

# PEKING REVIEW

34

August 19, 1977

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## **Great Victory for Chairman Mao's Guideline on War**

— In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the  
founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

## **In Memory of Comrades Ho Lung and Chen Yi**

# PEKING REVIEW

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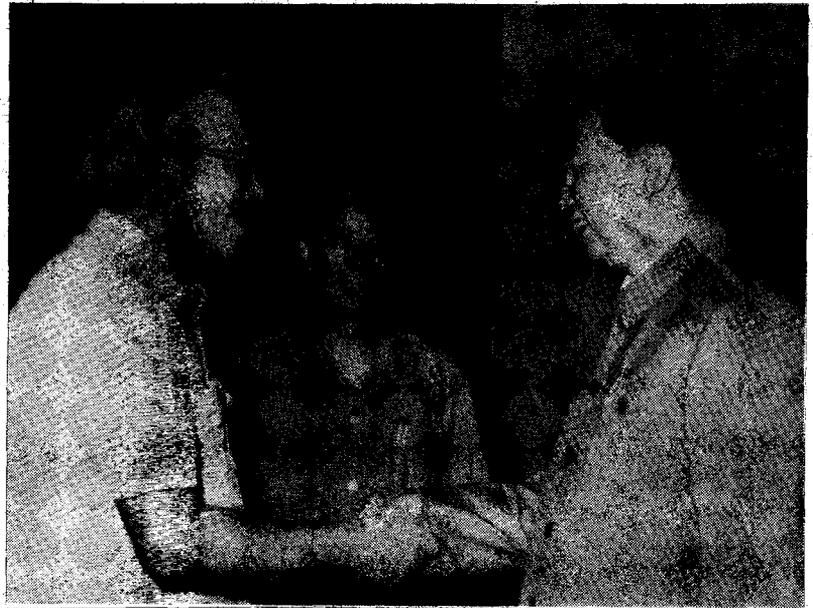
## Chairman Hua Meets Belgian and Danish Comrades

**H**UA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on August 8 met separately with Fernand Lefebvre, First Secretary, and Emile Remy, Member of the Central Committee, of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium, and with the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark led by Chairman Benito Scoozza.

On the afternoon of August 8 when Chairman Hua met the Belgian comrades, Comrade Lefebvre extended his warm congratulations on the success of the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He said that this was a great victory not only for the Chinese people but also for the revolutionary people the world over. "We are looking forward to the convocation of the 11th National Congress of the Party," he added. Chairman Hua expressed heartfelt thanks and stated the wish that the friendship and unity of the two Parties and two peoples of China and Belgium would continually develop.

After the meeting with the Danish comrades in the evening, Chairman Hua gave a banquet in their honour.

In his toast at the banquet, Comrade Li Hsien-nien, Member



Chairman Hua meets with First Secretary Lefebvre.

of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, warmly praised the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark for the struggles it has waged for years against modern revisionism, the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and the aggression and expansion by Soviet social-imperialism in particular, and the monopoly capitalist class at home.

He said: We are confident that the Danish Communist Workers' Party will achieve still greater successes in the course of integrating Marxism-Lenin-

ism with the concrete revolutionary practice in Denmark.

At present, Comrade Li Hsien-nien added, the daily intensifying scramble for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States and especially the aggression and expansion perpetrated by Soviet social-imperialism everywhere are causing intranquillity in the world. This has aroused increasingly strong opposition and resistance from the people of all countries.

Comrade Li Hsien-nien reiterated: "The Chinese people

are determined to follow Chairman Mao's strategic thinking regarding the three worlds, firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, and oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States."

Dwelling on the excellent situation in China, Comrade Li Hsien-nien said: At present,

superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, for their attempts to enslave the people of all countries. In its contention for hegemony, he said, social-imperialism is pushing ahead with a more and more aggressive policy.

"The intensified rivalry between the superpowers and particularly the social-imperialist offensives have increased

is a great victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. We hereby extend our congratulations on the decisions made by the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

He pointed out that the establishment of the broadest possible unity in the struggle against the two superpowers, the strengthening of the solidarity of the Danish people with the third world people and the closing of ranks of all countries and nations who stand side by side on the basis of equality in the struggle against the United States and social-imperialism — all this conforms to the interests of the Danish working class and people.

Earlier, Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao of the N.P.C. Standing Committee met and feted the Danish comrades. After visiting Peking, Harbin, Taching and other places, the delegation left the

capital for home on August 9.

### Vice-Premier Li Meets Prime Minister Miguel Trovoada

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on August 13 met with Miguel Trovoada, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and his party. After the meeting, Vice-Premier Li gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished guests.



Chairman Hua meets with Chairman Scocozza.

the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions are warmly responding to the call of the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, rallying still more closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and greeting the convocation of the 11th National Congress of the Party with new achievements in socialist revolution and construction.

In his toast, Comrade Scocozza sternly condemned the two

the danger of the outbreak of a third world war," he pointed out. This demands that the people throughout the world "strengthen their struggle against the two superpowers and, more important, maintain vigilance against and oppose social-imperialism that pays lip service to peace and anti-imperialism but tries hard to gain more positions."

Comrade Scocozza praised the victory of the Communist Party of China in smashing the "gang of four." He stated: "The victory over the 'gang of four'

In his toast, Vice-Premier Li said that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Sao Tome and Principe have developed steadily over the past two years and more since the establishment of diplomatic relations. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure their friendship with the Government and people of Sao Tome and Principe and always hold that it is most important for the third world countries and people to sympathize with and support each other in the common struggle against imperialism.

Prime Minister Miguel Trovoada said: Since President Manuel Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe visited China in December 1975, the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two peoples have been further consolidated. We always advocate the strengthening of co-operation among the third world countries so that the underdeveloped countries will win complete emancipation. It is my belief that through bilateral contacts between us, we can better our mutual understanding and strengthen our co-operation.

Prime Minister Miguel Trovoada and his party stopped over in Peking after a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

### **Interment of Remains of Martyr Fang Chih-min**

The ceremony for interring the remains of the martyr Fang Chih-min, an outstanding member of the Communist

Party of China, a good student of Chairman Mao, a great communist fighter and a people's hero, was held on August 6 in Nanchang city in east China's Kiangsi Province.

The Party Central Committee and Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping presented wreaths.

A mausoleum for Fang Chih-min was built in 1965. Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao wrote an inscription for the gravestone, but the interment of the martyr's remains was held up as a result of interference and sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four." After the gang was smashed, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua gave approval to this ceremony for interring the martyr's remains.

In the morning of August 6, as the hearse carrying the marble coffin containing the remains and covered with the flag of the Communist Party of China, moved slowly towards the mausoleum, people wearing white flowers and black armbands lined the streets to pay silent tribute to the martyr. The mausoleum is situated on the outskirts of Nanchang and the gravestone bears Chairman Mao's inscription: **Grave of the Martyr Fang Chih-min.**

Comrade Fang Chih-min was one of the founders of the Kiangsi provincial Party organization and the founder of the northeast Kiangsi revolutionary base area and the Tenth Army of the Red Army. He joined the

Socialist Youth League in 1922 and became a member of the Chinese Communist Party in 1923. He was Member of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party and Member of the Executive Committee as well as Member of the Presidium of the Central Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic. During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), Comrade Fang Chih-min unswervingly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and followed the road charted by Chairman Mao to found and develop the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the revolutionary base area in northeast Kiangsi Province. He waged an unremitting struggle against the opportunist lines of Wang Ming and Li Li-san and thus expanded the northeast Kiangsi revolutionary base area. Chairman Mao highly appraised Comrade Fang Chih-min and the work of the base area under his leadership.

In January 1935, when Comrade Fang Chih-min led an advance detachment of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in trying to break through the blockade of the Kuomintang reactionaries and march northward to fight the Japanese aggressors, he was betrayed by a renegade and captured by the enemy. In prison, he showed great courage and wisdom, and persevered in the struggle against the enemy. In the summer of that year, he died a hero in Nanchang. Comrade Fang Chih-min's life was one of thoroughgoing revolution and valiant struggle against the enemy.

# Great Victory for Chairman Mao's Guideline on War

— In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the  
founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

by Su Yu

**F**IFTY years ago our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao founded the people's own army, thereby ushering in an entirely new period in the Chinese revolution, that is, a period of independent leadership of the revolutionary war by the Communist Party of China.

China's history has undergone world-shaking changes since the Party and the people took up arms and used armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution. After 22 years of revolutionary wars, the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party overthrew the criminal rule of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary gang in 1949, cleared away the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people, and brought the new-democratic revolution to complete victory. After country-wide liberation, the Chinese people fought the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, repulsed aggression by social-imperialists and reac-

The author is a member of the standing committee of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Originally published in *Renmin Ribao* on August 6, this article is divided into three parts. The first part which deals with the importance of opposing a counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war is not included in this translation. Here we publish excerpts from the second and third parts. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

tionaries and triumphantly defended the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The historic victory of the Chinese people is a victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the long years of revolutionary war, Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolutionary war and developed creatively and in an all-round way Marxist-Leninist thesis on military affairs, thus greatly enriching the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist military theory. Chairman Mao not only formulated for us the correct line for building the people's army, but also set forth the correct guideline on war. Chairman Mao's military thinking and military line are powerful ideological weapons for the proletariat and other revolutionary people in waging revolutionary wars and our heirloom in vanquishing the enemy.

