

PEKING REVIEW

27

July 7, 1978

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報

Chairman Mao Tsetung's Talk

At an Enlarged Working Conference
Convened by the Central Committee
Of the Communist Party of China

January 30, 1962

China's Policy Is Open, Aboveboard, Consistent

— Refuting Soviet slanders on China's policy towards
overseas Chinese

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Chairman Mao's Important Talk Published

July 1 this year was the 57th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Chairman Mao's important work, *Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* (see p. 6) which was delivered in 1962, and made public on July 1 this year with the approval of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, deals mainly with the question of democratic centralism and of promoting democracy inside and outside the Party. People throughout the country have been studying it conscientiously in the last few days.

Renmin Ribao published an editorial entitled "Democratic Centralism Should Be Practised in Earnest." Chairman Mao's talk, the editorial pointed out, "is a powerful ideological weapon for us in consolidating Party organizations, strengthening Party building, better uniting the people of all nationalities throughout the country to accomplish the general task for the new period." The general task for the Chinese people in the new period following the smashing of the "gang of four" is to transform China into a powerful, modern socialist country by the end of the century.

The editorial noted: "The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, through opening broad avenues for the airing of views, has stimulated the enthusiasm of the people in

their hundreds of millions. In the short period of one year or so, we have witnessed the power of democracy. The people have smashed the mental shackles imposed by Lin Piao and the 'gang of four'; they now enjoy ease of mind and dare to speak out. The strength of the masses led by the Party has become an irresistible trend of history that has swept away the gang and is clearing up the confusion resulting from the gang's interference and sabotage and enabling the country to swiftly advance towards the goal of great order; it has dispelled the lethargy in which 10,000 horses stand mute caused by the gang's tyranny and created a political situation of liveliness. We must highly treasure such a political situation. So long as the Party committees at all levels actually practise democratic centralism and not merely pay lip service to it, we will be able to unite the people who make up over 95 per cent of the population and organize them into a tremendous force capable of overcoming all difficulties and working wonders, and we will be able to accomplish the general task for the new period."

Hongqi, in its editorial entitled "A Powerful Ideological Weapon for Realizing the General Task for the New Period," said: "This brilliant work of Comrade Mao Tsetung's is a powerful ideological weapon for us in deepening the current movement to expose and criticize the 'gang of four,' and thoroughly eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the gang; it is also a

powerful ideological weapon in reviving and carrying forward the Party's fine traditions, promoting socialist democracy, strengthening centralism and further uniting, mobilizing and organizing the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to strive for the realization of the general task for the new period."

The editorial added: "If we persist in implementing democratic centralism throughout the Party and the country, further strengthen the collective leadership of Party committees at all levels and promote the close relations between leading Party organs and Party members and between the Party and the people so as to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, we will certainly be able to ensure the implementation of the line of the 11th Party Congress and the successful realization of the general task for the new period."

Keng Piao Visits Pakistan And Sri Lanka

Vice-Premier Keng Piao led a Chinese government delegation on a friendly visit to Pakistan and Sri Lanka from June 16 to 25. Deputy leader of the delegation was Vice-Minister of Communications Pan Chi.

In Pakistan. Keng Piao and other members of the delegation attended a ceremony marking

the completion of the Karakoram Highway project held at Thakot, the terminal of the highway in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province. (See p. 42.)

At the banquet given by General Zia-Ul-Haq, Head of the Government of Pakistan, in honour of Vice-Premier Keng Piao, both the General and the Vice-Premier praised the friendship between Pakistan and China and stressed the need to combat hegemonism and oppose attempts to establish spheres of influence. General Zia-Ul-Haq said that the friendly relations between the two countries have steadily developed because they are based on principles and not expediency. He expressed opposition to all attempts to establish spheres of influence or positions of regional or global pre-eminence on the part of any one state or a group of states.

Praising the fruitful cooperation between the two countries, General Zia-Ul-Haq said that the many projects built in Pakistan with China's disinterested assistance are now playing an important role in bringing about a radical transformation of Pakistan's economy. "The Karakoram Highway," he said, "will be another lasting monument to such cooperation."

Vice-Premier Keng Piao praised the Government and people of Pakistan for their unremitting efforts in normalizing their relations with neighbouring countries and promoting regional stability and tranquillity. He said, China "ardently wishes that the countries in South Asia will continue to improve their mutual relations free from

outside interference and that they treat each other as equals and live in amity on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." "This," he stressed, "not only accords with the fundamental interests of the people of South Asian countries but also serves the third world's cause of unity against hegemonism."

The Vice-Premier expressed firm support for Pakistan's proposal to make South Asia a nuclear-free zone and its efforts to win the right to self-determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

During his stay in Pakistan, Vice-Premier Keng Piao who was Chinese Ambassador to that country 20 years ago called on President Elahi and held talks with General Zia-Ul-Haq.

In Sri Lanka. Vice-Premier Keng Piao and his party arrived in Colombo on June 21. During his 5-day visit to Sri Lanka, Keng Piao held talks with Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Hamed and was received by President Jayewardene.

Speaking at the banquet he gave in honour of Vice-Premier Keng Piao, Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa said that "the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is vital to the peace and stability of the region." "China and Sri Lanka," he noted, "have consistently stood together in opposing colonialism and imperialism and extending unreserved support to the efforts to democratize international relations." He pointed out that the non-aligned countries as well as other nations of the third world are deeply indebted to China for the support they

have received from her in their struggle to secure a fair and just international economic order.

In his speech Keng Piao pointed out: "The non-aligned countries on the five continents are an important part of the third world. The vigorous non-aligned movement is an effective force in opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism." He said that Sri Lanka, an initiator of the non-aligned movement and now serving as the president of the current session of the non-aligned summit conference, has made notable contributions to the development and growth of the movement. He expressed the conviction that "Sri Lanka continuing to work together with other non-aligned countries will make new contributions in safeguarding the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned countries and upholding the movement's correct orientation of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

Good Comrades Rehabilitated

Recently several nationally known persons, who had died from cruel persecution in those years when the "gang of four" usurped part of state power, were rehabilitated. They included Meng Tai, a model worker of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company; Jung Kuo-tuan and Fu Chi-fang, coaches of the Chinese table tennis teams; and Tsao Ti-chiu, former mayor of Shanghai.

Comrade Tsao Ti-chiu was concurrently one of the secretaries of the Shanghai municipal Party committee. A fine member of the Chinese Communist

Party, he had worked assiduously for the Party and people for many years before and after liberation.

As part of its plot to seize Party and state power, the "gang of four" brought false charges against this comrade who had made notable contributions to socialist revolution and construction, deliberately confusing right and wrong with regard to his arrest in 1932 by the reactionary Kuomintang authorities for engaging in revolutionary activities. He was branded a "renegade" by the gang after prolonged solitary confinement during which he was ruthlessly persecuted.

Comrade Tsao time and again refuted the gang's trumped-up charges, protested against the persecution he was subjected to, and twice appealed to Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and the Party Central Committee. The gang and its followers, however, withheld his letters of appeal and continued to molest him. With the wrong that remained to be righted, Comrade Tsao Ti-chiu died in Shanghai on March 29, 1976.

After the "gang of four" was swept into the garbage-bin of history, serious re-examinations were carried out with regard to this case. It has been verified that both in the enemy's court and jail Tsao Ti-chiu firmly maintained the revolutionary integrity of a genuine Communist Party member, resourcefully struggled against the enemy and protected the Party organizations and revolutionary comrades.

When the gang held sway, its members spearheaded their at-

tacks against veteran revolutionary cadres, specialists and intellectuals who had made contributions to the state as well as well-known model workers and peasants. They did all this in the name of waging "class struggle." They stopped at nothing and did not care who the victims were so long as such attacks and frame-ups were of advantage to their plot to usurp Party and state power.

Comrades Jung Kuo-tuan and Fu Chi-fang, coaches of the national table tennis teams, enjoyed high prestige in international table tennis circles. Jung was the first Chinese player to win the men's singles title at the world championships in 1959. Despite their contributions, both of them were framed by the "gang of four" and its stooges in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission.

Meng Tai had made outstanding contributions during the recovery period of this iron and steel complex in the 50s and in the years of large-scale construction that followed. Even such a veteran worker, held in respect by the people of the whole country, was persecuted physically and mentally.

The above-mentioned victims have now been rehabilitated. Memorial meetings or solemn ceremonies to inter their ashes were held to honour their memory.

IN THE NEWS

• Yeh Chien-ying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, on June 27 sent a message to

Abdul Karim al Arashi, President of the Presidential Council of the Yemen Arab Republic, extending his condolences on the death of President al Ghashmi.

• Mr. Shang Chen, one of the Kuomintang veterans, died on May 15 in Tokyo. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was leader of the Chiang clique's delegation to Japan. He resigned later out of his resentment at Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule and stayed in Japan ever since. But his heart was turned towards the socialist motherland; he supported the Communist Party of China and loved Chairman Mao and returned home twice to tour the country and make visits. His wife Sakuko Yasuda brought back his ashes for interment in accordance with his wish. Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping attended the ceremony for placing the ashes of Mr. Shang Chen in Peking on June 30.

• Martin Marval, representative of the Ruptura Political Movement of Venezuela, visited China recently at the invitation of the China-Latin American Friendship Association.

During the guest's stay in Peking, Shen Chien, leading member of the host association, met and feted Martin Marval and had a cordial and friendly conversation with him. They both pledged to continue their efforts to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries and strengthen their militant unity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of The Communist Party of China

January 30, 1962

MAO TSETUNG



Chairman Mao addressing the Enlarged Working Conference (January 1962).

Comrades! I'm now going to put forward a few ideas. (*Warm applause*) Altogether I'll deal with six points, focusing on the question of democratic centralism while also touching on other questions.

The first point: The way the present conference is being held.

More than 7,000 people have come to this Enlarged Central Working Conference. At the outset, several comrades prepared a

draft report. Before the draft could be discussed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, I suggested to them that rather than first holding a meeting of the Political Bureau to discuss it, we should immediately issue it to the comrades attending the conference for their comments and opinions. Comrades, there are among you people from various fields and localities — from provincial, prefectural and county Party committees, from the Party committees of various enterprises and from central departments. Most of you are

closer to the lower levels and should know the situation and problems better than us comrades on the Standing Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Besides, since you occupy different posts, you can raise questions from different angles. That is why we should ask for your opinions. As expected, after the draft report was issued to you, it brought about lively discussion. While agreeing with the basic policy of the

Central Committee, you also put forward many ideas. Later, a drafting committee of 21 was set up, which included responsible members from regional bureaus of the Central Committee. After eight days of discussion it produced the second draft of the report. It should be said that this second draft is the Central Committee's concentration of a discussion by over 7,000 people. Without your ideas it could not have been written. Both the first and second parts have undergone very substantial revision in the second draft, and for this you should be given the credit. I hear that you have all commented on the second draft quite favourably and consider it to be fairly good. If we hadn't used this method but had run the conference in the usual manner — that is, hearing a report first, then discussing it and approving it with a show of hands — we wouldn't have done as well.

This is a question of how to hold meetings. Distribute the draft, invite comments from those present and make amendments accordingly before giving a report. When making a report, one shouldn't just read it out, but should offer some supplementary ideas and explanations. By following this method we can promote democracy more fully, pool wisdom from all quarters and compare different points of view, and our meetings will become more lively. It has been advisable to use this method for the present conference which is being held to sum up the working experience of 12 years, and particularly that of the past four years, for there are many questions and consequently many opinions. But can all conferences adopt this method? No, not all. To use this method we must have plenty of time. It may sometimes be used at sessions of our people's congress. Comrades from provincial, prefectural and county Party committees, when you call meetings in future, you too can adopt this method if conditions permit. Of course, you are busy and cannot usually spend a lot of time on conferences.

But there's no harm in having a try when you find the conditions right.

What sort of method is this? It's the method of democratic centralism, the method of the mass line: first democracy, then centralism; from the masses, to the masses; integration of the leadership with the masses. This is the first point I wanted to discuss.

The second point: The question of democratic centralism.

It seems that some of our comrades still don't understand democratic centralism as described by Marx and Lenin. Some of these comrades are already veteran revolutionaries, of the 1938 mould or some other mould — anyway, they've been members of the Communist Party for several decades and still don't understand this question. They are afraid of the masses, afraid of the masses speaking out, afraid of mass criticism. What possible reason is there for Marxist-Leninists to be afraid of the masses? While they avoid mentioning their own mistakes, these comrades are likewise afraid of having their mistakes mentioned by the masses. The more they're afraid, the more they're going to be haunted by ghosts. In my opinion, one shouldn't be afraid. What is there to be afraid of? Our attitude is, uphold the truth and readily correct mistakes. The question of what is right or wrong, what is correct or incorrect, in our work falls under contradictions among the people. Contradictions among the people can't be resolved by curses or fists, still less by knives or guns. They can be resolved only by discussion and reasoning, criticism and self-criticism. In a word, they can be resolved only by the democratic method, by letting the masses speak out.

There should be full democracy both inside and outside the Party, that is, democratic centralism should be practised in earnest in both spheres. Problems should be brought out into the open frankly and the masses allowed to speak out, speak out even if we are going to be abused. The worst

that can come out of this abuse is that we will be toppled and thus be unable to continue in our current jobs — demotion to lower organizations or transfer to other localities. What's so impossible about that? Why should a person go only up and not down? Why should one work only in one place and not be transferred to another? I think that, whether they are justified or not, both demotion and transfer have advantages. They help to temper people's revolutionary will, enable them to investigate and study many new situations, and acquire more useful knowledge. I myself had experience in this respect and benefited a great deal from it. If you don't believe my point, you might give it a try. Szuma Chien said: "When King Wen was detained, he produced the *Book of Changes*; when Confucius was in distress, he compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Chu Yuan was exiled and so composed the *Li Sao*. Tsochiu Ming lost his sight and the *Kuo Yu* followed. Sun Tzu was mutilated before he wrote his book on military science. Lu Pu-wei was transferred to the Shu region and so the world inherited his *Lu Lan*. Han Fei was imprisoned in the Kingdom of Chin and he wrote 'Shui Nan' and 'Ku Fen,' two chapters of his great work. Of the 300 poems in the *Book of Odes* most were written by sages to vent their pent-up indignation." In modern times, people have had doubts about whether in fact King Wen produced the *Book of Changes* or Confucius compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and we can leave these examples aside and let the specialists solve these problems. But Szuma Chien believed these things to be true. And it is a fact that King Wen was detained and that Confucius was in distress. Except for the one about Tsochiu Ming's going blind, the events related by Szuma Chien all refer to the incorrect handling of people by their superiors in ancient times. There were cases where we too handled some cadres incorrectly, and no matter whether their handling was completely incorrect or only partially so, after re-examination they should be rehabilitated

according to the merits of each case. But, generally speaking, such incorrect treatment — demotion or transfer — tempers their revolutionary will and enables them to absorb much new knowledge from the masses. Here I must make it clear that I am not advocating indiscriminate, incorrect treatment of our cadres, our comrades, or anybody else, in the way the ancients detained King Wen, harassed Confucius, exiled Chu Yuan and removed Sun Tzu's kneecaps. I am not advocating this way of doing things, I am opposed to it. What I mean is that at every stage of human history there have always been such cases of mishandling. In class societies such cases are numerous. In a socialist society such things cannot be entirely avoided either. They are unavoidable whether in periods of leadership with a correct or with an incorrect line. There is one distinction, however. Under a correct line, as soon as cases which have been mishandled are discovered, after re-examination the people concerned will be rehabilitated and apologies will be made to them, so that they will enjoy ease of mind and lift up their heads again. But under an incorrect line, this becomes impossible, and the mistakes can be corrected at a suitable occasion only by those who represent the correct line through the method of democratic centralism. As for those who have actually made mistakes and who, after criticism by comrades and review at a higher level, have been correctly demoted or transferred, it goes without saying that such demotion or transfer will help them correct their mistakes and acquire new knowledge.

