks—the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

## DOMINICA

### On the Threshold of Independence

"We are on the threshold of independence, this is something new, something inspiring to the whole nation," declared Dominican Premier Patrick John on May 23 at a mass rally in Roseau, capital of Dominica. Dominica will be independent by next January at the latest, he noted.

Pursuing this aim, he visited London from May 16 to 20 for talks with the British Government. On March 11, on behalf of the Dominican cabinet, he presented a draft resolution to the House of Assembly demanding that Britain agree on Dominica's full independence. And it was approved by the said Assembly.



Finance Minister Vic Riviere said at an Assembly meeting: "Independence is the only salvation for the people of Dominica at this time. We will not allow any individual to retard the progress of the nation and there should be no obstruction along the path to independence taken by the Dominican Government."

The east Caribbean Island of Dominica, situated in the Lesser Antilles, has a territory of 752 square kilometres and a population of 74,000. It is a different entity from the Dominican Republic which is situated in the Greater Antilles. Dominica became "a State in association with Britain" in 1967, ending its centuries-old status as a colony ruled by Britain or France.

## EASTERN EUROPE

### Strengthens Economic Ties With the West

While the struggle for and against control is sharpening between the Soviet Union and the East European countries, member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) in Eastern Europe have taken steps to strengthen economic ties with Western countries.

From World War II to the late 60s, the volume of trade between the Western countries and the East European countries was insignificant as compared with that between the latter and the Soviet Union. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the East

European countries have rapidly increased trade with the West, especially import trade. In the five years ending with 1974, the trade of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia with Western capitalist countries exceeded their trade within the C.M.E.A. (including the Soviet Union) in terms of average annual growth rate. In 1974, imports of the East European countries (except Bulgaria) from Western capitalist countries as a whole outstripped imports from the Soviet Union. At the same time, compared with the Western countries' trade with these four East European countries, Soviet trade with the latter represented a smaller proportion of the total volume of each taken individually. About 80 per cent of the commodities these East European countries imported from the West were complete sets of industrial equipment and finished products not available in the Soviet Union.

In recent years, some East European countries, harassed by the Soviet Union and depending on it for grain supplies, had to turn to the West. In the 1975-76 crop year, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. purchased 11.9 million tons of grain from the West and will probably buy more this year.

The five East European countries have established extensive economic co-operation with major Western countries. They

have signed long-term agreements on co-operation in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology, with the emphasis transferred from trade to industrial co-ordination. Hungary has signed over 468 contracts with the West at the beginning of the year. To free itself from dependence on Soviet raw materials and fuel supplies, Bulgaria has in recent years concluded agreements with Western countries on the joint exploitation of its natural resources. Last August, the G.D.R. and West Germany began joint exploitation of lignite in areas along their common borders.

Some East European countries also encourage direct investments by Western enterprises. Now there are four joint-stock companies in Hungary. Last year, Poland in amendments to laws lifted some restrictions on foreign investments.

## BRITAIN

### In the Grip of a Troubled Economy

Since the beginning of this year, Britain's industrial recovery has slackened and investment fallen off, while unemployment has been serious and inflation worsening.

The gross national product in the first quarter of the year was 109.5 (seasonally adjusted), taking the 1970 figure as 100. This is only 0.5 per cent above the level of the previous quar-

ter and over 6 per cent below the level of 1973-74.

In the construction industry, new contracts placed in the first quarter of the year were 7 per cent less than in the fourth quarter of 1976 and 15 per cent less than in the same period of last year. A national survey of architectural employment conducted last April noted that more than 2,000 architects had been laid off in the last 12 months.

The steel and auto industries have been bogged down. Steel output in April averaged 377,600 tons a week, the lowest since last December and 18.2 per cent below that of the same period of last year.

The poor performance of these three key industries has affected in varying degrees the production of other sectors and brought stagnation to the nation's industries as a whole.

To shift the burden of their economic difficulties, British monopolists have fired large numbers of workers. Total jobless remained at some 1.4 million in the first four months of this year.

Serious inflation has been accompanied by soaring prices. The Labour government has declared inflation the "No. 1 enemy" but finds no way to stem it. Cuts in public expenditures and wage restraint have failed to improve the situation. New problems have surfaced one after another to stir up stronger resentment among the working people.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## Lively Creative Writing

THEIR minds at ease, thanks to the downfall of Chiang Ching and her counter-revolutionary gang, old and young Chinese writers — professional and amateur alike — are going in for creative writing with vigour. This has helped to bring about initial prosperity in the publication of literary works.

Two poem collections in memory of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai respectively and the reminiscences *Follow Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai on the Long March* have won the acclaim from readers.

*Songs in Praise of Chairman Hua*, which is a collection of folk songs from various nationalities and localities, and other compilations of songs and *chuyi* (ballads and story-telling) items on the same theme have also been warmly received. This mirrors the Chinese people's love for their worthy leader whom Chairman Mao chose as his successor.

Two years ago, script-writer of the film *Pioneers* Chang Tien-min wrote a letter to Chairman Mao exposing the "gang of four's" scheme to strangle this film. His long novel of the same name went to press recently. On a scope greater than that of the film, the novel depicts the massive battle during the 1960s to open

up and build Taching Oilfield. The author has finished a scenario about the oil workers and is planning to write another one dealing with the construction of offshore oilfields.