## People's War

Chairman Mao's guideline on war is, fundamentally speaking, the guideline on people's war. The reason why China's revolutionary war could start from a single spark and gradually become a prairie fire and finally defeat powerful enemies at home and abroad was that the war we waged was progressive and just and was a genuine people's war carried out under the

leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party and by relying on the people.

**“The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.”** (Mao Tsetung: *Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work.*) By creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist basic principle that the people are the makers of history to revolutionary war, Chairman Mao developed the great Marxist-Leninist thesis on people's war and personally led the Chinese people in waging a protracted, extensive and all-round people's war.

China's revolutionary war was, in essence, a peasant war under the leadership of the proletariat. If the proletariat had not established the most reliable and extensive alliance with the peasants and mobilized the peasants in their hundreds of millions, there could be no genuine people's war. In the past, we fought by mainly relying on the peasants. To help the peasants get united and fight for their own liberation, Chairman Mao had, since our Party independently led the revolutionary war, closely linked armed struggle with solving the land problem for the peasants and led the peasants in overthrowing feudal exploitation and oppression.

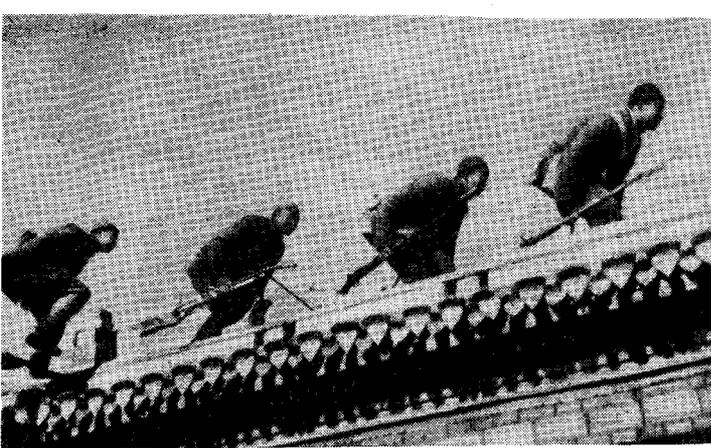
During the period of the War of Agrarian Revolution (1927-37), our army concentrated its forces to fight the enemy and divided its forces to mobilize the masses and organize the peasants to struggle against local despots and divide up the land. In the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), in accordance with the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, the policy of reducing rent and interest was followed. During the War of Liberation (1945-49), land reform was promptly carried out in the Liberated Areas so as to thoroughly solve the land question for the peasants. From their own experience the peasants in their hundreds of millions came to realize that the revolutionary war led by our Party was really waged for their emancipation, so they wholeheartedly supported, assisted and took part in it. Chairman Mao formulated for our Party correct policies and tactics for different periods towards the various classes and strata in the country so as to unite all the forces that could be united and rally as many allies as possible to wage armed struggle

and concentrate our attack against the chief enemy. In this way, the most powerful foundation was laid for waging a people's war.

Without revolutionary base areas, it would be impossible for China's revolutionary war to triumph. In the protracted revolutionary war, Chairman Mao closely linked armed struggle with the establishment of revolutionary base areas. The establishment of these areas turned the backward countryside into advanced revolutionary bastions, and this made it possible for us to accumulate and temper our revolutionary forces, expedite the advent of a revolutionary high tide and gradually seize political power in the whole country. Moreover, with the establishment of these areas and the setting up of revolutionary political power, the people became their own masters with guarantee for their political rights and economic interests. That was why they fought consciously and determinedly to defend their own political power at all costs.

Revolutionary base areas were strategic bases for carrying on a people's war. With them as the prop, our army could effectively attack and wipe out the enemy with the assistance and co-operation of the people, and, with protection from the masses, it could carry out consolidation and training and take rest and build up energy. In particular, it could continually replenish itself in manpower and materials so as to carry on a protracted revolutionary war. At the same time, only by continuously defeating the enemy troops could we defend the construction of the base areas and steadily consolidate and expand these areas.

The people's army founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao is a new-type army built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Under the absolute leadership of the Party, this army has upheld the principle of wholeheartedly serving the people. It has carried out the tasks of being at once a fighting force, a work force and a production force. It has developed vigorous revolutionary political work; followed the three major principles — unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people and disintegrating the enemy troops — and carried out democracy in the political, economic and military fields; it has strictly abided by the



**Militiamen of a village attacking the invaders during the War of Resistance Against Japan.**

Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, forged close ties with the people, just like the relation between fish and water, and shared weal and woe with them. This army has the indomitable spirit of fighting tenaciously and the fine style of hard struggle, and it has evolved a series of strategy and tactics for a people's war. It has played its full role as the backbone force in people's war.

In the long years of people's war, in order to defeat the enemy, we have instituted the system of armed forces which combine field armies, regional troops and the militia. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, we combine the main forces with the regional forces, the regular troops with the guerrilla units and militia, and the armed people with those who are unarmed. With these combinations, the main forces can at any time carry out mobile operations beyond the limits of a locality mainly to deal with and wipe out the enemy's regular troops; the regional forces, on their part, persist in fighting in their respective localities in co-ordination with the guerrilla units, militia and other armed organizations of the masses to defend and consolidate the base areas, actively help the main forces to attack and annihilate the local enemy forces. All this forms an escape-proof net to vanquish the enemies. With these three kinds of combinations, it is possible to turn every man into a soldier, while the militia can replenish the regular forces at any time so that the guerrilla units and regional forces can gradually develop to become army corps forming the main force, thereby expanding the backbone force for waging a people's war. To defeat the enemy, our Party co-ordinates armed struggle directly

or indirectly with the struggles of the workers, peasants, youth, women and all other forms of people's struggle throughout the country, and with the struggles in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and all other fields; this makes for a people's war in which the armymen and the people as a whole are mobilized, and turn to the maximum account the tremendous power of people's war.

The historical experience of China's revolutionary war has proved that so long as the masses are mobilized and organized to take an active part in and support the war, there will be inexhaustible strength to make up for any shortage of arms and equipment, and we can overcome all kinds of difficulties and defeat any enemy. In the protracted revolutionary war, the masses voluntarily joined the army, took part in the fighting, strengthened defence works and cleared the fields to prevent the enemy from getting food, gathered intelligence about the enemy, acted as guides, prevented the leakage of news, captured enemy scouts, employed sabotage warfare, mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sparrow warfare\* and other methods to attack and harass the enemy. These played an extremely important role in helping our army in its battles.

During the years of war when our economic conditions were most difficult and our struggle

\* The term has two meanings: first, such warfare is carried out on an extensive scale just like sparrows flying all over the sky; second, it is flexible. People fight in groups of three or five to harass and attack the enemy by surprise.

**A contingent of stretcher-bearers formed by the people going to the front during the years of China's revolutionary war.**





An old woman telling our soldier the direction in which the enemy troops fled.

was extremely arduous, the heroic people shared weal and woe with the army, supported and protected it at the risk of their lives, performing numerous magnificent and meritorious deeds. In the War of Liberation, our army carried out mobile warfare on an unprecedented scale. Millions of peasants supported the front; they pushed or drove carts to transport supplies, carried stretchers, braving enemy fire and crossing mountains and rivers under difficult circumstances. Wherever the army went, they followed it to give whatever help that was needed. This guaranteed our victory. All this time and again confirmed Chairman Mao's brilliant statement: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." (*On Protracted War*.) It is in a people's war that our superiority lies and no enemy can defeat us.

We always attach importance to the role of weapons in waging a people's war. In the years of revolutionary war, we relied mainly on weapons seized from the enemy to arm ourselves. Under extremely harsh conditions, we also set up a number of small arsenals and produced our own weapons and ammunition as a supplement. On the eve of the founding of New China, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy." (*The Chinese People Have Stood Up!*) Later,

he again pointed out: "We are stronger than before and will be still stronger in the future. We will not only have more planes and artillery but we will also have atom bombs. If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the bomb." (*On the Ten Major Relationships*.) Now we have built China into an initially prosperous socialist country. We are striving to modernize our industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology. We pay full attention to making the best use of the weapons we now have. At the same time, we are determined to rely on our own efforts to constantly improve our military equipment so that we will not only have what the enemy has but also have what he lacks. Future wars

against aggression will be people's wars under modern conditions. By stepping up modernization, we will greatly increase the power of people's war. Even when we have better weapons, we will continue to fight a people's war. We are firmly convinced that the people are always the main force in a war and the decisive factor of victory or defeat. The emergence of any new weapons cannot alter the fundamental law of a people's war. As our conditions for waging a people's war become better and better, any enemy who dares to invade will be completely submerged in a people's war on such a colossal scale as was never known before.

### Wiping Out the Enemy's Effective Strength

In the course of directing China's revolutionary war, Chairman Mao applied materialist dialectics, combined theory with practice and worked out the strategy and tactics based on a people's war and characterized by flexibility and manoeuvrability. Chairman Mao said: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't." This is an incisive summing-up of our strategy and tactics which, diverse and varied as they are, boil down to the above-mentioned words of Chairman Mao's. When we move away, you will not be able to hit us. Our moving away is for the purpose of fighting. When we fight, we make sure you can't get

away and we hit you squarely and wipe you out. In a word, we want to fight a war of annihilation so as to kill or capture enemy troops and wipe out the enemy's effective strength.