At present, there are some comrades who are very afraid of the masses initiating discussion and putting forward ideas which differ from those of the leading organs or the leaders. Whenever a problem is being discussed, they suppress the initiative of the masses and don't allow them to speak out. This attitude is abominable. Democratic centralism is written into our Party Constitution and state Constitution, but they

don't apply it. Comrades, we are revolutionaries. If we have really made mistakes, mistakes which are harmful to the cause of the Party and the people, we should seek the opinions of the masses and of comrades and criticize ourselves. Such self-criticism should sometimes be repeated several times over. If once is not enough and people are not satisfied, it should be done a second time; if they are still not satisfied, then it should be done a third time; it should go on until nobody has any more criticisms. Some provincial Party committees have done just this. A few provinces have shown some initiative and let people speak out. The early ones started self-criticism in 1959, the late starters began in 1961. Some provinces, such as Honan, Kansu and Chinghai, were forced to carry out self-criticism. Some people say there are other provinces which seem to be starting self-criticism only now. But no matter whether they carry out self-criticism on their own initiative or are forced to do so, no matter whether they do so early or late, provided they look squarely at their mistakes and are willing to admit and correct them and let the masses criticize them — provided they adopt this attitude, we should always welcome it.

Criticism and self-criticism is a method; it is the method of resolving contradictions among the people and indeed the only method. There is no other method. But if we don't have full democracy and don't truly practise democratic centralism, this method of criticism and self-criticism cannot be applied.

Don't we have many difficulties right now? It is impossible to overcome these difficulties unless we rely on the masses and arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and the cadres. But if you don't explain the situation to the masses and the cadres, open your hearts to them and let them voice their opinions, if they are still afraid of you and don't dare speak, it will be impossible to arouse their enthusiasm. I said in 1957 that we should create "a political situation in

which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." We should create such a political situation both inside and outside the Party. Otherwise it will be impossible to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. We cannot overcome difficulties without democracy. Of course, it's even more impossible to do so without centralism. But if there's no democracy there won't be any centralism.

Without democracy there can't be correct centralism because centralism can't be established when people have divergent views and don't have unity of understanding. What is meant by centralism? First, there must be concentration of correct ideas. Unity of understanding, of policy, plan, command and action is attained on the basis of concentrating correct ideas. This is unity through centralism. But if all those concerned are still not clear about the problems, if their opinions are still unexpressed or their anger is still not vented, how can you achieve this unity through centralism? Without democracy, it is impossible to sum up experience correctly. Without democracy, without ideas coming from the masses, it is impossible to formulate good lines, principles, policies or methods. As far as the formulation of lines, principles, policies and methods is concerned, our leading organs merely play the role of a processing plant. Everyone knows that a factory cannot do any processing without raw material. It cannot produce good finished products unless the raw material is sufficient in quantity and suitable in quality. If there is no democracy, if there is no knowledge of what is going on down below and no clear idea about it, if there is no adequate canvassing of the opinions of all concerned and no communication between higher and lower levels, and if instead issues are decided solely by the leading organs of the higher levels on the strength of one-sided or inaccurate material, then such decisions can hardly

avoid being subjective and it will be impossible to achieve unity in understanding and action or achieve true centralism. Isn't the main topic of our present conference opposition to decentralism and the strengthening of centralism and unity? If we fail to promote democracy in full measure, then will this centralism, this unity, be genuine or sham? Will it be real or empty? Will it be correct or incorrect? Of course it will only be sham, empty and incorrect.

Our centralism is centralism built on the foundation of democracy. Proletarian centralism is centralism with a broad democratic base. The Party committees at all levels are the organs which exercise centralized leadership. But leadership by the Party committee means collective leadership, not arbitrary decision by the first secretary alone. Within Party committees, democratic centralism alone should be practised. The relationship between the first secretary and the other secretaries and committee members is one of the minority being subordinate to the majority. Take the Standing Committee or the Political Bureau of the Central Committee by way of example. It often happens that when I say something, regardless of whether it is correct or incorrect, if the others don't agree, I must accede to their opinion because they are the majority. I am told that that there are now some provincial, prefectural and county Party committees where all matters are decided by the first secretary alone. This is quite wrong. How can we justify the idea that what one person says goes? I am referring to important matters here, not to the routine work coming after decisions. If a matter is important, it must be discussed collectively, different opinions must be heeded, and the complexities of the situation and the dissenting opinions must be analysed seriously. Thought must be given to the various possibilities and estimates made of the various aspects of a situation, what is good and what bad, what is easy and what difficult, what is possible and what impos-

sible. This should be done as carefully and thoroughly as possible. To act otherwise is just one-man tyranny. Those first secretaries should be called tyrants and not "squad leaders" practising democratic centralism. Once upon a time there was a certain Hsiang Yu, who was called the tyrant of Western Chu. He hated listening to opinions which differed from his own. One Fan Tseng offered him advice, but Hsiang Yu didn't listen to what he had to say. There was another man named Liu Pang, the founder of the Han Dynasty, who was better at accepting ideas different from his own. An intellectual called Li Yi-chi went to see Liu Pang. When he was first announced, it was as a scholar of the Confucian school. Liu Pang said there was a war on and he couldn't see scholars. Li Yi-chi flared up and said to the gatekeeper: "You get in there again and say that I'm a drinking man from Kaoyang, not a scholar." The gatekeeper did as he was told. "All right, ask him in." When Li Yi-chi entered, Liu Pang was washing his feet but he quickly got up to welcome him. Still angry because Liu Pang had refused to see a scholar, Li Yi-chi gave him a dressing down. He said, "Look here, do you want to conquer the world or don't you? Why do you take an elder so lightly?" Li Yi-chi was then over 60 and Liu Pang was younger, so Li called himself an "elder." At this, Liu Pang apologized and promptly accepted Li Yi-chi's plan of seizing the county of Chenliu. This incident can be found in the biographies of Li Yi-chi and Lu Chia in the *Historical Records*. In the feudal period, Liu Pang was described by historians as a hero "who was generous and open-minded and who readily listened to advice." Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu fought for many years. In the end Liu Pang won and Hsiang Yu was defeated. This was no accident. Today some of our first secretaries can't even match the feudal Liu Pang but have a bit of Hsiang Yu in them. If these comrades don't change, they'll ultimately be overthrown. Isn't there an opera called *The Tyrant Bids His Lady Farewell*? If these

comrades remain unchanged, the day will come when they too will be "bidding their ladies farewell." (*Laughter*) why do I have to put the matter so strongly? It's because I hope that by speaking a bit sarcastically, I can prick some comrades and get them to give this some hard thought. It will be best if they can't sleep for a night or two. If they can sleep, then I'll be the unhappy one because they still haven't felt any pain.

Some of our comrades can't bear to hear any opinion contrary to their own and can't tolerate any criticism. That is very wrong. During this conference, the group meeting of one province started off in a very lively manner, but as soon as the secretary of the provincial Party committee went to sit in, a hush fell and nobody said a word. Comrade provincial Party secretary, why do you go and sit there? Why don't you stay in your own room and think things over and let the others talk freely? Since such an atmosphere has been brought about and people don't dare speak in your presence, then you should absent yourself. Whoever makes mistakes must criticize himself, and we must let others speak up, let others criticize. On June 12 last year, the last day of the working conference in Peking convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I discussed my own shortcomings and mistakes. I asked the comrades to convey what I said to the provinces and localities. I found out later that many localities were not informed. It's as if my mistakes could or should be kept hidden. Comrades, they mustn't be kept hidden! Of all the mistakes made by the Central Committee I am responsible for those directly related to me and I have a share of the responsibility for those not directly related to me, because I am its Chairman. It's not that I want other people to slough off their responsibility — there are some other comrades who also bear responsibility — but I am the person who ought to be primarily responsible. The secretaries of our provincial, prefectural and county Party committees, right down to the

secretaries of Party committees of districts, enterprises and communes, being first secretaries, should bear responsibility for shortcomings and mistakes in work. Shirking responsibility, fearing to shoulder it and forbidding people to speak out as if one were a tiger whose backside no one dares touch — ten out of ten who adopt this attitude will fail. People will always speak out sooner or later. You think that people really won't dare to touch the backsides of tigers like you? They bloody well will!

Unless we fully promote people's democracy and inner-Party democracy and unless we fully implement proletarian democracy, it will be impossible for China to have true proletarian centralism. Without a high degree of democracy it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to establish a socialist economy. And what will happen to our country if we fail to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a revisionist state, indeed a bourgeois state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that. This is a question which very much deserves our vigilance and I hope our comrades will give it a good deal of thought.

Without democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated. To practise democracy among the people and to exercise dictatorship over the enemies of the people — these two aspects are not to be separated. When they are combined, we have proletarian dictatorship, or what may be called people's democratic dictatorship. Our slogan is: "A people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants." How does the proletariat exercise leadership? It leads through the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The proletariat unites with all classes and strata who favour, support and participate in

socialist revolution and socialist construction, and exercises dictatorship over the reactionary classes or rather their remnants. In our country where the system of exploitation of man by man has already been destroyed and the economic base of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie done away with, the reactionary classes are no longer as formidable as in the past. For example, they are no longer as formidable as in 1949 when the People's Republic was founded, or as in 1957 when the bourgeois Rightists frenziedly attacked us. Therefore, we speak of them as the remnants of the reactionary classes. But in no case should we underestimate these remnants. We must carry on our struggle against them. The reactionary classes which have been overthrown still seek a comeback. And in socialist society new bourgeois elements continue to emerge. Classes and class struggle exist throughout the socialist stage. This struggle is long and complex and at times even very acute. Our instruments of dictatorship must be strengthened, not weakened. Our public security system is in the hands of comrades who follow the correct line. But it is possible that security departments in one place or another are in the hands of bad people. And there are also a few comrades doing public security work who don't rely on the masses or on the Party. In ferreting out counter-revolutionaries, they don't follow the line of working through the masses under the leadership of the Party committees, but rely solely on secret work, on so-called professional work. Professional work is necessary; investigation and interrogation are absolutely necessary in dealing with counter-revolutionaries. But the most important thing is to follow the mass line under the leadership of the Party committee. It is especially necessary to rely on the masses and the Party in exercising dictatorship over the reactionary classes as a whole. Dictatorship over the reactionary classes does not mean the physical elimination of all reactionary class elements; the aim is to remould them, to remould them by suitable

methods, to make them into new men. Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively; they will continue to make trouble and may stage a comeback. We must be vigilant on this question, and I hope comrades will give it a good deal of thought too.

The third point: Which classes should we unite with and which classes should we repress? This is a question of basic stand.

The working class should unite with the peasantry, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the patriotic national bourgeoisie, and first and foremost, with the peasantry. Intellectuals such as scientists, engineers and technicians, professors, teachers, writers, artists, actors, medical workers and journalists do not constitute a class; they are attached either to the bourgeoisie or to the proletariat. Are we to unite only with those intellectuals who are revolutionary? No. So long as intellectuals are patriotic, we shall unite with them and help them do their work well. Workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeois elements, patriotic intellectuals, patriotic capitalists and other patriotic democrats together comprise more than 95 per cent of the population. Under our people's democratic dictatorship, they all belong to the category of the people. And among the people we must practise democracy.

Those whom the people's democratic dictatorship should repress are landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and anti-Communist Rightists. The counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and anti-Communist Rightists represent the landlord class and the reactionary bourgeoisie. These classes and bad people comprise about 4 or 5 per cent of the population. It

is they whom we must compel to undergo remoulding. It is they who are the object of the people's democratic dictatorship.

With whom do we stand? With the masses who comprise over 95 per cent of the population? Or with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who comprise 4 or 5 per cent of the population? We must side with the people and never with their enemies. For a Marxist-Leninist this is a question of basic stand.

Just as this holds true within our country, it also holds true internationally. Sooner or later, the people of all countries, the masses comprising more than 90 per cent of the world's population, will want revolution and support Marxism-Leninism. They won't support revisionism; though some people may support it for a while, they will eventually cast it aside. They are bound to awaken gradually, they are bound to oppose imperialism and reaction, and they are bound to oppose revisionism. A true Marxist-Leninist must stand firmly on the side of the masses who comprise over 90 per cent of the world's population.

The fourth point: Understanding the objective world.

Man's understanding of the objective world, his leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, involves a process. Take, for instance, the question of how to carry out the democratic revolution in China. From its founding in 1921 to its Seventh Congress in 1945, 24 years elapsed before our Party reached complete unity of understanding on this question. During this period we underwent a Party-wide rectification movement which lasted three and a half years, from the spring of 1942 to the summer of 1945. It was a thoroughgoing movement and the method of democracy was adopted, that is to say, no matter who had made mistakes, it was all right provided he acknowledged and corrected them. What is more, everybody helped him to acknowledge and

correct them. This was called "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" or "starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing right from wrong through criticism or struggle, and arriving at a new unity on a new basis." It was at that time that the formula "unity — criticism — unity" came into being. The rectification movement helped the comrades of the whole Party to reach unity of understanding. It was in that period, and especially after the rectification movement, that the problems of how the democratic revolution ought to be conducted and how the general line of the Party and its specific policies ought to be formulated were completely solved.

In the period between the founding of the Party and the War of Resistance Against Japan, we had the Northern Expedition and the ten years of the Agrarian Revolutionary War. We won two victories and met with two defeats. The Northern Expedition was victorious, but in 1927 the revolution suffered a defeat. Spectacular successes were achieved in the Agrarian Revolutionary War and the Red Army grew to a strength of 300,000. But later we again suffered reverses and our army of 300,000 was reduced to only some 20,000 in the Long March. After it reached northern Shensi, it took in some recruits but still fell short of 30,000, that is, less than one-tenth of the original 300,000. After all, which was stronger, the army of 300,000 or the army of less than 30,000? The army of less than 30,000, because having sustained those heavy reverses and gone through those extreme hardships, we had become tempered and experienced and had rectified the erroneous line and restored the correct line. In the report to this conference, it is said that we have become stronger, not weaker, because our line was correct and our achievements were primary in the past four years and because we have become experienced through making mistakes in our practical work and suffering from them. This is exactly how things stand. In the period of

the democratic revolution, we came to understand this objective world of China only after we had experienced victory, then defeat, victory again, then defeat again, only after we had twice drawn comparisons. On the eve and in the course of the War of Resistance Against Japan, I wrote a number of essays, such as *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, *On Protracted War*, *On New Democracy* and *Introducing "The Communist,"* and I drafted a number of documents on policy and strategy for the Central Committee. All of them sum up revolutionary experience. These essays and documents could only be written at that time and not before, because until then we hadn't been through storm and stress and couldn't compare our two victories and two defeats, and therefore we weren't adequately experienced and couldn't fully understand the laws governing the Chinese revolution.

Generally speaking, it was the Chinese, and not the comrades of the Communist International handling Chinese problems, who succeeded in gaining an understanding of this objective world of China. These comrades in the Communist International didn't understand Chinese society, the Chinese nation, and the Chinese revolution — or we can say that they didn't understand them well. For a long time we ourselves failed to have a clear understanding of China as an objective world, not to mention the foreign comrades!

It was not until the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan that we formulated a general line for the Party and a whole set of specific policies that suited the prevailing conditions. It was only then that we came to understand the Chinese democratic revolution, this realm of necessity, and that we gained freedom. By that time, we had already been making revolution for some 20 years. Through all those years there was a considerable degree of blindness in our revolutionary work. If anyone claims that any comrade — for instance, any comrade of the Central Committee, or for that matter I myself — completely understood the laws

governing the Chinese revolution right from the start, then he is a braggart and you must on no account believe him. It just wasn't so. In the past, and especially in the early years, all we had was a passion for revolution, but when it came to how to make revolution, what the targets were, which targets should come first and which later, and which had to wait until the next stage, we didn't have clear or at least wholly clear ideas for a fairly long time. In giving a historical account of how we Chinese Communists got to know, with much difficulty yet successfully, the laws governing the Chinese revolution in the period of democratic revolution, I hope to guide comrades to understand one thing: that getting to know the laws governing the building of socialism necessarily involves a process. We must take practice as the starting-point and move from having no experience to having some experience, from having little experience to having more experience, from the building of socialism, this still unknown realm of necessity, to the realm of freedom, a leap in cognition — the attainment of freedom through the gradual overcoming of our blindness and the gradual understanding of the objective laws.