The full-length ballad *Brother Oil Worker* by the noted poet Li Chi has been recently published. Inspired by Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, the author had composed many good poems in Yanan during the 40s. *Brother Oil Worker*, like the long poem *Battle Song of Tachai* by a young amateur poet, is fairly inspiring in the current nationwide mass movement to emulate advanced units and individuals.

In defiance of the "gang of four's" highhandedness, the 62-year-old woman writer Yang Mo has written a long novel about the struggle against Japanese aggressors behind enemy lines in north China during the 40s. She is revising it in the light of opinions solicited from workers and veteran revolutionaries. Her novel *The Song of Youth*, which she wrote 20 years ago portraying how an intellectual joins the ranks of revolution in the 30s, has been reprinted recently. It still enjoys wide acclaim from readers after being banned by the "gang of four" for more than a decade.

Other newly published long novels include one which eulogizes the labour and struggle of

the Mongolian people who are now celebrating the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, and one about life in a north China forest area. *War of Yesterday* portrays the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea in the early 50s.

The reportage *On Top of the Earth* pictures the Chinese mountaineers' 1975 expedition to ascend to the top of the Qomolangma Feng, the highest peak in the world. Another one records the heart-stirring deeds performed by armymen and civilians in Tangshan in the days immediately following the strong earthquake which struck the area last July.

*Tracks in the Snowy Forest*, one of the most popular novels during the 50s, which later was adapted into the Peking opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, has just been reprinted without any revision of the original, because the author wishes to "let the readers see the novel banned by Chiang Ching as what it is." A long novel by the same author, which is about the life and struggle of the people of his native Shantung Province during the 30s, will come out soon. He is revising another medium-length novel depicting life at a rear area hospital during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Newly published historical novels include the second volume (in three parts) of *Li Tzu-cheng*. The novel, written by Yao Hsueh-yin, presents the

rousing picture of a 17th-century peasant war in China. The first volume, which came off the press in 1963, has been revised and will soon be available.

Chou Li-po's long novel *Hurricane*, which is about the land reform in the liberated area of northeast China during the 40s, has been reprinted. The author had attended the 1942 Yen-an forum on literature and art. It was Chairman Mao's brilliant talks there that encouraged him to go deep into the countryside and write this outstanding novel. During the Cultural Revolution, however, *Hurricane* was banned by Chiang Ching and her ilk who alleged that the author "artificially made a tragic end" in this novel. Chou Li-po said: Chairman Mao's Yen-an talks will illuminate for ever the road of advance for all revolutionary literary and art workers. Full of confidence, he is mapping out a plan for new creations. "With the downfall of the 'gang of four,'" he remarked, "there are a great many things before us waiting to be done."

Chou Li-po's feeling is shared by the other writers. In a poem hailing the overthrow of the "gang of four," the noted playwright Tsao Yu wrote: "I have gained new vitality." He is now writing a play about the struggle against the gang. Hsieh Ping-hsin, a woman writer, published many articles honouring the memory of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and expressing her feelings after visiting the construction site of the Chairman Mao Me-

morial Hall. Apart from her daily work in the Central Institute for Nationalities and other social activities, she makes every effort to continue her writing. She has just completed a children's story about the life of a Mongolian girl whom she knows. A distinguished writer who started writing for children half a century ago, Hsieh Ping-hsin in her advanced seventies is still brimming with health and vigour.

A number of works have been put out with a view to taking over and assimilating the fine Chinese and foreign literary heritage and boosting socialist culture. These include a five-volume collection of poems and proses by the 12th-century Chinese patriotic poet Lu Yu, *The Scholars* — a satirical novel written in the 18th century, *Mother* by Gorky and a new translation of *How the Steel Was Tempered* by Ostrovsky who was a Soviet proletarian writer. Mayakovski's long poem *Lenin*, a collection of the German proletarian poet Georg Weerth and works by Shakespeare, Cervantes and Heinrich Heine will be published.

### **Shenyang's Electronics Industry**

**T**HE electronics industry is developing rapidly in Shenyang, northeast China.

Before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, Shenyang turned out only a few varieties of electronic products owing to the interference by Liu Shao-

chi's revisionist line. Now one of the major centres of China's electronics industry, the city is making an additional 220 varieties of products and its output value of this industry in 1976 was 11.2 times that of 1965.

Inspired by the Great Cultural Revolution, the workers, cadres and technical personnel in Shenyang have done their best to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. To meet China's needs, they manufactured more than 60 kinds of complete sets of electronic apparatus with distinctive features of their own and for different purposes, some of them up to advanced levels in quality.

Besides TV sets and high-grade radios, the city makes electronic equipment and advanced precision instruments and meters for industrial automation, high-precision electronic computers, numerical control devices used in machine tools, automatic blood pressure monitors, video recorders, products used in broadcasting and telecommunications and sophisticated electronic equipment for national defence.

The use of electronic techniques has led to increasing automation in the city's metallurgical, chemical and light industries and commercial departments and has brought about radical changes in conventional production techniques. Many enterprises have reported good results in using electronic techniques to improve their old equipment and old processes.