Putting the stress on annihilating the enemy's effective strength is the basic concept guiding our army's operations. Chairman Mao told us that the object of war or the essence of war is to **"preserve oneself and destroy the enemy."** (*On Protracted War.*) In directing a war, one must not lose sight of the contrast between the fundamental factors on each side or of the object of the war. In the course of military operations, these contrasting fundamental factors unfold themselves in the struggle by each side to preserve itself and destroy the enemy. Thus preserving oneself and destroying the enemy are dialectically linked with each other. **"Destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary."** (Mao Tsetung: *On Protracted War.*) The aim of self-preservation is to destroy the enemy; and only by destroying enemy troops in large numbers can one effectively preserve and develop oneself, change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and finally win the war. And only by completely wiping out the enemy's effective strength can problems be solved through war.

The successive revolutionary wars in China all began with massive offensives against us by the enemy which was in a superior position both numerically and in equipment, and for quite a long time these wars were fought under conditions in which the enemy was strong while we were weak. This being the case, **"the primary problem, and a serious one too, is how to conserve our strength and await an opportunity to defeat the enemy. Therefore, the strategic defensive is the most complicated and most important problem facing the Red Army in its operations."** (Mao Tsetung: *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War.*) Chairman Mao laid down for us the strategic principle of active defence which was for the purpose of counterattacking and taking the offensive. In the first, second and third counter-campaigns against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" which took place in the Central Revolutionary Base Area in Kiangsi in the period of the agrarian revolution, the enemy

mounted attacks against us with a superior force several times and even more than ten times that of ours. Under the personal command of Chairman Mao, our army carried out active defence, first luring the enemy troops in a planned way deep into our area and creating conditions favourable to us and unfavourable to the enemy and then seizing the opportunity for fighting and launching counter-offensives at the opportune moment. In other words, we conducted quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines in campaigns and battles to wipe out the enemy's effective strength. In spite of the fact that only part of the powerful enemy troops were annihilated, the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns were defeated, and our army grew in strength and the revolutionary base areas were consolidated and expanded. Completely ignorant of all this, Wang Ming and other "Left" opportunists followed the principle of passive defence in the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" in 1934. They did not dare to break through the enemy's encirclement, advance to the enemy's rear and attack him there and make attacks on exterior lines which would have been to our advantage, nor did they dare to lure the enemy in deep and await an opportunity to wipe him out; afraid of losing territory, they advocated instead "engaging the enemy outside the gates," dividing up the troops for defence, setting up defences everywhere, fighting defensive actions at every step and fighting blockhouse warfare and a war of attrition. As a result, the Red Army suffered heavy losses and the whole Central Revolutionary Base Area was lost.

During the War of Liberation, Chairman Mao correctly analysed the change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and laid down a strategic principle aimed chiefly at wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and not at holding a place. In the early stage of the war, in order to gain time for an all-round switch-over to a war of self-defence and provide cover for the Liberated Areas to complete all preparations to meet Chiang Kai-shek's attacks head-on, Chairman Mao, who was fully aware of the will of the armymen and people in the Liberated Areas to fight against the common enemy, took advantage of the opportune moment when the enemy just started his

massive offensive and instructed our army to accurately attack the enemy's weak points and fight several battles of annihilation mainly in the frontal sections of the Liberated Areas according to the principle of winning sure victory in the first battle. The aim was to boost the morale of the army and people and deflate the enemy's arrogance. Later, our army advanced and withdrew in great strides and wiped out large numbers of enemy troops in mobile warfare, thereby hastening the change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and finally effecting a switch-over to the strategic offensive. Throughout the course of active defence, the primary object was to destroy the enemy, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly or through twists and turns.

Historical experience tells us that whether to focus on wiping out the enemy's effective strength or not is an important distinction between active defence and passive defence which are two different strategic principles. The concept of focusing on annihilating the enemy's effective strength can be brought into fuller play in the stage of strategic offensive. In the later years of the War of Liberation between the autumn of 1948 and the spring of 1949, Chairman Mao personally directed the three great campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin. (See "The Concept of Operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign," "The Concept of Operations for the Huai-Hai Campaign" and "The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign," Vol. IV, *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. — Tr.) These were great strategically decisive campaigns in the War of Liberation and, in fact, in the 22-year-long Chinese revolutionary war. In these three great campaigns, we put out of action 1,540,000 enemy troops and thus annihilated the crack troops on which the Kuomintang relied for waging the counter-revolutionary civil war. The victory of the three great campaigns fully demonstrated Chairman Mao's superb art and skill in directing a war.

The concept of wiping out the enemy's effective strength is extensively and profoundly reflected in the series of guiding principles of operations worked out by Chairman Mao. During the period of struggle in the Chingkang Moun-

tains in 1928, Chairman Mao put forward the 16-character formula: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." He incorporated the dialectical relationship between self-preservation and destruction of the enemy into the operational principles of guerrilla warfare. During the War of Liberation, he summed up the basic experience of our army in winning battles and formulated the famous Ten Major Principles of Operation (see "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," Vol. IV, *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* — Tr.), including the principle of attacking dispersed, isolated enemy forces first and concentrated, strong enemy forces later, of taking as our main objective the wiping out of the enemy's effective strength and not the holding or seizing of a city or place, of striving to wipe out the enemy when he is on the move, of concentrating an absolutely superior force to encircle the enemy forces completely in every battle and strive to wipe them out thoroughly, and of not fighting a battle unprepared or a battle you are not sure of winning. In this way, the concept of wiping out the enemy's effective strength in directing operations finds fuller and more complete expression in our army's principles of operations.

Concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is the best method to defeat the enemy. It was basically by relying on this method that we succeeded in reversing the situation between the enemy and ourselves in the course of strategic defence and winning victories. In terms of each campaign or battle, only by concentrating a superior force, adopting the tactics of encircling and outflanking the enemy troops and attacking one of the enemy detachments or a part of the enemy forces could we achieve complete annihilation and quick decision and render the enemy reinforcements useless, thus facilitating the swift deployment of our troops to deal with another part of the enemy forces and destroy them one by one. All the splendid battles of annihilation fought by our army in the past resulted from employing this method of fighting. Take for instance the third counter-campaign our army fought, under the personal command of Chairman Mao in the Central Revolutionary Base

Area against the Kuomintang's "encirclement and suppression" in 1931. In that struggle we had only 30,000 men fighting against 300,000 enemy troops. There was a tremendous disparity in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and almost all of our base area were occupied by the enemy. But our army evaded the enemy's main forces and attacked his weaker links instead, concentrating our troops to destroy the enemy forces one by one. We massed a superior force at one point to fight and win battles of quick decision and then swiftly deployed our troops to wipe out other enemy forces. Thus in seven days, we fought three successive battles of annihilation, compelling the enemy's main forces to move hither and thither in confusion; the enemy thus became exhausted; ran out of food and was forced to withdraw. Taking advantage of their panicky retreat, we went on to wipe out a division and a brigade of enemy troops and completely smashed the enemy's "encirclement and suppression." From this it can be seen that concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is an effective method of fighting to move from a passive position to winning the initiative and annihilating the enemy's effective strength in large numbers. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The concentration of troops seems easy but is quite hard in practice." (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War.*) To really succeed in concentrating the troops, military leaders must have a good head for strategy and not be misled by complicated circumstances; they must make an objective analysis and come to a decision, have the whole situation in mind and truly grasp what is uppermost in importance so as to choose promptly the target for attack and annihilation and finish off the enemy at one blow.

### **Our Army's Main Form of Warfare**

The forms of fighting were determined and adopted according to our strategic principles and, as always, the concept of putting the stress on annihilating the enemy's effective strength must be kept in mind. Mobile warfare with quick-decision offensives on exterior lines in campaigns and battles was our army's main form of warfare. Chairman Mao pointed out:

**"The pivotal strategy must be mobile warfare."** (*On Protracted War.*) On the vast battlefield, our army advanced or withdrew in great strides, swiftly regrouped or dispersed again. This had the advantage not only of luring the enemy troops out of their heavily fortified strongholds, compelling them to be on the move or temporarily stationary and thus fully exposing their weaknesses. It also helped bring our army's strong points into play to fight at close range or at night, encircle and outflank the enemy and attack him from all directions, and more effectively apply the operational method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one and achieve the aim of quick decision and complete annihilation. For example, during the War of Liberation, Chiang Kai-shek in the winter of 1946 launched "attacks against key sectors" of our Shensi-Kansu-Ning-sia Liberated Area with a force of 230,000 men which greatly outnumbered our main force of only 20,000 men. Under the personal command of Chairman Mao, our army withdrew from Yen-an and other places on our own initiative so as to evade the enemy's attacks and employed the tactics of "wear and tear" to wear the enemy troops down to complete exhaustion and then concentrate a superior force to annihilate them one by one in mobile warfare. After ten months of fighting, we wiped out more than 70,000 enemy troops and forced the enemy to fall back on the defensive. Immediately afterwards, our army started to fight battles on exterior lines and, using the tactic of "besieging the enemy in order to strike at his reinforcements," again eliminated 30,000 enemy troops at one stroke in the battle of Yichuan. This not only changed the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves in the northwest China war theatre and laid the foundation for the liberation of all northwest China, but also helped bring about a situation favourable to us throughout the country, expedite the advent of strategically decisive campaigns and set a brilliant example in fighting mobile warfare.