We still lack experience in the building of socialism. I've discussed this problem with delegations of fraternal Parties from several countries. I told them that we had no experience in building a socialist economy.

I have also discussed this problem with some journalists from capitalist countries, among them an American called Edgar Snow. He had long wanted to come to China, and in 1960 we let him. I had a talk with him. I said, "As you know, we have a set of experiences, a set of principles, policies and measures with regard to politics, military affairs and class struggle; but when it comes to socialist construction, we hadn't done any in the past, and we still don't have experience. You may say, 'Haven't you been at it for 11 years?' Well yes, we have, but we still lack knowledge and experience. Even if we are beginning to acquire a little,

it doesn't amount to much." Snow wanted me to say something about China's long-term construction plans. I said, "I don't know," and he said, "You're being too cautious." I replied, "It's not a question of being cautious. I really don't know; we just don't have the experience." Comrades, it's true that we don't know, we still lack experience and really don't have such long-term plans yet. Nineteen-sixty was the very year we ran into a lot of difficulties. In 1961 I spoke of these things again during a discussion with Montgomery. He said, "In another 50 years you'll be terrific." What he meant was that after 50 years we would become powerful and would be "aggressive" towards others, but not before that. He had already expressed this view to me when in China in 1960. I said, "We are Marxist-Leninists, ours is a socialist state, not a capitalist state, and therefore we won't perpetrate aggression against others whether in 100 years or 10,000 years. As for the construction of a powerful socialist economy in China, 50 years won't be enough, it will take 100 years or even more. In your own country the development of capitalism has taken several hundred years. We won't count the 16th century, since the Middle Ages weren't over yet. But from the 17th century to the present is already more than 360 years. In our country, the building of a powerful socialist economy will take more than 100 years, I reckon." What period was the 17th century? It was the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ching Dynasty. Another century was to elapse before we came to the first half of the 18th century, or the Chien Lung period of the Ching Dynasty, the period when the author of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, Tsao Hsueh-chin, lived, a period which gave birth to fictional characters like Chia Pao-yu, who was dissatisfied with the feudal system. In the Chien Lung period, the buds of capitalist relations of production already existed in China, but it remained a feudal society. Such is the social background of the emergence of the multitude of fictional characters in the Ta-

kuan Garden. Before this, in the 17th century, capitalism was already developing in a number of European countries. It has taken over 300 years for the capitalist productive forces to develop to their present state. Socialism is vastly superior to capitalism and our economy will develop faster than those of the capitalist countries. But China has a large population, had little to start with and is economically backward, so that in my opinion it will be impossible for her to effect a tremendous expansion of the productive forces to catch up with and overtake the world's most advanced capitalist countries in less than 100 years. Perhaps it will actually take only a few decades—say, 50 years—as some people envisage. If it does turn out that way, we'll thank heaven and earth and it will be wonderful! But I would advise comrades to anticipate more difficulties and so to envisage a somewhat longer period. It took more than 300 years to build up a powerful capitalist economy; what would be wrong with building a powerful socialist economy in our country in about 50 to 100 years? The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in tremendous struggles which in form will have many features different from those of struggles in the past. In this undertaking, we must integrate in the best possible way the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of China's socialist construction and with those of the world revolution now and in the future and, through practice, gradually get to know the objective laws of struggle. We must be prepared to suffer many failures and setbacks resulting from our blindness, and thereby gain experience and win final victory. When we see things in this light, there are many advantages in envisaging a longer period of time, whereas harm might result from envisaging a shorter period.

In socialist construction, we are still acting blindly to a very large extent. For us the socialist economy is in many respects a still unknown realm of necessity. Take me by way of example. There are many problems in the work of economic construction which I still don't understand. I know very little about industry and commerce for instance. I know something about agriculture, but this is only relatively speaking — I still don't know much. To know more about agriculture one should understand soils, botany, crop cultivation, agro-chemistry, farm machinery and so on. One should also understand the different branches of agriculture, such as grain, cotton, edible oil, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruit, medicinal herbs and miscellaneous products. There are animal husbandry and forestry too. I myself am a believer in the theory of the Soviet soil scientist V.R. Williams. In his work on soil Williams advocated combining farming, forestry and animal husbandry. I think we must have this three-way combination, or agriculture will suffer. I would advise comrades to make a serious study of all these problems of agricultural production when you have some respite from work. I too would like to study them a little more. Up to now, however, my knowledge of these matters has been very scanty. I have paid rather more attention to problems relating to the relations of production, to the system. When it comes to the productive forces, I know very little. As for our Party as a whole, our knowledge of socialist construction is very inadequate. In the forthcoming period we should accumulate experience and study hard, and in the course of practice gradually deepen our understanding and become clearer on the laws of socialist construction. We must put in a lot of hard work and investigate and study it in earnest. We must go down to selected spots at the grass roots, to the production brigades and production teams, and to the factories and shops. We used to do rather well in making investigation and study, but after we entered the cities we didn't do it seriously. In 1961 we

pushed it once again, and now the situation has changed somewhat. But it has not yet become common practice among the leading cadres — especially senior leading cadres — in some places, departments and enterprises. Some provincial Party secretaries have still not gone down to stay at selected spots. If the provincial Party secretaries don't go, how can they ask prefectural Party secretaries and county Party secretaries to do so? This is bad and must be changed.

Twelve years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. These 12 years can be divided into a first period of eight years and a second of four years. Nineteen-fifty to the end of 1957 constitute the first eight years, 1958 to the present is the second four years. In this conference of ours, we have made a first attempt at summing up the experience of our past work, mainly that of the last four years. This summing-up is reflected in the report to the conference. We have already formulated, or are formulating, or shall formulate, specific policies in various fields. Already formulated are such draft regulations as the 60 articles on rural people's communes, the 70 articles on industrial enterprises, the 60 articles on higher education and the 14 articles on scientific research, all of which have already come into force or are being carried out on a trial basis. They will be revised in future, some perhaps drastically. Among those which are already in the process of formulation are the regulations on commercial work. Among those which will be formulated in future are the regulations on middle-school and primary-school education. We should also formulate some regulations on the work of our Party and government organs and mass organizations. The army has already formulated some regulations. In short, we should do a good job in summing up our experience in industry, agriculture, commerce and culture and education, and in the army, the government and the Party, and work out a complete set of principles, policies and

measures so that our work in these seven sectors will progress along the correct path.

It is not enough to have a general line. In addition, under its guidance we must have a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures which are suited to our conditions in industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party. Only then can we persuade the masses and the cadres, using these as teaching materials to educate them so that they can have unity of understanding and of action. And only then can we achieve victory in revolution and construction. Otherwise it is impossible. On this point, we had a deep understanding even as far back as the War of Resistance Against Japan. At that time we did function in this way, so that the cadres and the masses achieved unity in their understanding of the complete set of specific principles, policies and measures for the period of democratic revolution and therefore achieved unity in action, which led to victory in that revolution. This is something we all know. During the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our revolutionary tasks in the first eight years were: in the countryside, to complete the reform of the feudal land system and then to achieve the co-operative transformation of agriculture, and in the cities, to achieve the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. In economic construction, our tasks were to rehabilitate the economy and carry out the First Five-Year Plan. Both in revolution and in construction we had a general line which was suited to the objective conditions and which was wholly convincing, as well as a complete set of principles, policies and measures under the guidance of the general line. Hence we could educate the cadres and the masses and unify their understanding, and the tasks were performed fairly well. This is also something we all know. But as things stood in those days, we had to copy the Soviet Union since we had no experience of our own in economic construction. In the field

of heavy industry especially, we copied almost everything from the Soviet Union with very little creativeness on our part. It was absolutely necessary to do so at that time, and yet it was also a weakness — a lack of creativeness and of ability to stand on our own feet. Certainly this could not be our long-term policy. Beginning from 1958 we established the clear-cut policy of relying mainly on our own efforts while seeking foreign aid by way of support. At the Second Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress in 1958, we adopted the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." In the same year the people's communes were established and the slogan of a "great leap forward" was raised. For a certain period after the general line for socialist construction was proclaimed, we hadn't the time to work out a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures suited to our conditions, nor did the possibility exist for us to do so because our experience was still insufficient. Under these circumstances, a complete set of teaching materials wasn't available to the cadres and the masses, who couldn't get any systematic education on policy and therefore couldn't conceivably have genuine unity in understanding and action. This possibility came into being only after a period of time, after we had suffered some setbacks and acquired both positive and negative experience. Now matters are better. We do have these things or are working them out. Thus we can better carry on socialist revolution and socialist construction. In order to work out a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures under the guidance of the general line, we must employ the methods of drawing on the masses and of making systematic, thorough investigation and study. And we must examine the successful and unsuccessful experience in our work historically. Only thus can we discover laws which are inherent in objective things and which are not subjectively concocted out of people's imaginations, and only

thus can we formulate regulations which are suited to our conditions. This is a very important matter and I ask the comrades here to please pay attention to it.

Of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. The Party must give leadership to industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army and the government. Generally speaking, our Party is good. Our Party is mainly composed of workers and poor peasants. The great majority of our cadres are good, and they are all working hard. But we must also realize that there are still some problems and we mustn't imagine that everything is just fine with our Party. At present we have over 17 million Party members, nearly 80 per cent of whom joined the Party after the founding of the People's Republic, that is, in the 50s. Those who joined the Party before our People's Republic was founded constitute only 20 per cent. Of this 20 per cent, those who joined before 1930, that is, in the 20s, totalled 800-odd people according to an estimate several years ago. Some have died in the last couple of years, so perhaps there are only 700-odd left. Among both old and new Party members — especially among the new members — there are some who are impure in character or work style. They are individualists, bureaucrats, subjectivists, or even degenerate elements. There are also some people who are Communists in name but do not represent the working class, on the contrary, they represent the bourgeoisie. All is not pure inside the Party. We must be aware of this fact, or we shall suffer.

This is my fourth point. In short, our understanding of the objective world necessarily involves a process. In the beginning

we do not understand, or do not completely understand, and it is only through repeated practice which leads to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to have gradually developed complete or relatively complete understanding. When that point is reached, we shall have more initiative, enjoy greater freedom and become somewhat wiser. Freedom is the recognition of necessity and the transformation of the objective world. Only on the basis of the recognition of necessity can people have freedom of action. This is the dialectics of freedom and necessity. Necessity as such is objectively existing law. Before we recognize it our action can never be conscious, it partakes of blindness. Under these conditions we are foolish people. Haven't we done many foolish things during the last few years?

The fifth point: The international communist movement. On this question I am only going to say a few words.

Whether in China or in other countries of the world, when all is said and done, over 90 per cent of the population will eventually support Marxism-Leninism. There are still many people in the world who have not awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and reactionaries. But sooner or later they will gradually awaken and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. Sooner or later the masses of the people will rise in revolution. Sooner or later the world revolution will triumph. Sooner or later those who forbid others to make revolution, such as the characters in Lu Hsun's book — Squire Chao, Squire Chien and the bogus foreign devil who bar Ah Q from revolution — will be defeated.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Soviet Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long. Whatever the time — now or in the future, in our generation or in the generations to come — we should learn from the Soviet Union and study its experience. If we don't learn from the Soviet Union, we'll make mistakes. People may ask, since the Soviet Union is under the rule of the revisionists, should we still learn from it? What we should study is the good people and good things of the Soviet Union, the good experience of the Soviet Party, the good experience of Soviet workers and peasants and of those intellectuals who have close ties with the labouring people. As for the bad people and bad things of the Soviet Union and the Soviet revisionists, we should treat them as teachers by negative example and draw lessons from them.

We should always uphold the principle of proletarian internationalist unity. We always maintain that the socialist countries and the world communist movement must unite firmly on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionists of the world never stop abusing us. Our attitude is, let them do as they wish. We will duly reply when necessary. Our Party has become accustomed to being abused. Leaving aside those who attacked us in the past, what about the present? Abroad, the imperialists abuse us, the reactionary nationalists abuse us, the reactionaries of various countries abuse us,

and the revisionists abuse us; at home, Chiang Kai-shek abuses us, and likewise the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. This has been the case for a long time and we're already used to it. But are we isolated? I for one don't feel isolated. Over 7,000 people are present here. How can more than 7,000 people be isolated? (*Laughter*) Our country has over 600 million people. Our people are united. How can more than 600 million people be isolated? The masses of the people of all countries are already standing, or are going to stand, together with us. Is it possible for us to be isolated?

The sixth and last point: We must unite the whole Party and the whole people.

We must unite the advanced elements and the activists inside and outside the Party, and unite the middle elements in order to bring along those who lag behind. In this way, we can unite the whole Party and the whole people. Only by relying on such unity can we do our work well, overcome difficulties and build up China. To unite the whole Party and the whole people does not mean that we do not have our own position. Some people say that the Communist Party is a "party of the whole people," but we do not view things in this way. Our Party is the political party of the proletariat, its vanguard, a fighting force armed with Marxism-Leninism. We are on the side of the masses who comprise over 95 per cent of the total population. In no case do we stand on the side of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who make up 4 to 5 per cent of the population. The same is true in the international sphere; we advocate unity with all Marxist-Leninists, with all revolutionary people, with the people in general. In no case do we want unity with the anti-

Communist and anti-popular imperialists and reactionaries. Whenever possible we'll establish diplomatic relations with them too and strive for peaceful coexistence with them on the basis of the Five Principles. But this is in a category different from our unity with the people of all countries.

If unity is to prevail throughout the Party and the nation, we must give full play to democracy and let people speak up. This holds both inside and outside the Party. Comrades from the provincial, prefectural and county Party committees, when you return, you must let people speak out. All comrades, absent or present, must act in this way. All leading members of the Party must promote inner-Party democracy and let people speak out. What are the limits? One is that Party discipline must be observed, the minority being subordinate to the majority and the entire membership to the Central Committee. Another limit is that no secret faction must be organized. We are not afraid of open opponents, we are only afraid of secret opponents. Such people do not speak the truth to your face, what they say is only lies and deceit. They don't express their real intention. As long as a person doesn't violate discipline and doesn't engage in secret factional activities, we should allow him to speak out and shouldn't punish him if he says wrong things. If people say wrong things, they can be criticized, but we should convince them with reason. What if they are still not convinced? They can be allowed to reserve their opinions. As long as they abide by the resolutions and the decisions taken by the majority, the minority can reserve their opinions. It is advantageous to allow the minority both inside and outside the Party to do so. If they are allowed to reserve their incorrect opinions for the time being, they can correct them in future. Quite often the ideas of the minority

turn out to be correct. Such cases are common in history. In the beginning, truth is not in the hands of the majority of people, but in those of a minority. Marx and Engels held the truth in their hands, but in the beginning they were in the minority. For a long period Lenin was also in the minority. We've had similar experience in our own Party. When our Party was ruled by Chen Tu-hsiu and also when the "Left" opportunist lines prevailed, truth was not in the hands of the majority in the leading organs but on the contrary in the hands of the minority. Historically, the doctrines of natural scientists such as Copernicus, Galileo and Darwin were not recognized by the majority of people for a very long time, but on the contrary were considered incorrect. In their time they were in the minority. When our Party was founded in 1921, we only had a few dozen members; we were also in the minority, but those few dozen people represented the truth and represented China's destiny.