Positional warfare was to our army a supplementary form of warfare, and its proportion to the other forms of warfare varied in the different periods and stages of war. Our positional warfare was generally applied in co-ordination

with mobile warfare; it was used to besiege a city and strike at enemy's reinforcements, to attack enemy strongholds and strike at his reinforcements and to storm heavily fortified points and intercept reinforcements, and we combined positional defence, positional attacks and attacking the enemy troops on the move or temporarily stationary, so as to achieve the aim of annihilating them. Towards the end of the War of Liberation, our army, while carrying out mobile warfare on an extensive scale, fought a greater number of battles by way of positional attacks to annihilate the enemy who held fast to his positions. In the later stage of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, under the specific conditions obtaining at that time, the Chinese People's Volunteers, fighting in co-ordination with the Korean People's Army, relied on positions to launch tactical counter-attacks and destroyed entire enemy platoons, companies or battalions or a greater part of them. Then when the enemy counterattacked, they again inflicted heavy casualties on him in the seesaw battles. Chairman Mao highly appraised this kind of positional warfare which shed light on the continuous development of our tactics under new conditions and flexible application of the various methods of fighting according to objective conditions.

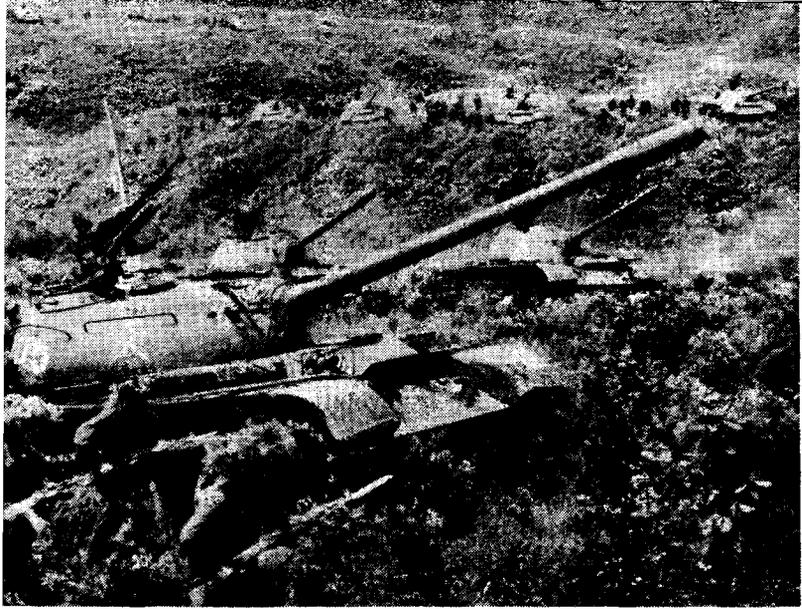
Guerrilla warfare is a form of warfare widely used in a people's war. Most closely linked with the masses, it can bring its tremendous power into play in a prolonged and relentless war with the guerrillas fighting in the enemy's rear. It not only plays the role of co-ordinating with regular warfare in campaigns and battles but also a tremendous co-ordinating role strategically. By developing guerrilla warfare to tie down and harass the enemy troops everywhere, we can turn the enemy's rear into his front line, hit hard at him, menace him mentally and cause losses to his men and materiel. Though this cannot wipe out as many enemy troops as mobile warfare does, it can reduce the enemy bit by bit and add many small victories up to a big victory.

The strategy and tactics laid down for us by Chairman Mao through practice in the revolutionary war are a powerful magic weapon

for defeating all enemies. To use this magic weapon to full advantage, it is imperative to bring into play the commanders' subjective dynamic role on the basis of specific objective material conditions and be good at flexibly applying it to the changing specific conditions. In directing our battles, Chairman Mao set great store by the commanders' and fighters' eagerness to fight and their revolutionary initiative. While requiring commanders at various levels to pay attention to the situation as a whole and submit to its needs, he always stressed flexibility and manoeuvrability and the need to fight battles according to the actual conditions of the time and place.

Since wars and their various stages differ, as do the target, time, area of fighting and the arms and equipment, our method of fighting should change and develop accordingly. We must be flexible in deploying our troops and in using and changing our tactics, and we should constantly study and acquire up-to-date tactics resulting from the development of techniques and equipment. The conditions in a war change constantly, and those on the battlefield change even more rapidly; favourable opportunities for fighting are not easily available. So the commanders must have a clear picture of the conditions on both sides in various fields, take prompt and resolute actions in accordance with the instructions of their superiors, strive to create and seize the opportunity for fighting, choose the most favourable time and place, employ the most effective methods of fighting and boldly and resolutely carry out the operations to wipe out the enemy. Practice in war tells us that steadfastness in achieving the aim of a battle and flexibility in directing it are both indispensable. Only when operational command conforms to the actual conditions can the correct policies and principles be better implemented.

The strategy and tactics Chairman Mao worked out for our army are based on a people's war. Ours is a just revolutionary war and ours is an army fighting in the interest of the people, so all our actions in war have the full support of the masses. This is why our strategy and tactics can be used to the full to display their enormous power. The imperialists, social-



Field exercises by units of the People's Liberation Army which is speeding up its revolutionization and modernization.

imperialists and reactionaries are fully aware of our strategy and tactics and they try hard to study ways and means to cope with them, but they cannot make use of our strategy and tactics, nor can they cope with them because theirs is an unjust counter-revolutionary war firmly opposed by the people.

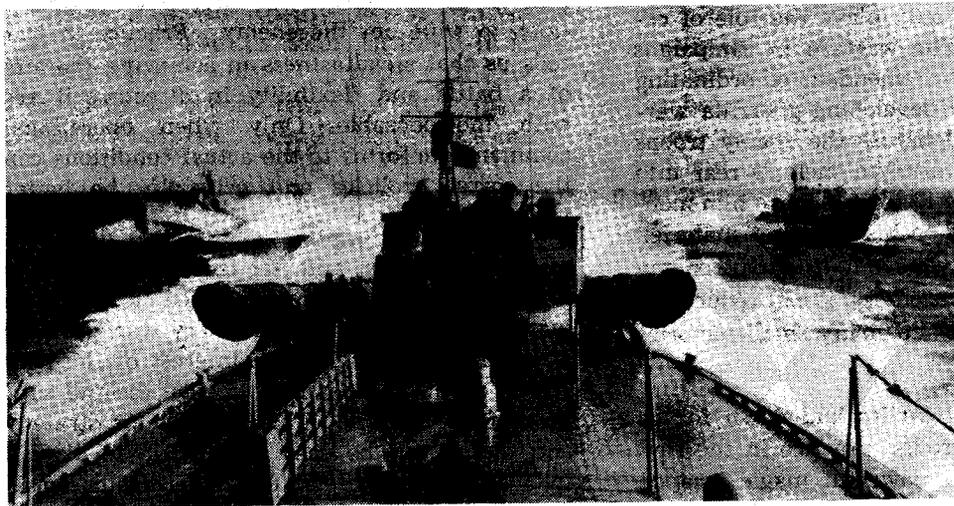
### **We Are Against But Not Afraid of a New World War**

Every time the imperialists and reactionaries launched a war against us, they invariably clamoured that they were sure to bring about a "quick and complete victory." Our friends were filled with anxiety for us. But the wars

always ended with the shameless defeat of the imperialists and reactionaries, while we always emerged victorious. We defeated the enemy and put our friends at ease.

Nevertheless, the imperialists and reactionaries will never learn from lessons of the past. They always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the people's strength. At present, both the Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists are trumpeting the might of their modern arms and equipment, describing their aircraft, tanks, guided missiles and nuclear weapons as almighty in an attempt to intimidate and blackmail the revolutionary people. In fact, it is doubtful whether they themselves have faith in

these weapons, because they know that any modern weapon inevitably has its inherent weakness and new weapons inevitably bring in their wake new ways and means to deal with them. What is more, modern arms and equipment can hardly do the job expected of them once they run short of or are detached from suitable conditions for ensuring their performance. In particular, weapons are dependent on the people who use them. The Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists do have more modern weapons than we have, but the morale of their troops is low and they are beset with insurmountable contradictions at home and abroad, and this can in no way be compensated by any new-type weap-

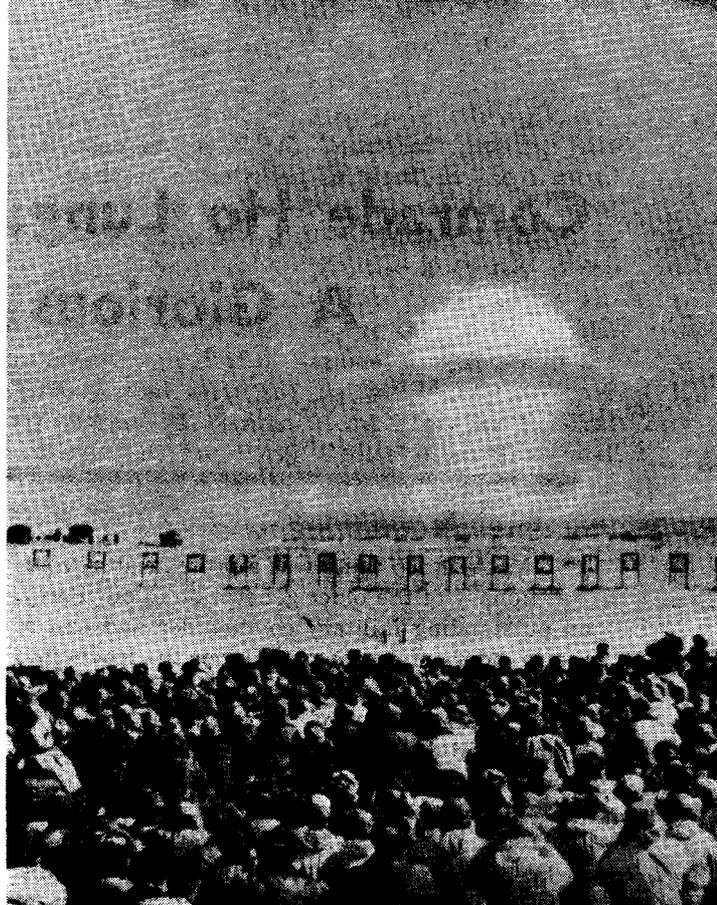


Torpedo boats of a naval unit of the P.L.A.

ons. We do not deny that nuclear weapons have great destructive power and inflict heavy casualties, but they cannot be counted on to decide the outcome of a war. The aggressors can use them to destroy a city or town, but they cannot occupy them, still less win the people's hearts; on the contrary, they will only arouse indignation and resistance from the people of the country invaded and the world's people at large. Those who believe in ghosts and spirits are most afraid of them, so are those who have blind faith in nuclear weapons. Everybody knows that under the conditions when both sides have nuclear weapons, such weapons pose a much greater threat to the imperialist and social-imperialist countries whose industries and population are highly concentrated. China's economic construction takes agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and adopts the principle of combining industry with agriculture, the cities with the countryside, large and medium-sized projects with small ones, and production in peace time with preparedness against war. Thus it cannot be destroyed by any modern weapons. If the imperialists and social-imperialists should dare to start a nuclear war, they would have to repay the blood debts they owe with interest.

Imperialism means aggression and war. The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the hotbeds of a new world war and Soviet social-imperialism, in particular, is even more dangerous. With regard to a new world war, our attitude has always been: "First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) We must adhere to Chairman Mao's strategic principles "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and his important directives "It is necessary to consolidate the army" and "Prepare itself for fighting" and maintain high vigilance against any possible war of aggression launched by imperialists, particularly a surprise attack by Soviet social-imperialists. We must be fully prepared mentally and materially. "We

August 19, 1977



With the concern of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, China's national defence capabilities are being steadily strengthened. Picture shows the successful explosion of a new hydrogen bomb.

will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack." (Mao Tsetung: *Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front*.) If the imperialists or social-imperialists should impose a war on us, whether it is a conventional or nuclear war, we will surely fight against them to the end! And once the war breaks out, it will be a protracted and all-round people's war. To use a just war to eliminate an unjust war, we are prepared to make the greatest national sacrifice and make our due contribution to the cause of the liberation of mankind.

Taiwan Province is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan so as to carry out the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, bring to fruition the common aspiration of the 800 million Chinese people and accomplish the great cause of reunifying our motherland.

# Comrade Ho Lung: A Glorious Life

by Wang Chen

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COMRADE Ho Lung was a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation in our Party, an outstanding military commander and one of the founders of our army. Under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, Comrade Ho Lung staunchly went through all kinds of rigours and dangers and made brilliant achievements in the War of Agrarian Revolution (1927-37), the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1945-49) as well as in socialist revolution and socialist construction, winning the respect and love of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation. On his death, the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao and Premier Chou accorded him a high appraisal. The Party Central Committee pointed out explicitly: "Comrade Ho Lung was a good comrade who for several decades made great contributions to the Party and the people's revolutionary cause under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. All his life, whether in the years of war or after the country-wide liberation, he was loyal to the Party, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to the cause of socialism."

Comrade Ho Lung was born in 1896 in Sangchih County, Hunan Province, and in his early childhood worked in the fields with his father. Inspired by the bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, he started his revolutionary career with two kitchen knives; as a prelude to his lifelong activities of armed struggle, he seized arms from a salt bureau to oppose the local government's exorbitant tax

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The author is Vice-Premier of the State Council.

levies and other extortions. Later, he joined the Army of National Salvation which fought Yuan Shih-kai's restoration of the monarchy, became a regimental commander, later a brigade commander, and held other leading posts. China's weakness at that time and the poverty of its people greatly disturbed him, while he felt highly disgusted at the muddle-headedness of the old officialdom which condoned the general scramble of the powerful for personal gains; thus he had deep sympathy for the new things and the rise of the popular revolutionary movement. In the early stage of the great revolution of 1925-27, he once gave a banquet to which members of both the Communist Party and the Kuomintang were invited. After the banquet they were asked to present their respective views on the current situation and the future of the country. Hearing out the views of both sides, Comrade Ho Lung concluded: "It's the theory of the Communist Party that holds water." He thus firmly followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three great revolutionary policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers during the great revolution. He took an active part in the Northern Expeditionary War as division commander and army commander; in fighting the northern warlords he won many battles and was one of the well-known Leftist generals in the National Revolutionary Army of that time. In this period, he treated the Communists sent to work in his armed forces with great respect and gave them strong support. In the years of struggle, through his many contacts with the political activists of the Communist Party, he came to accept without reserve the great truth of communism, determined to fight for the cause of communism.

In July 1927 our Party decided to stage armed uprisings as counterblows against betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, and Chen Tu-hsiu's Right capitulationism. Comrade Ho Lung was not yet a member of the Communist Party, he nevertheless stood firmly on the side of the revolutionary people, resolutely carried out the policy decision of the Communist Party and without reservation accepted the leadership of Comrade Chou En-lai who was the representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Secretary of the Front Committee. He expelled the reactionaries from his ranks, and bringing over the 20th Army in a decisive move, participated in the Nanchang Uprising with great valour as commander-in-chief of the insurrectionary army. Not long afterwards he joined the Chinese Communist Party and began a new militant career.

Between 1928 and 1936 Comrade Ho Lung held the following posts at different times: Commander of the Second Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Secretary of the Front Committee; Commander-in-Chief of the Second Army Group and Member of the C.P.C. West Hunan and West Hupeh Base Area Sub-Bureau; Commander-in-Chief of the Second and Sixth Red Army Groups and concurrently Commander of the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow Military Area, Chairman of the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow Sub-Military Commission of the Party as well as Commander of the Second Front Army of the Red Army. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he became Commander of the 120th Division of the Eighth Route Army and concurrently Commander of the Shansi-Suiyuan Military Area. During the middle of the anti-Japanese war and the period of the War of Liberation he was Commander of the Army of Joint Defence of Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, Shansi and Suiyuan Provinces, Commander of the Northwest Military Area and Second Secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he was appointed Member of the Central People's Government, Commander of the Southwest Military Area and Vice-Chairman of the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee, and Third Secretary of the Southwest

Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee. He was later transferred to work in the Central Government as Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council and Vice-Premier of the State Council, concurrently Minister in Charge of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission. He was elected to the Central Committee at the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses of the Party, and after the Party's Eighth National Congress he became Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.

### **Upholding Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line in Resolute Struggles Against Erroneous Lines**

Comrade Ho Lung had great respect for Chairman Mao and loved him dearly. While in Changsha, Hunan, Comrade Mao Tsetung initiated a number of mass struggles against imperialism and the warlords in the early stages of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Ho Lung later recalled how highly he had regarded the revolutionary prowess displayed by Comrade Mao Tsetung in these movements at that time, and what a strong influence it had on him. When in July 1934 the Sixth Army Group of the Red Army under Comrade Jen Pi-shih joined the Long March and some time in the autumn and winter of that year joined forces with the Second Army Group of the Red Army led by Comrade Ho Lung in eastern Kweichow, Comrade Ho Lung, full of admiration for Chairman Mao, lost no time in asking Comrade Jen Pi-shih and others about Comrade Mao Tsetung's brilliant thought, the Central Red Army's experience in countering the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and in the agrarian revolution. He sincerely supported the line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and esteemed his works; he also highly respected Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh. His many talks supporting Chairman Mao, Commander-in-Chief Chu and Vice-Chairman Chou played a very big part in bringing the two army groups together to fight in unity. The Second and Sixth Army Groups received telegrams about the resolution of the Tsunyi Meeting and the organizational decisions of the Party Central Committee in February 1935 which establish-

ed Comrade Mao Tsetung's leadership in the Party Central Committee. Comrade Ho Lung gave his firm support to Chairman Mao's leadership and showed his readiness to take orders from Chairman Mao. He said excitedly: "Though I've never met Comrade Mao Tsetung, I can tell with great certainty from my own experience and what I've read in his writings that he is our correct leader."

When the Second Front Army of the Red Army arrived in the Shensi-Kansu border area in the autumn of 1936, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee sent Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and others to greet them and relay the gist of a meeting called by the Party Central Committee and the report *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism* given by Chairman Mao at the meeting. Comrade Ho Lung exclaimed in delight: "Wonderful! From now on we'll come under Chairman Mao's direct leadership!" Facts in the last several decades fully bear out the fact that Comrade Ho Lung supported Chairman Mao wholeheartedly and was loyal to his revolutionary line.

In the Party's two-line struggles, Comrade Ho Lung staunchly stood by the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and made important contributions.

In the summer and autumn of 1930, the Party Central Committee under the domination of Li Li-san's "Left" adventurism refused to admit that the revolution was at a low ebb, and rejected the idea of establishing rural revolutionary base areas. It advocated armed uprisings in key cities for a real showdown with the enemy. It mistakenly ordered the Second Army Group of the Red Army led by Comrade Ho Lung to leave the base area and take part in a joint attack on Changsha. Comrades Ho Lung, and Chou Yi-chun and others waged a serious struggle against this erroneous line.

Adversely affected by the third "Left" line represented by Wang Ming, the Second Army Group of the Red Army suffered heavy losses between the spring of 1932 and the autumn of 1934. Comrade Ho Lung who boycotted the Wang Ming line, especially in respect to widening the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, saved a large number of revolutionary cadres. With great confidence he forged close unity between the Red Army and the guerrilla

forces to carry on the arduous revolutionary struggle.