There is also the question of arrests and executions on which I want to say something. At present, only a dozen or so years after victory in the revolution, as long as elements of the overthrown reactionary classes have not been reformed and, what is more, as long as some of them are still plotting restoration, a few must be arrested and executed; otherwise the people's anger cannot be placated and the people's dictatorship consolidated. But we must not arrest people lightly, and especially we must not execute people lightly. Some bad people, some bad elements and degenerate elements who have infiltrated into our ranks, ride on the backs of the people, piss and shit on them, behaving in a vicious and unrestrained way, and seriously violate laws and discipline. They are petty Chiang Kai-sheks. We must have a way of dealing with this type of people. The worst among them who

have committed heinous crimes have to be arrested and some executed. For if we don't arrest or execute any of them, we won't be able to placate the people's anger. This is what we mean when we say, "We can't avoid arrests, and we can't avoid executions." But we absolutely must not arrest too many or execute too many. As for those whose arrest is optional or whose execution is optional, we must definitely not arrest or execute them. There was a fellow called Pan Han-nien who once served as vice-mayor of Shanghai. Previously he had secretly capitulated to the Kuomintang and had become a member of the C.C. Clique. He is now in jail, and we haven't executed him. If we kill one fellow like Pan Han-nien, thereby relaxing the restraints on execution, then all those like him would have to be executed. There was another fellow called Wang Shih-wei who was a secret Kuomintang agent. While in Yen-an, he wrote an article entitled "The Wild Lily," in which he attacked the revolution and vilified the Communist Party. He was later arrested and killed. The execution was carried out by the security organs themselves while they were on the march; the decision was not made by the Central Committee. We have often made criticisms on this incident and we hold that he shouldn't have been killed. True, he was a secret agent, he wrote articles to attack us and simply refused to mend his ways. Still we could have just spared him and let him do labour. It wasn't good to kill him. We should arrest and execute as few people as possible. If we arrest and execute people at will, everybody will fear for himself and nobody will dare to speak. In such an atmosphere there can't be much democracy.

Neither should we put hats on people indiscriminately. Some comrades are addicted to using hats to put pressure on

people. The moment they start speaking, hats start flying around everywhere and people are so frightened they daren't speak. Of course hats there will always be. Aren't there many hats in the report to the conference? Isn't "decentralism" a hat? But we mustn't put hats on people at will, calling this one a decentralist and that one a decentralist, until everybody is a decentralist. It would be better for the people concerned to put on the hats themselves — and moreover — the right hats — rather than have them put on by others. If people put on hats themselves and wear them for a while, they should be removed when everybody agrees that they no longer fit. This will create a good democratic atmosphere. We advocate not seizing on other's faults, not putting hats on people and not wielding the big stick, so that people will be free from fear and will dare to speak out.

Good will and a helpful attitude should be shown towards those who have made mistakes and those who do not allow people to speak out. We mustn't create the kind of atmosphere in which people feel that they can't afford to make any mistakes or that once they have made mistakes, the consequences will be terrible and they will never be able to raise their heads again. As long as a person who has made mistakes really wants to mend his ways and has made a genuine self-criticism, we should express our welcome. We must not make too high demands on a person when he makes a self-criticism the first or second time. It doesn't matter if his self-criticism is not thorough yet. We should let him think again and give him well-intentioned help. A man needs help from others. We must help an erring comrade to realize his mistakes. If people sincerely make self-criticism and are willing to correct mistakes, we should forgive them

and adopt a lenient policy towards them. As long as their achievements are still primary and they are reasonably competent, let them continue in their posts.

In my speech I have criticized certain phenomena and criticized certain comrades, but I haven't named them, I haven't pointed out who this one or that one actually is. You know what I mean. (*Laughter*) For shortcomings and mistakes in our work in the last few years, the responsibility rests first with the Central Committee and, in the Central Committee, primarily with me; second, the responsibility rests with the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions; third, with the prefectural Party committees; fourth, with the county Party committees; and fifth, with the Party committees of enterprises and people's communes. In short, everyone has his share of responsibility.

Comrades, when you return, you must revitalize democratic centralism. The comrades of the county Party committees should lead the commune Party committees in revitalizing democratic centralism. First of all, collective leadership must be built or strengthened. You must no longer practise the method of leadership which prolongs the fixed "division of spheres of work and exclusive responsibility." Under that method the secretaries and members of Party committees each work on their own, and there can be no real collective discussion or real collective leadership. It is necessary to promote democracy, encourage others to make criticisms and listen to their criticisms. We must be able to face criticism. We must take the initiative and carry out self-criticism first. We must examine whatever needs examining for one or at most two hours, getting it all out lock, stock and barrel — that'll be the lot. If others consider

it insufficient, let them go on. And if what they say is right, we'll accept their criticism. In the matter of letting people speak out, should we be active or passive? Of course it's better to be active. But what if we're already in a passive position? If we were undemocratic in the past and so find ourselves in this passive position now, it doesn't matter. Let everybody criticize us. Let them pour out their grievances all day, and instead of going to the theatre in the evening too. Please come and criticize me day and night. (*Laughter*) Then I'll sit down and think about it coolly, forgoing sleep for two or three nights. After thinking it through and understanding it, I'll write a sincere self-criticism. Isn't that the way? In short, if you let others speak out, the heavens won't fall and you won't be toppled. And if you don't? Then the day will inevitably come when you are toppled.

So much for my speech today. The central point I have discussed is the question of how to realize democratic centralism and how to promote democracy inside and outside the Party. I recommend that comrades consider this question carefully. Some comrades still lack the democratic centralist way of thinking. Now is the time they should begin to acquire this way of thinking and begin to understand this question. If we give full play to democracy, we can mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses inside and outside the Party and unite the broad masses who comprise more than 95 per cent of the whole population. When we have achieved this, we will be able to do our work better and better and overcome the difficulties we meet all the more quickly. Our cause will then develop much more smoothly.

(Enthusiastic applause)

China's Policy Is Open, Aboveboard, Consistent

— Refuting Soviet slanders on China's policy towards
overseas Chinese

THE Soviet leaders have lost no time in using the strident anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign stirred up by the Vietnamese authorities to hint, inveigh and insinuate with regard to the question of overseas Chinese. They have left no stone unturned to spread lies and manufacture canards. China, so they said, has organized overseas Chinese into "fifth columns" "to engage in subversive activities" and used them as "active pawns" and "hatchet men" to carry out China's "big-power ambitions." And so on and so forth. These vile slanders are designed to malign China as having changed its long-standing policy towards the overseas Chinese and given this policy an aggressive twist. It is obvious that the Soviet leaders have wholeheartedly embraced Goebbels' dictum: "Lies ring true if they are repeated a thousand times."

Towards the Kremlin's anti-China ballyhoo our attitude has always been one of letting Moscow abuse as much as it pleases and replying in measured terms as the occasion requires. In this article, we wish to spell out the principles which underpin China's stand as regards its policy towards the overseas Chinese and related matters in order to expose the sinister manoeuvres of the Soviet instigators and their followers.

Four-Point Basic Policy

Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese Government formulated

a correct policy towards the overseas Chinese under the good care of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the direct guidance of Premier Chou En-lai. Since the Bandung Conference in 1955, China has time and again expounded its basic policy concerning overseas Chinese, in talks with many countries aimed at settling the question of dual nationality of the overseas Chinese, in talks with others concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations, in bilateral contacts and at international conferences. This policy may be enunciated in the following four points:

1) In order to promote and develop friendly relations with countries in which overseas Chinese have made a new home and settle the question of their nationality, which is a legacy from the past, the Chinese Government has never approved of overseas Chinese holding dual nationality and has always been ready to work energetically for a solution to this issue.

2) The Chinese Government supports and encourages overseas Chinese voluntarily to opt for the nationality and citizenship of the country in which they have made a new home. Such a move benefits themselves and the country in which they are domiciled.

3) Any Chinese who has acquired the nationality of the country in which he resides becomes a citizen of the host country and is no longer qualified to hold Chinese citizenship. He is therefore entitled to enjoy the rights and

obliged to fulfil the obligations of a citizen of that country. If any such person should wish to take Chinese citizenship, he is required to go through the legal formalities of the country in which he resides and his application must further be approved by the Chinese Government.

4) As regards those who decide to retain their Chinese nationality, the Chinese Government expects them to abide by the laws of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people, refrain from being involved in the political activities of that country and live amicably with its people. Their legitimate rights and interests should be safeguarded by the country in which they reside.

The above-mentioned four points give expression to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to the solicitude of our government for the vital interests of the numerous overseas Chinese and to the desire of our country to treat on equal terms all countries in which overseas Chinese reside and develop friendly relations with them. This policy is open and aboveboard and consistent. After many years of practice, this fair and reasonable stand strictly adhered to by our government won the approval and understanding of the very many countries in which overseas Chinese reside. We are very glad to note that many overseas Chinese have voluntarily taken the nationality of their country of domicile and settled down there. We are also very glad to note that they have contributed to the development and prosperity of the economy and culture of those countries and at the same time played their part in promoting friendly relations between those countries and China.

Disapproval of Dual Nationality

The Soviet propaganda media have recently deliberately put overseas Chinese on a par with people of Chinese origin who have already acquired the nationality of the host country in a move to distort the policy of our government towards overseas Chinese as meaning to get "every Chinese, wherever he lives and whatever citizenship he takes" to render service to China.

Moscow has even made the barefaced insinuation that, "as for the citizenship of the people of Chinese origin residing abroad, anxiety has always been felt by the countries in Southeast Asia." The Vietnamese authorities are also using the question of overseas Chinese in Viet Nam to work in cahoots with this provocative Soviet propaganda. This tactic of distorting the policy of our country in order to create confusion is despicable in the extreme.

A cardinal principle of China's policy with regard to overseas Chinese is disapproval of dual nationality. China approves and encourages overseas Chinese to choose the nationality of their country of domicile on a voluntary basis. Those of Chinese origin who have acquired the nationality of the host country are no longer "overseas Chinese." There is only one choice between the two. With a change in nationality there is a change in kind. Overseas Chinese who have acquired the nationality of the host country are no longer Chinese citizens whether they have been of Chinese origin for one generation or more.

We do not approve of lopsided consanguinity. There are many instances of people of the same extraction that are scattered in different countries of the world. Some of the high government officials in the United States are of Polish, Jewish or other extraction. This is a common thing in many countries. A considerable number of people of Chinese origin who live in the Southeast Asian countries have through years of residence voluntarily acquired the nationality and citizenship of those countries. In Singapore, for instance, citizens of Chinese descent form a great proportion of the population; they speak and write in Chinese, while they also speak and write in English. They are no longer overseas Chinese but citizens of Singapore. These Singapore citizens of Chinese origin do not fall within the framework of China's policy towards overseas Chinese, but are under the jurisdiction of Singapore. The Soviet Union has its own ulterior motive in creating confusion on this question. It is still within living memory that after the war a Soviet marshal of East European origin was sent by the Soviet Union to an East European

country to control the army there but was finally driven back to Moscow. Therefore, isn't it the Soviet Union itself that interfered in the internal affairs of another country by playing the game of dual nationality, asserting at one time that the marshal was a national of his own country and at another that he was a national of the Soviet Union?

While we favour and encourage overseas Chinese to choose the nationality of the country in which they reside, we cannot refuse them if they opt for Chinese nationality. We have consistently maintained that those overseas Chinese who are unwilling to take the nationality of their country of domicile must refrain from participating in local political activities, abide by the laws of the host country and be on good terms with the local people. This is a fact recognized by the people and the countries in which overseas Chinese reside. It is a matter of course that the Chinese Government holds itself responsible for protecting their legitimate rights and interests. What is happening in Viet Nam today is that the Vietnamese authorities are persecuting Chinese residents on a large scale and in a planned and organized way. It is in these circumstances that the Chinese Government has decided to deal with the matter. Far from altering its consistent policy towards overseas Chinese, the Chinese Government abides by the spirit of upholding the principle of this policy to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese. This protection of the legitimate (of course not the illegitimate) rights and interests of the overseas Chinese fully accords with the norms of international law and international practice. What is there for the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to make such a fuss about?

The Ulterior Motives of the Soviet Propaganda

In the past few centuries, tens of millions of Chinese, for various reasons, emigrated to other countries to earn a living. Most of them made a new home in Southeast Asia. Owing to ties of kinship and national culture, they, whether taking the nationality of their country of domicile or remaining Chinese nationals,

maintain certain contacts with China, such as visiting China as tourists. This is quite natural and a common enough thing in international intercourse. It will certainly continue. It is conducive to the promotion of mutual understanding and friendship.

As a socialist country China advocates and abides by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in relations with other countries. It does not and will never permit such contacts to be used for scheming activities or machinations against the government of the country in which overseas Chinese reside.

The Soviet propaganda machine is trying to sow discord between China and countries in Southeast Asia. But this is futile. It falls flat on its face when it says overseas Chinese or the citizens of Chinese origin in those countries have "ethnic feelings" for China. Ethnic feelings are in evidence in many countries. There are many people of Irish descent in New Zealand and the United States. Can one logically conclude that Ireland thus entertains aggressive ambitions towards New Zealand or the United States?

There cannot be many who are naive enough to buy the story of the blustering Soviet crusaders against China that China "is ready to take over" Southeast Asian countries "with the help of a 'fifth column' formed from overseas Chinese." TASS waxed even more sensational when it declared in all seriousness that "the present Chinese leaders have drawn up and are secretly putting into operation a massive scheme" to enlist "millions of overseas Chinese from Singapore to California" for "subversive activities" in dozens of countries. Indeed, the Kremlin has excelled in producing an 18-carat lie with this talk about "fifth columns" of millions of overseas Chinese and about a secret plot to seize the whole of the Asian and Pacific region from Singapore to the U.S. state of California. But lies have short legs. Those smart alecks in Moscow cannot produce a shred of evidence to substantiate their fantastic charge that China has a "secret" plot to use overseas Chinese to "subvert" a large number of countries covering nearly half the earth from Singapore to the United States across the Pacific. Since they have been in the cloak-

and-dagger business so long in every corner of the globe, they tend to think it wise to scare people that others are doing the same. It is a clumsy move. The Kremlin is not the first to flaunt this "fifth column" scare. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique in its time, when driven to a tight corner, often used this red herring to distract public attention. Can the Soviet leadership win any credit for itself by emulating the scare tactics adopted by political mummy Ngo Dinh Diem in his attempt to discredit China?

The Soviet news media are working overtime to churn out rumours and cock-and-bull stories, with great emphasis placed on the question of the Chinese nationals in Southeast Asian countries. Their vicious intention is to sow discord in the relations between overseas Chinese and their countries of domicile, between China and Southeast Asian countries, and to vilify China's policy towards overseas Chinese and its foreign policy. What Moscow is after is a foothold in the Southeast Asian region which it has coveted for a long time. Those who shout themselves hoarse about China harbouring ambitions against Southeast Asia are precisely those who are trying hard to gain control of this region. What the polar bear's presence in this region means is only too clear. People who are zealous for the independence, security and tranquillity of the region are alert and vigilant. They will not allow the clumsy tactics of the Soviet Union to succeed.

China Means What It Says

China is not responsible for, nor is it pleased by, the current serious developments—the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents in Viet Nam and the consequent deterioration in relations between the two countries. We still sincerely hope that the Vietnamese authorities will make a genuine effort to put a stop, by deeds and not just by words, to its policy of discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion towards Chinese residents and that they will not again do anything harmful to the traditional friendship of the two peoples. We believe that if the Vietnamese authorities follow such a course, then large numbers of Chinese residents

will not readily leave the land in which they have lived for generations, since they cherish deeply the ties of warm affection established with the Vietnamese people in years of struggle together.

We reaffirm: The policy of our country towards overseas Chinese including the Chinese residents in Viet Nam remains unchanged. Those who voluntarily take the nationality of Viet Nam will be respected. But, if the Vietnamese authorities persist in discriminating against, ostracizing and expelling Chinese residents, no matter what tactics they use or how they change them, then the Chinese Government is obliged to take measures appropriate to the occasion. The Chinese people will wait and see how the Vietnamese authorities act in dealing with Chinese residents.