In 1936, on the Long March, Comrade Ho Lung unswervingly opposed Chang Kuo-tao's line of Right flightism and splittism. Together with Comrade Chu Teh and others, he stood steadfastly by the side of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao in firm opposition to the establishment of another central committee by Chang Kuo-tao. The latter's attempt to distribute documents opposing the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao was also firmly opposed by Comrade Ho Lung and others. The sub-military commission headed by Comrade Ho Lung also rejected Chang Kuo-tao's proposal for the convocation of a joint meeting of the Second and Fourth Front Armies aimed at forcing the Second Front Army to fall in with his anti-Party line. At the same time, Comrade Ho Lung energetically pushed Chang Kuo-tao to lead the troops to the north to fight the Japanese invaders. Thanks to the resolute efforts made by Comrades Chu Teh, Jen Pi-shih, Ho Lung, Liu Po-cheng and Kuan Hsiang-ying together with the fact that the commanders and fighters of the Fourth Front Army under Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien's command all asked to march north and join forces with the Central Red Army, Chang Kuo-tao's intrigue to cause a split was completely frustrated; he was forced to dissolve his bogus central committee and take the troops to the north. It was against such a background that the joining forces of the three front armies was made possible.

In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Ho Lung carried out Chairman Mao's policy of persevering in independent guerrilla warfare within the anti-Japanese national united front with the initiative in our hands, and opposed Wang Ming's Right capitulationism of everything through the Kuomintang.

In the two-line struggles inside the Party after the country-wide liberation, Comrade Ho Lung continued to take a firm stand in upholding Chairman Mao's correct line and opposing the erroneous ones. In firm support of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he took an active part in fighting Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line together with the broad revolutionary masses.



Comrade Ho Lung at the Hunghu Lake revolutionary base area.

Woodcut by Yang Hsien-jang

For several decades, under Chairman Mao's leadership, Comrade Ho Lung fought opportunism of all descriptions, and maintained a firm, clear-cut stand until he breathed his last. We must earnestly learn from him.

### **Great Contributions to the Founding and Development of Our Army and Base Areas**

After the hard fightings waged by the insurrectionary troops of the Nanchang Uprising against stronger counter-revolutionary forces around Chaochow and Swatow in Kwangtung met with defeat, the Party Central Committee proposed to send Comrade Ho Lung to the Soviet Union via Shanghai to study military science. Considering the question briefly, he answered: "Better let me go back to western Hunan and western Hupeh to wage guerrilla warfare and carry out the agrarian revolution." Thus he, Comrade Chou Yi-chun and five others were sent there by the Party Central Committee to fight guerrilla warfare and set up a base area. The Party Central Committee presented them with a copy of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* and a pistol to take along. At that time Chiang Kai-shek had offered a reward of 100,000 silver dollars for Comrade Ho Lung's head and the search for him was hot every-

where. Covered by the masses, he succeeded in outwitting the enemy and putting them off the scent. Arriving in the Hunghu Lake district as planned, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he led the workers and peasants of the locality in vigorous and powerful revolutionary armed struggles. Undeterred by setbacks and following up advances in the struggle, he succeeded before long in establishing the Second Army Group of the Red Army and the western Hunan-western Hupeh revolutionary base area with Hunghu Lake as the centre.

This base area, together with the Central Soviet Area, the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei Soviet Area, the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi Soviet Area, formed a strategic encirclement of the main enemy-occupied cities in Kiangsi, Hunan and Hupeh Provinces, thus giving an impetus to the revolutionary movement throughout the country.

Under Chairman Mao's timely guidance, Comrade Ho Lung's talents in conducting military operations were brought to full play. For instance, with the Second and Sixth Army Groups under his command, he routed an enemy many times stronger and formed the Revolutionary Committee and Military Area of the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow border area in 1934. In February 1935, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the warlord troops in Hunan and Hupeh to attack from six directions. The Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao promptly telegraphed directives to make use of contradictions among the enemy forces in Hunan and Hupeh, concentrate a superior force, look for the enemy's weak spots and let no opportunity slip by to strike at the enemy forces one by one while on the move. Comrade Ho Lung and the sub-military commission resolutely implemented the directives. They first annihilated a large part of the three brigades of the Hunan warlord and

followed up by wiping out two whole enemy brigades and a division command. Next they put out of action a Hupeh warlord division, a division command, and a brigade, after which they routed ten more regiments. Co-ordinating with the Central Red Army in its Long March, they occupied large areas of enemy territory and reinforced their ranks with large numbers of men and materiel in large quantities. After this, in November 1935, the Second and Sixth Army Groups started their Long March. In this period, as their troops advanced, they overran the enemy in battles fought with great manoeuvrability and flexibility. It was a brilliant episode in the military history of the Second Front Army of the Red Army.

In the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Ho Lung directed the 120th Division of the Eighth Route Army in many battles in northwest Shansi, the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area and central Hopei, smashed the Japanese invaders' attacks, recovered lost territories, took many Japanese troops, and captured large quantities of arms and materiel. In December 1939, the Shansi-Suiyuan base area was established. Following Chairman Mao's line and policies, Comrade Ho Lung and other comrades of the Shansi-Suiyuan Sub-Bureau of the Party Central Committee fully mobilized the masses, waged struggles against the enemy, launched a deep-going movement for the reduction of rent and interest, set up the people's political power, and did a good job in production, finance and economic affairs. As a result, the Shansi-Suiyuan base area, through steady consolidation and expansion, became an important bastion shielding the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the Party Central Committee, and a firm link connecting up the various base areas in the enemy's rear. After returning to work in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, Comrade Ho Lung devoted himself to training troops and the defence of the border region, unfolding the big production movement, participation in the rectification campaign initiated by Chairman Mao, and the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

During the War of Liberation (1945-49), when Chairman Mao remained in northern Shensi in command, Comrade Ho Lung, as Commander of the Northwest Military Area, worked

tirelessly for the liberation of northwest China. To liberate southwest China, Comrade Ho Lung led troops to Szechuan and, in co-ordination with the Second Field Army, fulfilled the missions assigned them by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Later he again organized troops to enter Tibet and made important contributions.

In the course of protracted armed struggles, Comrade Ho Lung came to appreciate deeply how essential it was to follow Chairman Mao's thinking in army building, to place the army under the absolute leadership of the Party and strengthen Party building together with political and ideological work. He often told cadres to take these as fundamental principles in army building. After the country-wide liberation, he made many contributions to the revolutionization and modernization of our army. He showed great concern about national defence, and paid constant attention to both arms production and military training, thus energetically promoting the combat preparedness of our armed forces.

Comrade Ho Lung was consistently concerned about stationing troops on the frontiers for defence and reclamation as well as about construction of the interior. In 1965 and 1966, although ill, he went on two tours of inspection to the Chengtu-Kunming Railway and various industrial bases, encouraging cadres, workers and technicians there to work hard.

In sports and physical culture, Comrade Ho Lung firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in this field, building up a proletarian contingent of athletes for the country.

### **Placing the Interest of the Revolution Above Everything Else**

In October 1936, on the occasion of the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies joining forces in Huining, Kansu Province, Comrade Ho Lung and other leading comrades of the Second Front Army sent a telegram to the Party Central Committee placing themselves under the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee. The telegram said: "The correct decision of placing the three front armies under unified leadership . . . naturally leads to

the solution of the question of unification and unity inside the Party. This is a highly gratifying condition favourable to the Party and China's revolutionary cause."

At the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan, on the eve of the Eighth Route Army's departure for the front, Chairman Mao suggested leaving behind part of the troops for the defence of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. Lin Piao, who had illusions about the Kuomintang, disagreed. Comrade Ho Lung supported Chairman Mao's proposal and agreed to deploy some troops to defend the region and the Party Central Committee.

Conditions in the Shansi-Suiyuan base area were generally rather unfavourable, particularly in respect to population, which was too sparse to allow for expansion of the armed forces. Nevertheless, complying with the needs of the Party, Comrade Ho Lung successfully persevered in the struggle in the region. He often advised cadres to take the interest of the situation as a whole into consideration and work hard. As a result of enemy sabotage, plus years of natural disasters, the troops in Shansi-Suiyuan base area often had nothing but black beans to eat. Comrade Ho Lung actively mobilized armymen and civilians to engage in production for relief, to live frugally and do their utmost to support the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region.

Comrade Ho Lung never discriminated against any army personnel under him, neither cadres who had worked with him from the beginning, nor cadres transferred from other units or newcomers. He always regarded the troops under him as the Party's and placed them at the disposal of the Party. He did whatever the Party asked him to do, always keeping in mind the interest of the whole, and carried out Party decisions willingly.

### **Open and Aboveboard, Hard Working And Plain Living**

Throughout his long years of revolutionary struggle, he always adhered to principle, upheld the truth and opposed erroneous tenden-

cies; he insisted on Party and army unity and opposed splittist activities; open and aboveboard at all times, he opposed intrigues and conspiracies.

In old China, some people simply could not understand why Comrade Ho Lung should give up the relatively high position he had and abjure a life of ease, preferring instead to share the lot of the suffering masses, wear straw sandals and wage guerrilla warfare. But these were the very things that fully demonstrated his firm revolutionary stand.

Comrade Ho Lung was good at uniting comrades, loved his soldiers and people, maintained close links with the masses, showed concern for them, hated what the people hated and loved what the people loved. All these fine qualities have long been known to the whole Party and the whole army and praised by the people.