At the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the wise leader of the Chinese people, reiterated on behalf of our government: "The policy of our government has been consistent; it supports and encourages the overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile as well as those who are already citizens automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship, but their ties of kinship with the Chinese people remain. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, we expect them to abide by the laws of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people and live amicably with them. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned." China is a socialist country that means what it says, and we shall continue to follow the consistent, principled stand on the question of overseas Chinese. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that no provocation or slander can detract one iota from the merits of China's policy towards overseas Chinese.

(July 3, subheads are ours.)

History Stood on Its Head

— On the Vietnamese authorities' position concerning the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam

THE Vietnamese authorities claim that for over 20 years their policy towards the Chinese residents, whom they call the "Hoa people," is "correct and consistent" and "has remained the same all along," while China, they say, is "acting differently from the past."

History is an impartial witness. Have the Vietnamese authorities "remained the same all along" in their policy towards the Chinese residents? Or have they abandoned their past stand? One need only compare their past utterances on the question of the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, including official statements and proclamations, with their words and deeds today to know what is what.

History as Witness

In 1955, the Chinese Party conferred with the Vietnamese Party on the question of citizenship of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. It took a consistent stand of supporting and encouraging overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the host country but opposing any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. The Vietnamese Party at the time agreed to the above-stated principle. Both sides agreed to settle through negotiations the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam after the liberation of that area.

In 1956 and 1957, the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique issued decrees compelling Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to take Vietnamese citizenship and waive their own. In a statement on May 20, 1957, the Chinese Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs protested against the unilateral and unjustifiable action taken by

the clique and announced the principled stand of the Chinese Government for settling the question of the citizenship of overseas Chinese. It pointed out that the question of the citizenship of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam can be settled reasonably only through negotiations by the countries concerned on the basis of respect for the voluntary choice of the Chinese residents themselves.

This just stand of the Chinese Government won the support of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, printed the Chinese statement in full on May 23, 1957 and carried an article the next day expressing "complete agreement" with the statement and "roundly denouncing the vile tactics and machinations of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique." The *Nhan Dan* article stated solemnly that "the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's move to force Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam to take Vietnamese citizenship is tyrannical and fascist-like and in flagrant violation of international law."

In June 1957, *Nhan Dan* reported the struggle of the Chinese residents in both north and south Viet Nam against the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's drive to force the Chinese to take Vietnamese citizenship, and expressed support for this just struggle.

In addition, between 1960 and 1968, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation issued several proclamations declaring that "all decrees and measures of the U.S.-puppet regime regarding Chinese residents shall be abrogated"

and stating explicitly that "the Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality."

It is, therefore, absolutely clear what position the Vietnamese side took on the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam and what policy it followed towards them at that time.

An About-Turn

Now, only a few years after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities made an about-turn in their position and policy on the question. They have taken over as a legacy the tyrannical and illegal decision of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to force the Chinese to take Vietnamese citizenship. Recently, they reiterated time and again in their official documents, newspapers and other publications that "back in 1956, almost all the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam adopted Vietnamese nationality. They are no longer Chinese nationals but Vietnamese of Chinese origin." They also declared that "it is a historical fact that the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam took Vietnamese citizenship and became Vietnamese of Chinese origin 20 years ago."

Hence, the question arises: How can the Vietnamese authorities combine two diametrically opposed stands — one denouncing the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's drive to force the Chinese to take Vietnamese citizenship and the other endorsing what the clique had done and accepting it as a legacy — and turn them into a "consistent" stand, a stand which they say "has remained the same all along"? It is ridiculous in the extreme. What is more, in so doing the Vietnamese authorities have identified themselves with the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

To be sure, the Vietnamese authorities were not unaware that taking over intact the "legacy" of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique would bring them evil consequences politically. But they hoped that a new registration of citizenship would serve as a fig-leaf for this shameful business. So they issued a notice in January 1976 requiring the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to re-register their citizenship. However, the result ran counter to their desire. The number of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam who registered

their citizenship as Chinese far exceeded the number of Chinese residents registered under the rule of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. This proves once more that the Chinese residents were compelled to take Vietnamese citizenship against their will more than 20 years ago and that such compulsion would not succeed. The Vietnamese authorities should have respected the will of the Chinese residents and acknowledged the results of the new registration. They should have changed their policy of persecuting and discriminating against the Chinese residents so as to encourage them voluntarily to take Vietnamese citizenship. But they refused to acknowledge the results of the registration organized by themselves. On the contrary, they hold valid all that the Ngo Dinh Diem clique did in connection with the nationality problem of the Chinese residents some 20 years ago. In February 1976, by orders of the Vietnamese authorities, Chinese residents in south Viet Nam were compelled to register the (Vietnamese) citizenship forced upon them during Ngo Dinh Diem's rule.

Outdoing the Diem Clique

More deplorable is the fact that the Vietnamese authorities not only inherited the tactics of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in coercing Chinese residents to acquire Vietnamese citizenship, but outdid the latter in certain aspects. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique had "flagrantly announced the cancellation of the Chinese nationals' residential permits and compelled them to apply for new ones. All those who had acquired new residential permits would be regarded as having acquired Vietnamese citizenship" (*Nhan Dan* article, May 24, 1957). And in February 1977, Chinese residents were required by the Vietnamese authorities to fill in printed forms so as to receive "citizenship cards." There was no mention of nationality and citizenship in the forms. This was an attempt to turn all Chinese residents into Vietnamese citizens. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique, in order to compel the Chinese residents to accept Vietnamese citizenship, ordered many trades closed to Chinese residents and banned transfer of real estate between Chinese residents. Overseas Chinese physicians must acquire Vietnamese citizenship before they were allowed to practise. And now, the Vietnamese authorities resorted to such tactics as cancellation of household registers,

reduction of food rations, withholding of jobs and imposition of exorbitant taxes to make Chinese residents take Vietnamese citizenship. When coercion failed, they employed high-handed means such as discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion to make things more difficult. Deprived of the means of bare subsistence, the Chinese residents were compelled to leave Viet Nam for China.

In these circumstances China was obliged to receive the victimized returnees and help them settle down, and to send ships to bring the victimized Chinese nationals home. The Vietnamese authorities haven't a leg to stand on when they accused China of refusing to recognize the status of what they called the "Hoa people" who had taken Vietnamese citizenship and changing its policy on overseas Chinese. They are also falling back on a malicious trick of trying to shift the blame on to others. What they are in fact up to is to drive a wedge between China and Southeast Asian countries.

The Crux of the Matter

It is known to all that there are large numbers of overseas Chinese in various parts of the world, especially in the region of Southeast Asia. Many have voluntarily taken citizenship of their country of domicile, to which the Chinese Government has never taken exception. On the contrary, it has consistently supported and encouraged overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the host countries. China is against dual nationality. All those who have voluntarily acquired citizenship of their country of domicile automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, the Chinese Government expects them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside and live amicably with the people there and do their share for the good of the community. What is happening in Viet Nam today has nothing to do with alleged China's non-recognition of the acquisition of Vietnamese citizenship by Chinese nationals some 20 years ago. On the contrary, it concerns the Vietnamese authorities' refusal to recognize the Chinese residents' voluntary keeping of Chinese citizenship. It concerns, furthermore, the Vietnamese authorities' application of coercion to make Chinese nationals take Viet-

namese citizenship by depriving them of the means of livelihood. Here lies the crux of the matter.

In fact, the Vietnamese authorities must be fully aware that their departure from their past stand is something that cannot bear the light of day. Hence the gab about "legacy left over by history" and "historical facts." Hence no mention whatsoever about how and by whom the Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam were made to "take Vietnamese citizenship" in 1956 and about the Vietnamese authorities' stand at that time. This has been carefully avoided simply because the "historical facts" repudiate their allegations. If all the historical facts are presented in their true light, the whole world will see at once that it is not China but the Vietnamese authorities who have been "acting differently from the past" on the question of Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese authorities have embarked on the anti-China road in recent years to meet the needs of their internal and external policies. It is hostility to China that has brought on the persecution of Chinese residents. The escalation of the persecution of Chinese residents in recent years reflects the escalation of their hostility to China. What was condemned as "tyrannical, fascist-like and in flagrant violation of international law" now becomes a treasure to them in the new circumstances. They went back on their words. They discarded without the slightest compunction the published, correct documents conforming to the principles agreed upon between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties and to general international practice. What a mockery of history!

History is written by man, by his deeds and words. It is not a lump of clay to be moulded at will. He who mocks history will find himself mocked by history. The Vietnamese authorities now find themselves exactly in such an awkward predicament on the question of overseas Chinese in south Viet Nam. Their anti-China and anti-Chinese acts win the plaudits and cheers of the men sitting in the Kremlin who are giving orders and stirring up enmity at their back. All fair-minded people the world over, however, will arrive at a conclusion that conforms to historical facts.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, June 30)

Who's to Blame?

— Why ships sent by China to bring back persecuted Chinese residents in Viet Nam are lying at anchor off its territorial sea

TWO Chinese ships sent to bring back persecuted Chinese residents in Viet Nam have been lying at anchor since June 19 in waters beyond the Vietnamese territorial sea off Ho Chi Minh City and Haiphong. To this day, they have been unable to dock and the work of repatriation has been held up. Why? Who is to blame?

It is international practice and the inalienable right of a sovereign country to send ships to another country to bring back nationals in distress, especially those whose lives are in jeopardy. But the Vietnamese authorities have attacked China's efforts to bring back persecuted Chinese nationals by sea as "gunboat policy" and "infringement on Viet Nam's sovereignty." Furthermore, in league with the Taiwan Chiang gang spurned by the Chinese people long ago, they have surreptitiously dispatched some Chinese residents to Taiwan. Some time elapsed and on June 16 they delivered a memorandum to the Chinese Embassy in Viet Nam and on June 19 published their note of the same date to China indicating agreement on Chinese ships entering the ports of Haiphong and Ho Chi Minh City. It was only a gesture. They raised six so-called "indispensable matters," which if anything are preposterous conditions that they demand that China fulfil.

First, in their note, the Vietnamese authorities compel China to accept a precondition that China is sending ships "to take Hoa people to China." Viet Nam's diplomatic representative has since explained that "Hoa people" means "Vietnamese of Chinese origin" and

"Hoa people who have already become citizens of Viet Nam." If that is their explanation, doesn't this mean asking China to send ships to bring "Vietnamese of Chinese origin" from their country to reside in China? One can only conclude that the Vietnamese authorities do not recognize the presence of large numbers of Chinese residents in Viet Nam, let alone the fact that they are being hounded, persecuted and expelled from the country.

Second, the Vietnamese note designates "Vung Tau (Pier) in the area of Ho Chi Minh City Harbour" and "Chua Ve (Pier) in the area of Haiphong Harbour" as places for the Chinese ships to dock. Vung Tau is more than 100 kilometres away from Ho Chi Minh City. Not many Chinese reside there, while in Ho Chi Minh City are great numbers of Chinese residents in dire straits caused by Vietnamese authorities' persecution. Why must the Vietnamese authorities try to make the persecuted Chinese residents take a long trip to Vung Tau for embarkation? Clearly, this is deliberate obstruction. As for Chua Ve Pier, it has not even been a port of call by Chinese merchant ships before and the Vietnamese side has never given any information about it. The Vietnamese note also says: "In order to facilitate the departure of Hoa people and minimize the costs, we intend to give Chinese ships access also to Qui Nhon Port." If the Vietnamese authorities really care about the well-being of the Chinese residents, why don't they simply let the Chinese ships go to Ho Chi Minh City where the persecuted Chinese nationals live in great numbers instead of

(Continued on p. 39.)

A New Railway Completed

A NEW trunk railway line linking Hupeh Province's Hsiangfan with Chungking in Szechuan Province was opened to traffic a short time ago. This is the third east-west railway line, the other two being the Lienyunkang-Lanchow and the Chuchow-Kweiyang Railways, the former connecting Kiangsu Province on the eastern seaboard with Kansu Province in north-west China and the latter connecting Hunan Province in central-south China with Kweichow Province in the southwest.

The new trunk line is 916 kilometres long. Its eastern terminal joins with two other railways — one from Wuhan to Tanchiang in Hupeh Province and the other from Chiaotso in Honan Province to Chihcheng in Hupeh. The other terminal in the west is connected with another railway line to Kweiyang and with inland navigation on the Yangtze.

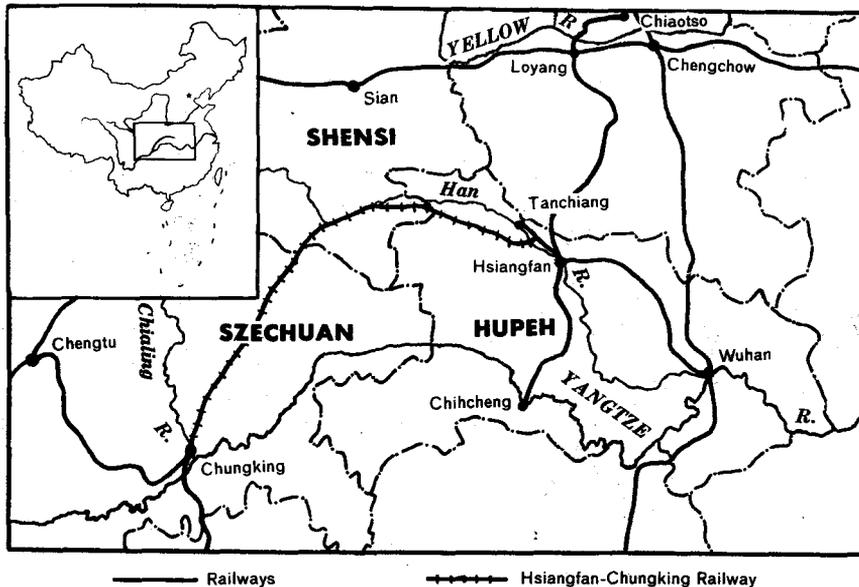
Work on this line started in the early 1970s in accordance with the instructions of Chair-

man Mao and Premier Chou. It was undertaken by members of the P.L.A. Railway Corps, railway workers and peasants from nearby people's communes.

This trunk railway line was built and opened to traffic section by section. The eastern and western sections had been completed earlier; the middle section was partly damaged by unprecedented downpours in 1974 and 1975, so the roadbed had to be reinforced. After trial runs in the last few years had proved that the quality was up to the standards set by the state, the entire line was officially opened to traffic on June 1 this year.

As the line crosses numerous mountains and rivers, many tunnels and bridges had to be built. There are all told 405 tunnels, 12 of which being more than 3,000 metres long, and 716 bridges, the highest being 76 metres and the longest 1,600 metres. Together, they account for 45 per cent of the total length of this line. Thirty-five stations were built on the bridges or in the tunnels.