Because Comrade Ho Lung had mounted serious struggles first against Lin Piao, later Chiang Ching and their henchmen, these counter-revolutionary cabals harboured inveterate hatred for him. Ten years ago, Lin Piao, Chiang Ching and others colluded in bringing false charges against Comrade Ho Lung and persecuted him. They used the power they had usurped to frame up charges while keeping the true facts from the Party Central Committee. Many old comrades who followed Comrade Ho Lung in fighting south and north also became implicated. The aftermath was serious. This incident alone fully reveals the wild ambitions and vicious plots of these conspiring careerists in opposing Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line and policies, and in trampling socialist legality underfoot as they attempted to overthrow a large number of revolutionaries of the older generation. It also proves to the hilt that these two counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques were truly agents of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang reactionaries who had sneaked into our Party. They did what the Kuomintang army and special agents had been unable to do in all these decades. But truth is everlasting and history mer-

ciless. At the funeral ceremony for depositing Comrade Ho Lung's ashes, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou appraised the deceased highly on behalf of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and deeply mourned for him. Premier Chou at the same time fully exposed and excoriated the crimes of Lin Piao and his gang, giving expression to the wishes of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. The "gang of four," however, was not reconciled to this. In the spring and summer of 1976, one of their trusted followers slanderously described Premier Chou's attendance at the ceremony as a "typical case of capitalist restoration and reversing the established verdicts," as well as an indication of "failure to take a correct attitude towards the Great Cul-

tural Revolution," in a vain attempt to reverse the correct verdict on Lin Piao and serve the schemes of the "gang of four." This showed how reactionary and how frenzied they had become. But the shining image of Comrade Ho Lung as a fighter loyal to the Party, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to the people can never be erased by Lin Piao and his cohorts, or by the "gang of four." His life of struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people and for communism and his noble qualities will always be remembered by the revolutionary people from generation to generation. As for Lin Piao and the conspiratorial "gang of four," they have ended up in infamy, to be cursed by all and covered with odium for thousands of years to come. This is the irresistible law of history.

## **A Man Open and Aboveboard, A Revolutionary All His Life**

— In memory of Comrade Chen Yi

by Tan Chen-lin and Su Yu

COMRADE Chen Yi was a loyal fighter of the Chinese people, an outstanding proletarian revolutionary and one of the eminent leaders and organizers of our army. During the long years of revolutionary wars, Comrade Chen Yi, with a profound understanding of the military thinking of Chairman Mao, firmly carried out his line on army building, made notable contributions to the founding, development and growth in strength of the proletarian revolutionary army led by our Party and performed immortal deeds of merit for the cause of the Chinese people's liberation.

Tan Chen-lin is Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Su Yu a member of the standing committee of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Comrade Chen Yi and we fought and worked shoulder to shoulder for more than 40 years. We shall always cherish the memory of his glorious and revolutionary life.

### **In His Youth**

Comrade Chen Yi was born in 1901 in Lochih County, Szechuan Province. In his youth he was filled with discontent for the dark, corrupt society of those days and thirsted for the truth and revolution. He went to France in 1919 on a part-work and part-study programme and there he began to accept Marxism. In 1921, for taking part in the patriotic movement of Chinese students in France, he was sent back to China under armed guard by the Chinese and French Governments. In 1922 he edited the *Hsinshu Pao* in Chungking and in the fol-



Comrade Chen Yi during the years of the revolutionary war.

*Oil painting by Chang Tsu-ying*

Following year entered the Franco-Chinese University in Peking where he joined the Communist Party of China. Under the leadership of the Party, he was active in the student movement, the workers' movement and the national revolutionary movement in Peking. During the period of the Northern Expedition, when the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang entered into their first period of co-operation, he went back to Szechuan in 1926 helping the Northern Expeditionary Army. In 1927, he was transferred to do political work at the Central Military Academy in Wuhan.

### **The Second Revolutionary Civil War Period**

After the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927, Comrade Chen Yi left Wuhan for Kiangsi Province where he caught up with the insurgent troops which had pulled out of Nanchang and were heading south. He became the Party representative in a regiment. When the insurgent troops reached Kwangtung Province in the south, their main force met with defeat in the Chaochow-Swatow area. Comrades Chu Teh and Chen Yi led part of the troops that had stayed behind in Sanhopa in moving to the Kwangtung-Kiangsi-Hunan border. In the ensuing months

of fighting, the number of troops was rapidly reduced. There was confusion with regard to the future, and their position was perilous. At this crucial moment when the very existence of the insurgent troops was at stake, Comrade Chu Teh, raising his fist, shouted: Come with me whoever wants to make revolution! Comrade Chen Yi immediately responded and set about aiding Comrade Chu Teh to do effective ideological and political work among the troops, patiently pointing out to them the revolutionary prospects, boosting their morale and encouraging them to keep up the struggle. Thanks to the leadership and organizational work of Comrades Chu Teh and Chen Yi, the core of the troops taking part in the Nanchang Uprising was preserved.

Shortly afterwards they heard that Comrade Mao Tsetung had led the troops taking part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising to establish a revolutionary base area in the Chinggang Mountains. The revolutionary road opened up by Comrade Mao Tsetung was like a beacon illuminating the way of their advance. In close co-ordination with the local Party organization, Comrades Chu Teh and Chen Yi started an uprising in southern Hunan in January 1928, formed a workers' and peasants' revolutionary army and set up a workers' and peasants' revolutionary government. In April, Comrade Chen Yi assisted Comrade Chu Teh in bringing the insurgent troops under their command to the Chinggang Mountains where they joined Comrade Mao Tsetung at Lungshih. These two groups of armed forces merged to form the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with Comrade Mao Tsetung as Party representative, Comrade Chu Teh as commander and Comrade Chen Yi as director of the political department. From then on, the remaining troops of the Nanchang Uprising and the troops of the Autumn Harvest Uprising under the direct leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao steadily grew in strength and in number.

During the period of struggle in the Chinggang Mountains, Comrade Chen Yi was for

a time secretary of the Party committee of the Fourth Red Army. He conscientiously implemented the correct policies and tactics adopted by the Party committee of the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Area represented by Comrade Mao Tsetung. Comrade Chen Yi assisted Comrades Mao Tsetung and Chu Teh and made his contribution to building up the revolutionary base area in the ChingKang Mountains and expand the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

When Comrade Chen Yi was in charge of the work of the Kiangsi military area command, he resolutely carried out the line laid down by Chairman Mao for expanding first the local Red Guards and the local Red Army, and then the main force of the regular Red Army. He built up one, then another army for the Red Army and took part in smashing several counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries against the Central Soviet Area. But because of the incorrect leadership of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line, the fifth counter-campaign against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" ended in defeat.

After the main force of the Red Army marched off north to resist Japanese aggression, Comrade Chen Yi, who was seriously wounded, remained in Kiangsi to carry on guerrilla warfare for three years. The guerrilla units fought under extremely harsh and hazardous conditions, but Comrade Chen Yi and his comrades-in-arms firmly relied on the support and cover provided by the masses to carry out flexible guerrilla operations. The struggle waged by the guerrilla units on the Kiangsi-Kwangtung border under the leadership of Chen Yi and other comrades kept alive the embers of the revolution, sapped the arrogance of the Kuomintang reactionaries, pinned down and depleted enemy's effectives, complemented the struggle going on in the other guerrilla base areas and supported the Red Army in its northward march to resist Japanese aggression.

Speaking highly of these various guerrilla zones in the south led by Comrades Chen Yi and others, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: These guerrilla zones represented "part of the gains of our decade of sanguinary

warfare with the Kuomintang, our strategic strongholds for the anti-Japanese national revolutionary war in the southern provinces." (*The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan, 1937.*)

### The Anti-Japanese War Period

After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, the Red Army guerrilla units which had remained in a dozen areas in Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwangtung, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Chekiang and Anhwei Provinces, acting upon the instructions of the Party Central Committee, held talks with the Kuomintang, called a halt to the civil war and formed the New Fourth Army. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Comrades Chen Yi and others led their forces to the battlefield in central China to fight the Japanese invaders.

Comrade Chen Yi was the chief representative in carrying out Chairman Mao's correct line in the New Fourth Army. Comrade Chen Yi implemented in an exemplary way Chairman Mao's policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front and the relevant tactics and his whole set of strategy and tactics for the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, and waged a resolute struggle against Wang Ming's Right opportunism. As soon as the New Fourth Army was set up in January 1938, Chairman Mao instructed that it should proceed to the east, close in on Shanghai and then move north into northern Kiangsu Province.

In February 1939, Comrade Chou En-lai came to the New Fourth Army headquarters in southern Anhwei to relay the principle set down by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee requiring the army to attack east and spread northward. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on May 4, 1940, further instructed Comrade Hsiang Ying, then in charge of the work of the Party Central Committee's Southeast Bureau, to "reach out into all enemy-occupied areas and not to be bound by the Kuomintang's restrictions but to go beyond the limits allowed by the Kuomintang, not to expect official appointments from

them or depend on the higher-ups for financial support but instead to expand the armed forces freely and independently, set up base areas unhesitatingly, independently arouse the masses in those areas to action and build up united front organs of political power under the leadership of the Communist Party." (*Freely Expand the Anti-Japanese Forces and Resist the Onslaughts of the Anti-Communist Die-Hards*, 1940.)