Known as an "underground long corridor," the tunnel through the Tapa Mountains was the key project built in an area with very complicated terrain and rock formations. The builders had to bore through hard rocks and a kind of sticky rubber-like mud and overcome difficulties arising from the sudden outflow of gushing ground water. One



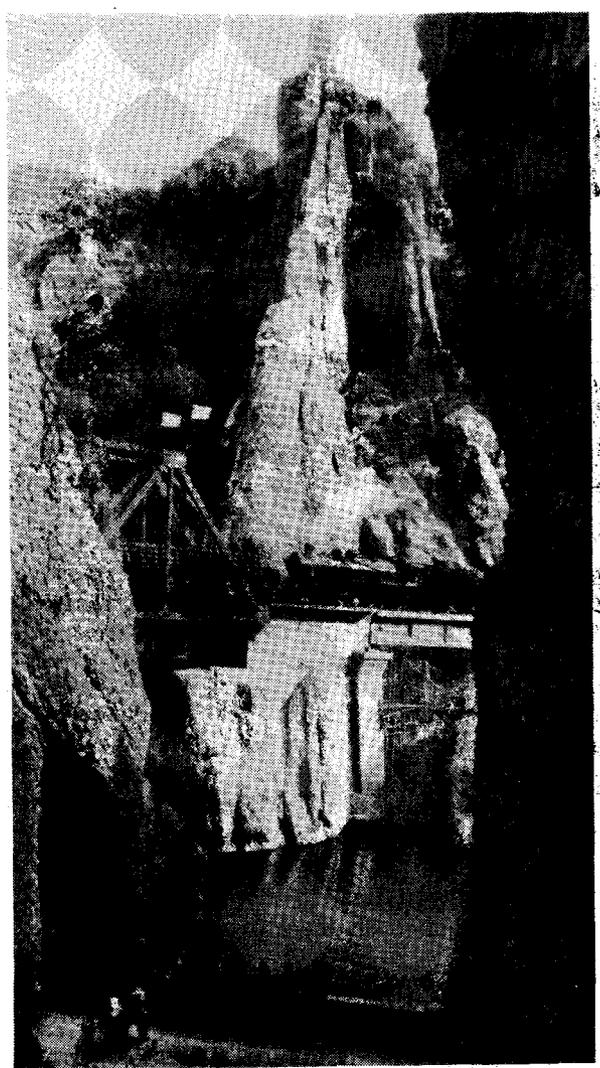
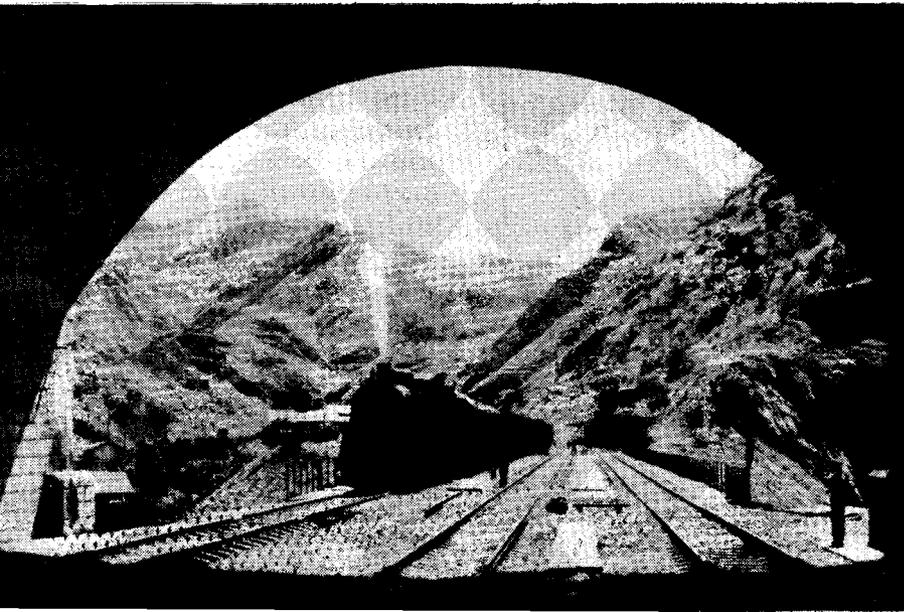
Sketch map by Shih Yi-tu

day, a big mud-sand flow suddenly erupted in several places in the tunnel, with a total volume of more than 100,000 cubic metres in 24 hours. Waist-deep in the mud, the builders took off their shirts and gum boots and worked desperately to build a wall to stop the outflow. When the building of the wall was nearly completed, a fresh gush of mud and sand threatened to sweep it away. At this critical moment, several P.L.A. fighters rushed over and bolstered the wall with their bodies while others brought in materials to reinforce the wall. After more than 20 hours of intense work, they succeeded in blocking the mud-sand flow and resumed tunnelling.

No less difficult and hazardous was the task of putting up bridges. In building the Tzuyang bridge with 76-metre-high piers over the Han River, the builders worked on steel scaffolding as high as a 20-storeyed building, pouring concrete into the molds. When 50-metre-long steel girders were being lifted to position atop the piers, a howling wind suddenly swept past, threatening to twist and even snap the girders. At this juncture, an experienced worker came forward and, together with his mates, had the girders anchored with four steel cables.

When the whole project was nearing completion after three years of hard work, the middle section of the railway was hit by an exceptionally big rainstorm and mountain torrents. In some sections, the tunnels cracked, the stations tilted over and the rails became a tangled mass. The People's Government promptly sent specialists and technicians from

A tunnel-bridge project.



On the Hsiangfan-Chungking Railway.

a dozen units concerned to make on-the-spot investigations. They found that the hills around were moving at a very low speed indiscernible to the naked eye and concluded that it was a reactivation of ancient rock slide. To cope with this natural phenomenon, they devised after careful study a method similar to that of a ship casting anchor at sea. Deep wells were sunk at 20 sliding points in the hills and each was filled with dozens of rails and steel bars welded together. Then thousands of cubic metres of concrete were poured into the wells to "anchor" the sliding hills to the ground.

Strive for Modernization of Waterborne and Road Transport

by Our Correspondent Lo Fu

RECENTLY I attended a national conference on learning from Taching held by communications and transport departments in the Taching Oilfield. It was one of a series of meetings convened by different trades following the conclusion of the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry in April last

year. The aim was to review the achievements obtained in emulating Taching, the national pace-setter on the industrial front, and work out plans for future work. Many industrial departments chose Taching as the meeting place so that they could draw on its advanced experience there and then.

Attending this conference were representatives from highway, inland navigation and sea transport departments. (In China, railway transport and air transport are under the charge of the Ministry of Railways and the Civil Aviation Administration of China respectively instead of the Ministry of Communications.)

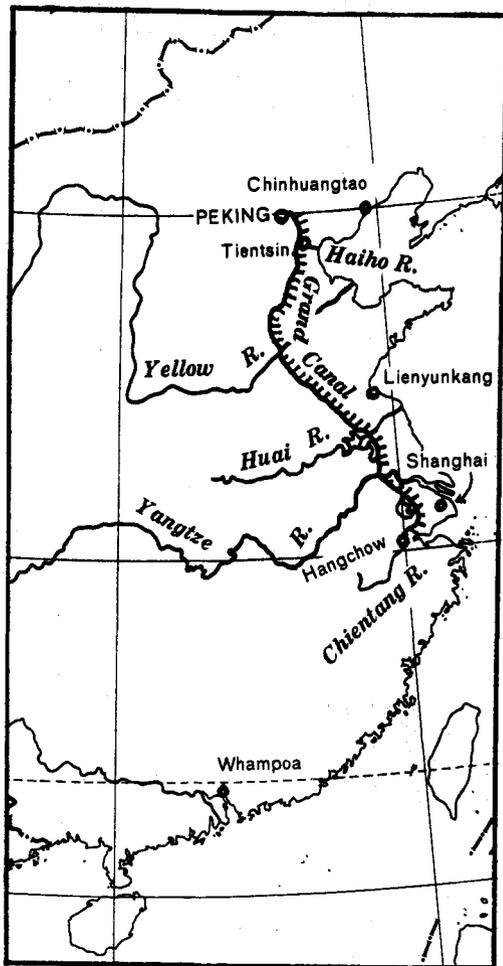
Progress

In the past 28 years since the founding of New China, remarkable progress has been made in waterborne and road transport as can be seen from the following facts.

- Marine shipping was virtually non-existent in old China. Today there is an ocean-going merchant fleet which has called at nearly 400 ports in some 100 countries.

- In striking contrast to the pre-liberation days when there were only a few tumbledown shipyards doing repairs, China today is able to design and build with its own materials and equipment ocean-going freighters and tankers, large dredgers, ice breakers, crane barges and ships for petroleum-prospecting purposes.

- Formerly entirely dependent on foreign countries for supply of auto parts, China has now become a producer of motor vehicles of various types, such as sedans, buses, trucks, light roadsters and heavy-duty trucks. Twenty-seven administrative divisions at the provincial level can now produce or assemble motor



Sketch map by Chien Tu

vehicles and an auto industry has initially taken shape in China.

• As compared with 1949, the loading and unloading capacity of harbours along China's coast has gone up 11-fold, the number of steamers and barges plying inland ports has increased 17-fold, the mileage of highways open to traffic is 11 times as long and the freight volume taken up by trucks, steamers and barges is 73 times as much.

Those are no small achievements in view of the weak and backward foundation inherited by New China. As a representative from Kansu Province in northwest China told the conference, communications and transport in some parts of that province before liberation remained practically the same as in the days of the "Silk Road" when camels covering 40 kilometres a day were the chief means of conveyance. Any increase in transport capacity in those days had to depend on an increase in the number of camels. Today, of course, this has become a thing of the past thanks to the building of highways and the development of the auto industry. In order to buy trucks, one local transport team began selling its camels many years ago and by 1975 it had disposed of its last batch of 20 camels. Now nearly all rural people's communes and their production brigades in Kansu are accessible by motor vehicles. Visitors

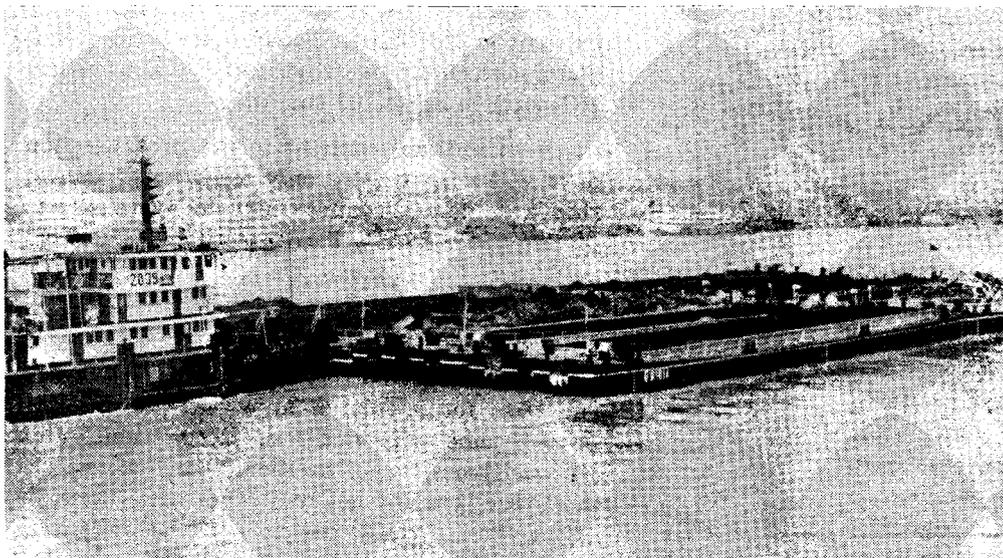
find it quite convenient to go to the Tunhuang Grottoes to see the famous ancient mural paintings.

Tremendous as the achievements are, waterborne and road transport remains a weak link in China's national economy and falls way behind the industrially developed countries. Take for instance the famous Yangtze River. Its volume of transport is far below its potential. In some countries with a developed industry, even a river the size of the Han River, a tributary of the Yangtze, handles a much greater volume of transport than what the Yangtze does today.

To bring about China's modernization of industry, it is necessary, first and foremost, to solve the problems of energy, raw materials and communications and transport. Keenly aware of all this, representatives to the conference expressed the determination to redouble their efforts and quicken the development of communications and transport so as to make them an "advance unit" in the growth of the national economy.

Plan for Modernization

A plan for modernizing communications and transport before the end of this century was discussed at the conference. It stressed the need to make fuller use of inland waterways by



Barges being pushed forward by a tugboat on the Yangtze River.



Trucks running on the Szechuan-Tibet Highway.

dredging the rivers and cutting canals, and build a national network of waterway transport which links up all the major rivers—the Yangtze, Pearl, Huai, Yellow and Haiho Rivers—with the Yangtze as the core, having a unified standard for navigation channels and leading to all the sea outlets.

Following are the main points of the plan:

- By the end of this century, China's ocean-going mercantile fleet will be in the world's front ranks. Apart from building a number of deep-water berths, China will develop highway transport and build a modern highway transport network consisting mainly of expressways and trunk roads for use in national defence and economic construction and linking up the various provinces and autonomous regions.

- In the eight years 1978-85, China will transform the five key harbours of Shanghai, Tientsin, Whampoa, Lienyunkang and Chinghuangtao into modern general-purpose or special-purpose ports and, in co-ordination with the project of diverting the waters of the Yangtze to areas north of the Yellow River, dredge and extend the Grand Canal, a famous project in ancient China, so as to link Peking

with Hangchow and join up the Yangtze, Chientang, Huai, Yellow and Haiho Rivers.

- In the three years 1978-80, China will build an expressway and a number of new wharves including those with deep-water berths for 100,000-ton ships, dredge the estuary of the Yangtze River and introduce an automated traffic control system for navigation on the Yangtze, and reorganize the shipbuilding industry so as to increase its capacity.

The conference stressed the need to increase waterborne transport which can handle a greater volume of goods at lower costs and with little investments. In view of the fact that China has a long coastline, many fine harbours and bays and widely distributed inland waterways and lakes, making full use of waterborne transport, therefore, is an important means to speed up the development of China's communications and transport.

In addition to building new projects, the representatives pointed out, attention must be paid to making full use of the existing facilities, improving management and raising the technical level. Speedy development can be attained through carrying out technical innovations and

technical transformation and tapping potentialities in the turnround of ships, transport costs and utilization of equipment.

Confidence

At the conference, shortcomings were exposed and problems that had to be solved were raised. Participants praised the advanced units and individuals and pledged to learn from them. Last year most of the 230,000 trucks coming into or leaving Peking did one-way transport of goods only, carrying nothing on their coming or return trip. This was a big waste! But the motor transport company in the Yentai Prefecture of Shantung Province is a different case in point. A representative of this state company passed on its experience in enforcing a strict management system which has enabled the company to hand over to the state six times as much profits per truck as the national average.

The deeds of a women's team under the navigation company of the city of Hengyang in Hunan Province won acclaim for their achievements in technical innovations. The initiative

and creativeness of 50 young women led by their 28-year-old team leader Yang Cheng-tao resulted in changing each of their tugboats into a vessel for pushing several barges, thereby increasing transport efficiency five times. In the course of doing so, they met with numerous difficulties physically and technically. Speaking of their experience at the conference, Yang Cheng-tao told the story of a recruit who had at the outset fallen into the water five times in a single day, but this girl was undeterred and soon became a full-fledged member of their crew. Diligent study and hard work enabled seven of them to become engine operators and eight to qualify as steersmen of motorized vessels. They were given official licenses after examination.

The conference was tremendously inspired by the outstanding contributions made by a large number of advanced units and individuals.

With the future targets set, the waterborne and road transport departments are full of confidence in accomplishing the task of modernization at an early date.

Big Increase in Tibetan Population

by Hsin Hua-li

THE Tibetan population in the Tibet Autonomous Region is now about 1.63 million. This means there are 440,000 more Tibetans than in 1959 when democratic reform was carried out. The Tibetan population has risen by an average of 20 per thousand each year and average life expectancy is very much higher than before. This is an eloquent refutation of the Dalai traitorous clique's slander that China intends to wipe out her Tibetan nationality.

Investigation reveals that Tibet had a population of 10 million in 634. This fell to 8 million by 1737, and by the time of the democratic reform, it had dwindled to 1,190,000.

Why has the falling Tibetan population suddenly climbed up so swiftly when births are

planned in this country and population growth is controlled?

Why the Population Fell

The Tibetan nationality was heading towards extinction before liberation, and it was all caused by a barbarous theocracy practising feudal serfdom.

Before the democratic reform, three types of manorial lords held all the arable land and pastures and most other means of production. They were the feudal government, the monasteries and the nobility, who altogether accounted for only 5 per cent of the population. Exorbitant taxes, a multitude of levies, corvee, usury and other cruel means of exploitation were imposed upon the Tibetan serfs and slaves. Resistance

was suppressed by barbarous means like gouging out eyes, cutting off tongues, chopping off limbs, hamstringing and even skinning alive. Every year over tens of thousands of serfs were imprisoned or killed.

What medical facilities Tibet had before the democratic reform served only three types of manorial lords.

There were no doctors or medicine for the masses of serfs. The reactionary lamas and the shamans used clay, incense ash and even Dalai's excrement as "medicine" to deceive the sick serfs. When typhoid, smallpox, or cholera broke out, the serf-owners would order the stricken serfs to be burned or buried alive, or would drive them into the mountains and see that they stayed there until they succumbed to disease or hunger. In 1927 smallpox wiped out more than 7,000 people in Lhasa and in 1934, over 2,800 died of typhoid.

Women about to give birth used to be driven out to the cow sheds or sheep pens, where mother and infant often died of tetanus and puerperal fever. Before the democratic reform, infant mortality rate was 60 per cent. In addition, monks and nuns made up more than 10 per cent of the Tibetan population and their enforced celibacy also hindered Tibet's population growth.

The Population Upturn

As a result of the democratic reform the feudal serfdom was abolished and the million Tibetan serfs became masters of their own destiny. In a short span of only a dozen years Tibet has entered the period of socialism. Production expanded rapidly after socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and handicrafts and the setting up of rural people's communes. The living standard of the working people has risen steadily. In 1977, each peasant or herdsman had on the average 36 yuan



Tibetan school children.

in the bank, more than 30 times the amount they had in 1965. The change in the social system bringing along with it a change in the political and economic status of the people has been decisive in the rapid increase of the Tibetan population.

Population growth among China's minority nationalities is encouraged by the state. Chairman Mao and Premier Chou had pointed out that Tibet with its vast area was sparsely inhabited and should have a larger population. Chairman Hua also pointed out that in minority nationality areas policies to encourage population increase should be carried out. The implementation of these policies contributed to Tibet's population growth. In addition, constantly improving medical and health facilities have been also conducive to the growth. A health network covering the whole autonomous region has been developed and there are clinics at the county level and down to the people's communes. The People's Government has sent in medical teams from other parts of the country and all Tibetan people today enjoy free medical care. Diseases once rampant have been brought under control. Party organizations at all levels in the region attach great importance to mother and child care and modern methods of midwifery have been popularized. According to statistics, infant mortality is less than 2 per cent per year in the regional hospital since its founding about 20 years ago. Each year this hospital has delivered an average of 1,100 infants.

ASEAN Unity and Co-operation Strengthened

THE 1978 ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Trade Fair held recently in Manila was the first of its kind sponsored jointly by the member countries. It reflected increasing unity and co-operation among the five ASEAN nations (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand), and highlighted the main achievements in developing their national economies. It demonstrated the increasingly significant role played by the association, an emerging force, in Asian and international affairs.

The pavilions in the main building displayed features common to the area as a whole as well as specific characteristics. The thousands of articles on view showed the rapid industrial progress made by ASEAN nations in recent years. Among the items were clothing and rattan or bamboo furniture from the Philippines, construction materials and canned food from Thailand, rubber products of Malaysia, batik and leather goods from Indonesia, and electronic equipment, jewelry and ornaments from Singapore.

The five ASEAN nations have a total population of 240 million industrious people. They cover a total area of 3 million square kilometres rich in natural resources. However, these countries have suffered great losses from the manipulation of prices on the world market by the developed nations. The dumping of industrial goods by the latter has also hampered the growth of the ASEAN countries' national economies. Their leaders in recent years have come to see more and more clearly the importance of ASEAN unity for building their

industry and promoting regional economic co-operation. President Marcos of the Philippines said: "An economically powerful ASEAN constitutes a guarantee for stability in the region." Thailand's Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan said last March: "There is now a growing realization among the countries of the region that peace and progress will be possible only when each and every one of them strives to develop its economy and co-operates with the others while preventing outside countries from sowing discord among them."

Charts displayed at the trade fair showed that inter-ASEAN trade has been growing, with the total volume up from 2,770 million U.S. dollars in 1972 to 8,140 million dollars in 1976. Inter-ASEAN trade has bright prospects for development as it now comprises only 15 per cent of the association's total trade.

Last January, in order to increase regional trade, the ASEAN countries began to carry out a preferential trade system among themselves, reducing tariffs by 10 per cent on 71 commodities including clothing, ball bearings, tyres, petroleum, chemical fertilizers and grain. They have also reached an agreement to give priority to members in the rice and petroleum trade.

Products of the nine ASEAN industrial clubs were also on display at the trade fair: automobiles, electronic apparatus, chemical products, rubber, paper, iron and steel, glass, cement, and foodstuffs. These clubs run with private capital are led by industrial committees formed by governments of the five ASEAN na-

tions. Machine parts of the automobile industrial clubs produced in the five countries are to be assembled into "ASEAN automobiles." Such an approach is a new step now under study by the ASEAN countries for developing their industrial production.

These countries had reached an agreement at their first summit meeting on the construction of a number of ASEAN co-operative projects including two urea plants—one in Indonesia and the other in Malaysia—a diesel engine plant in Singapore, a phosphate plant in the Philippines and a soda-ash plant in Thailand. Construction of the urea plant in Indonesia will be started as soon as preparations have been completed.

While strengthening trade and economic co-operation in the region, the ASEAN countries promote political and economic ties with other third world countries and with second world countries. At present, the ASEAN countries supply a high percentage of the goods on the world market as shown by the following figures: abaca fabric—98.4 per cent; palm oil

—84 per cent; rubber—81.3 per cent; hard wood—80 per cent; tin—72 per cent; and coconut oil and coconut products—64.2 per cent.

To defend their national resources and economic interests, the ASEAN countries have not only expanded their export trade but also held systematic trade dialogues with non-ASEAN countries or groups of countries. Through the dialogue between the ASEAN and Japan, agreement was reached on a ceiling for synthetic rubber production.

These steps taken by the ASEAN countries help break free of the shackles of the old international economic order and open up a bright prospect for developing their own modernized economies. These moves made by the ASEAN countries have greatly enhanced their confidence in continuing their struggle against the expansion and infiltration of hegemonism, and realizing their just proposal for a neutralized Southeast Asia.

(Hsinhua Correspondent)

(Continued from p. 30.)

giving them "access" to Qui Nhon Port where Chinese residents are only a few?

Third, a time limit is imposed on embarkation. The Vietnamese note unilaterally stipulates that "the duration for Chinese ships to moor at Vietnamese ports and for Hoa people to embark is three days at most each time." Since it is quite impossible to complete all normal procedure and work in three days, this means that the Chinese side must agree in full to the roster of people moving to China and the procedure, time and place designated by the Vietnamese authorities in advance.

Fourth, the Vietnamese note provides that "before the Chinese ships enter Vietnamese ports," "the Chinese Embassy will be informed of the lists of Hoa people who will leave Viet Nam on board these ships" by the Vietnamese

side. Moreover, the departing Chinese residents "will be helped by the Vietnamese services concerned to places of regroupment before they board the ships." In other words, the Vietnamese authorities will decide who can and who cannot leave. In such a case, even if Vietnamese with assignments of a special character are included in the embarkation lists, China is not to intervene and has to leave everything in the hands of the Vietnamese authorities.

The above mentioned shows clearly that the Vietnamese authorities are putting every obstacle in the way of repatriation of persecuted Chinese residents. Thus the ships sent by China to bring home its nationals still lie at anchor outside Vietnamese territorial waters and repatriation cannot proceed. The responsibility rests wholly with the Vietnamese authorities.

ROUND THE WORLD

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Viet Nam's Attempted Coup Foiled

Democratic Kampuchea in late May frustrated once again a coup d'etat fomented by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. This was announced by Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary at a press conference in Phnom Penh on June 24.

Ieng Sary pointed out: "This attempted coup d'etat engineered by Viet Nam was aimed at overthrowing Democratic Kampuchea. But if the Vietnamese cannot overthrow Democratic Kampuchea as a whole, they will strive to take possession of the eastern zone, to separate this zone from the rest of Kampuchea, and to declare a new regime and set up a new party there as puppets of Viet Nam. They want to use the eastern zone as a bridgehead to launch military attacks and to take possession of all the territory east of the Mekong River and of the other parts of Kampuchea, until they have occupied the whole of Kampuchea."

The Deputy Prime Minister listed the names of the six Vietnamese who had been sent to Kampuchea to make contact and carry out this coup on the order of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, and their secret places for contact.

He pointed out that if Viet Nam continues to wilfully carry out its policy and acts of subversion, interference, violation and aggression, it will surely suffer heavier defeats.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk sent a message on June 25 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, extending congratulations on the foiling of the recent attempted coup engineered by Viet Nam. He said: "No matter whether it's an imperialist big power or an expansionist country, whoever ventures to encroach on Democratic Kampuchea in any way will surely suffer a most ignominious defeat."

On the same day, Samdech Penn Nouth also sent a message of greetings to the President of the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea.

From June 15 to 29, Vietnamese aggressor troops launched another invasion of eastern Kompong Cham Province in the eastern zone of Kampuchea. This act of aggression was smashed by the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army who killed and wounded over 3,500 invaders and destroyed and damaged 19 tanks.

D.P.R.K.

Appeal to the People of The World

On June 23, 18 Korean political parties and public organizations published an appeal to

the people of all countries to support the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country and to undertake a massive international campaign for the withdrawal of foreign aggressive forces from south Korea.

The appeal issued by the Korean Workers' Party, Korean Democratic Party, Chondoist Chongu Party and other political parties and public organizations says: "U.S. bellicose elements are now speeding up their preparations for a war of aggression in Korea on a fuller scale than ever before behind the screen of 'troop pullout.'"

It states: "At the instigation of the United States, the south Korean authorities have established a wartime mobilization system under which everything is geared to war preparations."

Denouncing the U.S. scheme to create "two Koreas," the appeal says: "They will face inescapable consequences."

The appeal stresses that the United States must immediately withdraw its armed forces completely from south Korea in accordance with the U.N. resolution and its own "pledge."

It notes: "There has been and is still no change in our principle that the question of Korean reunification must be solved by the Korean people themselves on democratic principles and by peaceful means, without any foreign interference."

The appeal calls on the people of the world to condemn the south Korean authorities for

the violation of human rights and support the south Korean people in their just struggle to win democratic freedom and the right to existence.

ARAB PUBLIC OPINION

Events in the Two Yemens

The Arab public have been greatly alarmed by the assassination of President Ahmed Hussain al Ghashmi of the Yemen Arab Republic and are following with concern the development of events in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Articles and commentaries exposing Soviet intervention outright or by implication point out that this crime is aimed at undermining security and stability in the Red Sea and Gulf regions.

The Saudi Arabian paper *Al Riyadh* in a June 29 editorial said that "the assassination of President Ahmed Hussain al Ghashmi of North Yemen and the subsequent incidents taking place in South Yemen

were a prelude to further Soviet expansion in the Arabian Peninsula."

The Kuwaiti paper *Al-Rai al-Aam* said on June 29 in a signed article: "Now the Soviet danger is obvious and unquestionable. . . . Events in the two Yemens prove that Russia is using every conceivable method to squeeze into the area even at the expense of our vital interests." The paper had earlier stressed that the Soviet move was aimed at killing two birds with one stone, and was a preparation for "attacks on oilfields in the Gulf."

The Egyptian *Gazette* in an editorial on June 28 asked what the Soviet aim was in sending weapons to certain Arab countries. "To help the Arabs against the Zionists? Not on your life!" "It is just for its own imperialist plunder and aims at control of the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea as one of its main strategic targets." "After causing tremendous bloodshed and destruction in Ethiopia and on the border of Somalia, the Soviet Union has now succeeded in exporting its horrors across the Red Sea to Aden," the editorial added.

The Somali paper *October Star* commented on June 28 that the assassination of President Ahmed Hussain al Ghashmi by a foreign power is aimed at undermining Arab solidarity and weakening the Arab nation in order to dominate them and plunder their resources. "Therefore, it is the common responsibility of the Arab people as a whole to expose these

foreign schemes and their agents," it added.

The Lebanese paper *Al-Anwar* pointed out on June 28 that the Soviet intention, as indicated in the events in the two Yemens, is to "contain Saudi Arabia and keep the oil route through the Red Sea and the Strait of Mandab under its own control."

BRUNEI SULTANATE

Independent in 1983

The Sultanate of Brunei will become an independent state in 1983. This decision was announced by the British Foreign Office on June 30 at the end of the talks on Brunei's future between Britain and Brunei.

The two sides agreed in their talks to sign a new treaty under which the Sultanate of Brunei will "assume its full international responsibility as a sovereign independent state at the end of 1983.

The Sultanate of Brunei, with a population of 150,000, occupies 5,765 square kilometres of the northern part of the island of Borneo in the Pacific Ocean. Brunei had been invaded by Western colonial powers since the middle of the 16th century and became a British protectorate towards the end of the 19th century. Under the terms of the agreement of 1959, Britain assumed responsibility for Brunei's defence, security and foreign affairs. In a new agreement with Britain in November 1971, the Sultanate achieved "complete internal independence," while Britain retained responsibility for its external affairs.



Clawing bear. by Hua Chun-wu

Friendship Notes

Karakoram Highway

Thakot in North West Frontier Province of Pakistan was the scene of a grand ceremony on June 18 to mark the opening of the Karakoram Highway to through traffic. Visiting Chinese Vice-Premier Keng Piao cut the ribbon amid thunderous shouts "Pak-Cheen Dosti-Zindabad" (Long live Pakistan-China friendship) and then the first car rumbled by.

The Karakoram Highway extends for 616 kilometres from the China-Pakistan border area at Khunjerab Pass to Thakot, a little over 200 kilometres away from the capital city of Islamabad. As one of a very few plateau highways in the world the Karakoram Highway is acclaimed by Pakistani friends as a "wonder of the modern age." It snakes along ridges of

the Karakoram and Himalaya Mountains, keeps to the Hunza, Gilgit and Indus Rivers and passes by Hunza, Gilgit and Chilas, with snow-capped peaks, precipices and deep valleys all around. Temperatures vary greatly in these parts, rising to 46 degrees C. in the scorching summer and dropping to 30 degrees below zero C. in the freezing winter. Meteorological and geological conditions are such that snow avalanche, cave-in and mud-rock flow are common occurrences. The road builders from Pakistan and China were not deterred a bit. A strong earthquake shook the Pattan area in 1974. They carried on as usual despite the perils of aftershocks and landslides to follow.

The whole project involved two phases. The first was com-

pleted in two years and seven months from July 1968 to January 1971, and the second lasted four years between June 1974 and May this year. Stone and earth work totalled 16.9 million cubic metres and 85 bridges were built with a total length of 3,631 metres.

Throughout the period of construction Chinese workers on the site were well looked after by the Government and people of Pakistan. At the ceremony, 37 of the most outstanding Chinese workers were awarded medals by the Pakistan Government. In the drawing-board stage, the Chinese engineers bearing in mind the local people's interests charted a route that keeps clear of houses and cultivated lands. They also built aqueducts and culverts to solve the problem of water supply. Chinese doctors and nurses offered their service to the local people. There were instances of Chinese workers laying down their own lives to save their Pakistan friends.

The completion of the Karakoram Highway is expected to contribute to the prosperity of northern Pakistan, further economic contacts between China and Pakistan and closer relations between the two countries. The highway has given reality to a dream of several thousand years. Ancient travellers in the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.) who journeyed from China's north-west to a land of what is Pakistan today had to go through the rigours of traversing perilous mountain paths and fording swift rivers. Now it is made easy with this new



Pakistan and Chinese engineers at work.

highway. To described it as a contemporary "silk road" is no exaggeration.

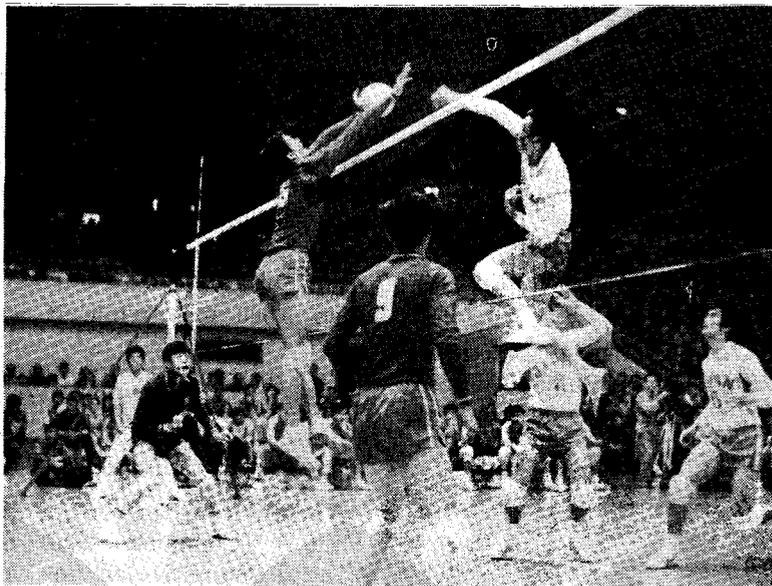
Madrigal Singers From The Philippines

A 24-member choir without musical accompaniment from the student body and faculty of the University of the Philippines came to Peking in June. In national costume these men and women vocalists presented a cantata in two or more parts and in unison as well as solos. They used their voices in a neat and polished way, delighting Peking's concert-goers with their performance.

The rich and varied folk songs with lyrical melodies are pleasant to the ear. *Ed-edoy* and two other songs in the choir's repertoire with a strong pastoral flavour are traditional madrigals of the Igorot, Itneg and Ilocano nationalities who inhabit the mountain areas in the northern parts of the Luzon Island.

Some songs by Philippine composers proved an instant success. *World Peace* sung by a delightful female solo with accompanying voices from a distance expressed the people's yearning for a happy life. *New Society* and *My Beloved Country* showed the joy and pride of the Philippine people after winning national independence.

Songs of Asian, African and Latin American origin were included in their programme,



At the Peking volleyball tournament.

each sung in a different vein. *Song of the Seaside*, a Japanese folk song, for example, was noted for its harmony. The visiting vocalists from the Philippines also presented Chinese revolutionary songs in Chinese, such as *The East Is Red* and *Third World's People, Unite*, that were sung with gusto and spirit.

International Volleyball Tournament in Peking

Peking played host to the International Friendship Invitational Volleyball Tournament May 18-25. Teams from Brazil (men), Mexico (women), Canada (men and women), Japan (men and women) and China (two men and two women) took part. After 20 matches, China carried off the title for the women's event and Japan took the men's championship.

Volleyball aficionados in Peking were given an opportunity to watch different schools of play. In the past there were mainly two schools, the European school of high push and fierce attack and the Asian school of wild-cat spring smash. Frequent contacts between volleyball teams in recent years have served to merge these two approaches to the game. Some teams from the American continent with an edge over others in height have also mastered the Asian approach. Brazil (men's team) is the case in point. It can go on fierce attack and fast smash as well. So are the Canadian men's and women's teams. Japan, true of both the men's and women's teams, is typical of the Asian school of play but it has successfully applied the European fierce attack method. China's volleyball teams can certainly profit from the fine sportsmanship and playing skill displayed at this international tournament.

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Stage Appearance of Premier Chou En-lai

Newsboys, a play now being staged in Peking, has moved audiences with its vivid portrayal of Comrade Chou En-lai.

The play in six scenes, presented by the China Children's Art Theatre, describes a



Comrade Chou En-lai in the play *Newsboys*.

struggle led by Comrade Chou En-lai in Chungking, then under Kuomintang, after the Southern Anhwei Incident of 1941. Chiang Kai-shek, sabotaging the War of Resistance Against Japan and compromising with and capitulating to the Japanese aggressors, launched the second anti-Communist onslaught. On

January 4, 1941, the New Fourth Army led by the Communist Party of China was suddenly attacked by the Kuomintang reactionaries in southern Anhwei Province and lost more than 9,000 men while it was moving northward in accordance with instructions. Its headquarters was then in southern Anhwei. Yeh Ting, its commander, was captured.

Then Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Chou led the delegation of the Party Central Committee in Chungking. *Newsboys* is a play centring on the publication and distribution of the Party's organ *New China Daily*, as part of the struggle he led against the reactionaries.

Chou En-lai appears three times. In the third scene, when the Kuomintang tries to strangle the *New China Daily* by cutting the power supply, Chou strikes a match in the press. He brings a generator to the newspapermen and instructs them how to wage a struggle against the Kuomintang press censorship.

In scene six, Chou En-lai appears again at the time when the newspaper office is surrounded by armed Kuomintang agents who try to seize the paper as it comes off the press. He scathingly condemns the Kuomintang reactionaries for committing crimes against the Chinese nation.

The epilogue shows Chou En-lai together with the newsboys distributing copies of *New*

China Daily among the crowd in a Chungking street. In that day's issue, a frontpage editorial revealing the truth of the Southern Anhwei Incident is cut out by Kuomintang censors. Comrade Chou En-lai writes a poem of protest full of proletarian indignation to fill the blank space.

This is one of some ten recent stage-plays portraying the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. In this performance, the actor does his best to convey the inner qualities of this great man while paying close attention to voice and expression. "The motive for recreating such a great man is that we love our late Premier and long for him. Our acting may not be of a high order and we lack experience in portraying such a great man, but we are determined to do our best," said playwright Shao Chung-fei.

The play held its opening night on March 5, the 80th birthday of Premier Chou. Since then, at the end of each performance, the audience, having seen Premier Chou on the stage, has stood up and, with prolonged applause, expressed its reluctance to part with him.

Professor of Worker Origin

Tsai Tsu-chuan, worker-expert on new electric light sources, has become a professor of optics at Shanghai's Fudan University and is one of the more than 300 recently promoted professors and associate professors in 16 Shanghai institutions of higher learning.

To break with conventional practices and promote or commend talented persons who

have made outstanding contributions to the state is one of the important measures taken to develop China's science and education.

Tsai Tsu-chuan, 53 years old, is chief of the electric light sources laboratory at Fudan University. In 1961 he and his colleagues started making research on new electric light sources. Since then, they have produced or discovered more than 60 apparatuses and new electric light sources, some of them topping advanced world levels. Recently, they manufactured a high-frequency non-polar fluorescent lamp with a long life-span and intense light. Wide use of this lamp will save about 100 million kwh of electricity every year for Shanghai proper with a population of 6 million.

As a worker before liberation, Tsai specialized in blowing ampoules in a pharmaceutical plant. Not long after the founding of New China in 1949, he was one of the first group of model workers in Shanghai and was later sent to a university to take up technical work on

electricity. Last March, he attended the National Science Conference and put forward many good proposals for speeding up the training of scientific and technical personnel.

Another Imperial Underground Palace

The 18th-century tomb of Emperor Chien Lung (located in Tsunhua County, 120 kilometres east of Peking) was recently opened to visitors.

This tomb, excavated after the unearthing of one of the imperial tombs of the Ming Dynasty (14th-17th century) on Peking's outskirts, displays stone carving of a high artistic quality and distinctive architectural features.

Memorial arches and halls for offering sacrifices stand on the 12-metre-wide road leading to the tomb. Paved with brick and stone, the road extends several kilometres. Flanking it are eight pairs of stone sculptures representing civil officials, military officers, horses, unicorns, elephants, camels and other animals.

Skilfully executed, each of the vivid sculptures was carved from a complete stone block.

At the end of the road is the underground palace, 54 metres in length, with three stone halls and four pairs of stone gates, all arched in traditional style. The stone blocks used are decoratively carved. On each gate, which weighs about two tons, there is a carved figure of a standing bodhisattva. The inner walls of the first gateway are decorated with four celestial guardians (also called deva gods).

Many Buddhist scriptures and figures of Buddha are carved on the inner walls of the arched halls, and floral designs on their ceilings.

The coffin of Chien Lung is in the innermost precinct of the underground palace. He was the fourth of the ten Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) emperors, and reigned for 60 years. The tomb, built while he was still alive, took 30 years to finish.

The tomb is a historical testimony to the cruel exploitation and enslavement of the labouring people by the feudal rulers. According to historical records, 90 tons of silver were spent in construction of this tomb. Large numbers of rare *nanmu* (durable fragrant close-grained wood) were transported from south China, some logs weighing from 10 to 20 tons. It took 1,000 people two years' labour to move the logs from the forest to the work-site. Several thousand mules were required to haul huge blocks of white marble which were quarried in Fangshan County, southwest of Peking.



Tsai Tsu-chuan and middle school students.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Northern Extensive Shelterbelts

BY 1985 a network of shelterbelts to control shifting desert sand and check erosion of the loess highlands is to be created between Heilungkiang Province in northeast China and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the northwest.

China has more than 126 million hectares of desert land, of which 90 per cent are located in the northwest and Inner Mongolia. Also, the loess plateaus of neighbouring Shensi and Kansu Provinces are seriously eroded.

The local people in these areas have launched massive afforestation campaigns every year since the founding of New China in 1949. The 1975 nationwide survey of forestry resources showed that over 1.6 million hectares in these regions had already been afforested.

The shelterbelts will transform the natural conditions of China's northern area. More than 6.6 million hectares of cropland and 3.3 million hectares of pastures will be protected. Grain output is expected to increase by 20 per cent and grass by 100 per cent. The loess highlands will extend their forest cover from the present 5 per cent to 18 per cent by 1985.

The Chinese Academy of Forestry Science will set up centres for scientific experiments in places afflicted by sandstorm and in the loess uplands. Researches will concentrate on fast-growing varieties of trees and new methods of afforestation.

Hangchow's Silk Tapestry

ONE of the latest works put out by the Hangchow Silk Tapestry Factory is a piece

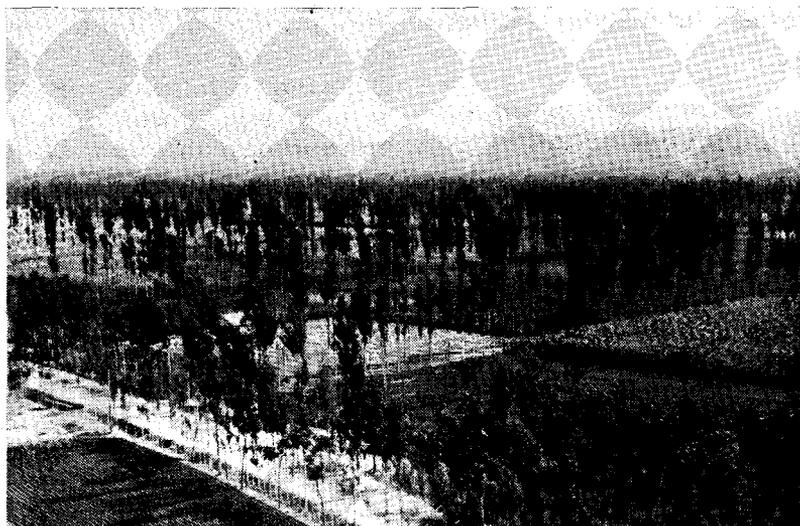
called *Horses*, a traditional Chinese painting by the noted artist Hsu Pei-hung. The superbly woven horses, with their shining coats, look life-like and mettlesome.

In the past year, the factory has produced over two dozen new varieties, some incorporating themes on socialist revolution and construction and some, traditional themes loved by the people.

Hangchow, known as the "silk city," has a 2,000-year-old history of silk weaving. Its tapestries, dating back to the Tang Dynasty (618-907), are widely renowned. Since liberation, the workers and designers of the factory have developed their traditional art and drawn on painting to enrich their decorative art, absorbing much from ancient Chinese artists as well as from the colouring of Western paintings. Tapestries with beautiful oriental designs have a ready market in more than 130 countries and regions of the world.

In recent years, many works of noted Chinese painters have been woven into tapestries, including *Prawns* by Chi Pai-shih, *Tiger* by Ho Hsiang-ning and Li Ku-chan's *Sparrows*. Scenes from ancient fables such as *Monkey Raises Hell in Heaven* and *Fairy Scattering Flowers* are also represented on tapestries.

This factory was started up in 1922. At the time of liberation in 1949, there were only 40 workers annually producing 2,000 square metres of tapestry in black and white. Today the place is almost unrecognizable;



A shelterbelt in Shensi Province.

the grounds are landscaped, and there are 40 times as many workers, turning out more than 100 times the previous annual output in a thousand varieties.

More Deer Antlers

THE number of domesticated wild deer and the output of deer antlers have shown a steady increase in northwest China's Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Chinghai Province. A valuable medical tonic is extracted from deer antlers. The placenta, blood, flesh, kidney, muscles and tail are also sources of valuable medicines.

Sinkiang now has over 6,000 head of domesticated deer. Last year the region's output of antlers registered an all-time high of 3,750 kilogrammes. Chinghai Province raises more than 3,400 head of deer on its 34 deer ranches and produces over 1,500 kg. of antlers a year.

China's major deer-raising regions are in the northeastern

provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang. Antlers from the spotted deer in Kirin Province are produced in the greatest quantity and are the best in quality.

The wapiti is a wild deer but has been domesticated in many areas in the past few years. In order to improve the strain of the wapiti, a deer ranch in Chilien County, Chinghai Province, crossbred the local heavy wapiti with northeast China's spotted deer. The second generation grew well with larger and better antlers, which were first cut last year. Now the improved breed is being popularized throughout the province.

The domestication of large numbers of wapitis not only provides more antlers, but ensures the steady growth of wild deer.

Serve the People

Among Neighbours. The daily, *Beijing Ribao*, recently carried three letters from people praising their neighbours.

• The 86-year-old father of Li Hsiang-ling, a woman worker, was going to have an operation. She had to look after him in the hospital, leaving her seven-year-old son at home with no one to take care of him. The boy's father was busy at work. Wang, an elderly woman and Li's neighbour, volunteered to take care of the boy and look after the house while Li was away. Later the old man returned from hospital to convalesce. In order

that Li could go back to work, another neighbour, a retired doctor surnamed Hsiang came to take care of the patient. Later, unable to continue because he scalded his foot, Doctor Hsiang got his daughter to take over and look after the old man until he had recovered.

• Two sisters, both school-girls, live in the same courtyard as an elderly woman in her 70s surnamed Chang. The old lady, a dependent of a revolutionary martyr, lives alone and cannot get about much, so the two girls help her do chores about the house every day. They always call before going off to school to ask her if there is anything they can do, and after school always vie with each other to do the sweeping and dusting. The two girls do all her shopping, and whenever she is not feeling well they take her to hospital. The old lady often exclaims that these two sisters are like her own granddaughters.

• An elderly man surnamed Tsui, who was living alone, became semi-paralysed last year. The neighbourhood committee (an organization to run local affairs, formed by people living in the same block) immediately sent two spare-time paramedics and a doctor from the local hospital to treat him. A woman member of the neighbourhood committee went every day to tidy the house for the invalid and a paramedic gave him daily injections and brought him medicine. Because of help from all quarters the old man soon recovered and can now get about again without a stick.



Deer antlers in a ranch in Heilungkiang Province.

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

(Volumes I-V)

Volume I contains 17 articles written in the First Revolutionary Civil War Period (1924-27) and the Second Revolutionary Civil War Period (1927-37).

Volume II contains 40 articles covering the period from the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in July 1937 to the repulsing of Chiang Kai-shek's second anti-Communist onslaught in May 1941.

Volume III contains 31 articles covering the period from March 1941 to August 1945 when final victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

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