Under the influence of Wang Ming's Right opportunist line, however, Comrade Hsiang Ying did not dare to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries' policy of containing, restricting and combating the Communist Party, did not dare to go beyond the limits imposed by the Kuomintang, did not dare to boldly arouse the masses to action and expand the people's army and the anti-Japanese base areas in the Japanese-occupied areas. Instead, he kept the army headquarters in Yunlingchen, a town in Chingsien County, southern Anhwei Province, reluctant to move eastward, and was mentally and organizationally unprepared for the possibility of a reactionary attack from the Kuomintang diehards. Consequently, when Chiang Kai-shek blatantly staged the Southern Anhwei Incident in January 1941, the New Fourth Army headquarters and 9,000 troops suffered heavy losses.

Other leading comrades of the New Fourth Army with Comrade Chen Yi as their representative firmly carried out the important instruction of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and resisted Wang Ming's Right opportunist line. Comrade Chen Yi led his troops to the areas south of the Yangtze River and, after setting up the Maoshan base area, sent units further east under the designation of Anti-Japanese Volunteers South of the Yangtze which pushed on to the outskirts of Shanghai. Ignoring Comrade Hsiang Ying's opposition, he successively sent Yeh Fei, Tao Yung and other comrades with the troops under their command across the Yangtze northward. They established a base area in northern Kiangsu and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Kuomintang diehards. On the strength of his superior forces entrenched in northern Kiangsu, Han Teh-chin, chairman of the Kiangsu provincial government of the Kuomintang and com-

mander of the Kuomintang's 24th group army, had plans for wiping out the New Fourth Army units in northern Kiangsu at one swoop.

Comrade Chen Yi resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's tactic of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and combating the die-hard forces" within the anti-Japanese national united front and made use of the contradictions between the armed forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the local Kuomintang forces belonging to other cliques. He adopted a policy of both uniting with and struggling against the latter and did a vast amount of work to keep them neutral when the Kuomintang diehards attacked us. In October 1940, when Han Teh-chin of the Chiang Kai-shek clique attacked New Fourth Army units in northern Kiangsu with his main force comprising one army and one brigade adding up to 15,000 men, Comrade Chen Yi put into practice Chairman Mao's tactics of luring the enemy troops in deep, concentrating our forces and then annihilating them. Comrade Chen Yi mustered all the 7,000 or so troops of the main force to wipe out some 10,000 troops of Han Teh-chin's main force after an intense day and night battle. Then the New Fourth Army joined forces with south-bound Eighth Route Army units at Funing and opened up a new phase in the anti-Japanese war in central China.

This victorious battle was a result of Comrade Chen Yi's firmly implementing Chairman Mao's political line and military line, carrying out his policy of forming a united front and flexibly applying his strategy and tactics; it also demonstrated Comrade Chen Yi's superb leadership. The Party Central Committee and its Revolutionary Military Commission gave this high appraisal and had Comrade Chen Yi's report circulated for study among cadres at and above regimental level.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee appointed Comrade Chen Yi Acting Commander of the New Fourth Army on January 20, 1941. Because he and other leading comrades of the army correctly implemented Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies, relied on the masses and persisted in arduous struggle, the New Fourth Army rapidly grew into an army comprising seven divisions. The

army carried on anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare on an extensive scale, set up organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power and engaged the greater part of the Japanese and puppet troops in central China. With only a little over 10,000 men when it was set up at the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, the New Fourth Army grew to more than 300,000 men by the end of the war. Like the Eighth Route Army, it was a heroic army of the Chinese people led by our Party in resisting Japanese aggression.

### Liberation War Period

At the Seventh National Congress of the Party held in April 1945, our great leader Chairman Mao put before the whole Party the great task **“boldly to mobilize the masses, expand the people’s forces and unite all the forces of the nation capable of being united in order to struggle under our Party’s leadership to defeat the Japanese aggressors and build a bright new China, a China that is independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and strong.”** (*China’s Two Possible Destinies*, 1945.) During the War of Liberation in the ensuing three years, Comrade Chen Yi was successively Commander and Political Commissar of the Shantung Field Army, the Eastern China Field Army and the Third Field Army. Firmly carrying out the Seventh Party Congress’ political line and military line, he led and organized the army and people of the Liberated Areas in east China to fight victoriously for the liberation of the whole of China.

The War of Liberation began with the overweeningly arrogant troops of Chiang Kai-shek attacking the Liberated Areas. Following Chairman Mao’s strategic principle of active defence, Comrade Chen Yi directed our army in east China to meet them head-on from several directions and win victories in the first battles. Then, he gradually concentrated his main force, lured the enemy in deep and trounced the enemy in the campaigns fought north of Suchien and in southern Shantung. The latter was the first campaign in which our poorly equipped troops successfully annihilated a mechanized column of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Comrade Chen Yi held steadfastly to Chairman Mao’s military principle aimed chiefly

at annihilating the enemy’s effective strength, not at holding or seizing a city or place.

When Kuomintang troops mounted attacks against our Liberated Areas in Shantung Province from the south and north in February 1947, our army there under the command of Comrade Chen Yi wiped out more than 60,000 enemy troops, captured an enemy group army commander and recovered 13 cities. As Chiang Kai-shek’s all-out offensive against the Liberated Areas met with utter defeat everywhere, he was compelled to pull back his troops, shorten his battle lines and carry out what he called **“attacks against key sectors.”** To smash these attacks, Comrade Chen Yi led the Eastern China Field Army to completely annihilate in Shantung’s Mengliangku the Kuomintang’s crack unit, the reorganized 74th division [equivalent to an army], which was swollen with inordinate arrogance at the time, and killed its commander Chang Ling-fu. This battle dealt a crushing blow to the enemy’s **“attacks against key sectors”** and so incensed Chiang Kai-shek that he literally coughed up blood.

In the summer of 1947 the People’s Liberation Army switched over to a nationwide strategic offensive. The main force of the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Field Army under the command of Comrades Liu Po-cheng and Teng Hsiao-ping made a breakthrough across the Yellow River and, driving into the Central Plains, put large numbers of enemy troops out of action. A part of the Eastern China Field Army led by Comrade Chen Yi fought in co-ordination with the army under the command of Comrades Liu Po-cheng and Teng Hsiao-ping and established the Liberated Areas in the Central Plains. In autumn that year, Comrade Chen Yi arrived in northern Shensi to report work to Chairman Mao and ask for his instructions. Then he brought his field army to the area between the Yangtze and Huai Rivers to join with the forces of Comrades Liu Po-cheng and Teng Hsiao-ping, and the two field armies, fighting in still closer co-ordination, wiped out in quick succession a large number of the Kuomintang army’s effectives and liberated many cities and a vast rural area.

In November 1948, the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee decided to set up the General Front Com-

mittee composed of Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Liu Po-cheng, Chen Yi and the two of us, with Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping as secretary. This committee, under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, commanded more than 600,000 P.L.A. troops in fighting the Huai-Hai campaign. After 65 days of hard fighting, 22 enemy corps, or 56 divisions, of the Kuomintang's crack forces, comprising 555,000 men, were completely wiped out and those parts of east China and Central Plains areas north of the Yangtze were in the main liberated.

Shortly afterwards, Chairman Mao issued the order to cross the Yangtze and make a country-wide advance. Under the command of Comrades Chen Yi, Liu Po-cheng and Teng Hsiao-ping, one million P.L.A. men crossed the river and liberated Nanking, the centre of Chiang Kai-shek's rule, and vast areas south of the Yangtze, thus proclaiming the downfall of the reactionary Kuomintang regime.

In 22 years of arduous revolutionary wars, Comrade Chen Yi, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, made indelible contributions to destroying the dark old China and establishing a bright new China.

### **After the Founding of New China**

After liberation, Comrade Chen Yi was appointed Commander of the East China Military Area Command and concurrently Mayor of Shanghai. Faithfully implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he contributed to the rehabilitation of the national economy and the carrying out of socialist transformation, to the building of a socialist new Shanghai and to our army's revolutionization and modernization. He was transferred to work in the central authorities in 1954, serving as Vice-Premier of the State Council and later concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was also Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. As Foreign Minister, Comrade Chen Yi assisted our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou in firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and accompanied Premier Chou abroad on ten occasions. He did a great deal of work to unite with friends from various circles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and oppose Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism.

He was Premier Chou's right-hand man and internationally was held in high esteem.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Chen Yi faithfully defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; took a clear-cut stand in opposition to the bourgeois careerists and conspirators Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao who advocated "overthrowing all" and tried to fan up an "all-out civil war"; and waged a resolute struggle to defend the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

When Lin Piao fled the country in betrayal of the motherland and died in a plane crash at Undur Khan in 1971, Comrade Chen Yi, though under treatment for cancer, went to attend the meeting of veteran comrades called by the Party Central Committee where he made a long speech exposing Lin Piao's anti-Party crimes. His very last ounce of energy was given to the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

### **Loyal to the Party**

Comrade Chen Yi's noble proletarian revolutionary qualities were long praised by the people. He diligently studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and kept on this study even during the years of war. He upheld Marxism and waged an uncompromising struggle against the opportunist and revisionist lines of Wang Ming, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." He was good at uniting with and getting the best out of cadres. He encouraged them to work boldly under the guidance of the general aim. He always bore in mind the interests of the whole and never went in for sectarian activities. Moreover, he was accomplished at uniting with and helping comrades who had made mistakes and working well together with them. Comrade Chen Yi was truly a model of unity and struggle in our Party.

Comrade Chen Yi was open and aboveboard and had largeness of mind. He implemented to the letter Chairman Mao's admonition that Communists, senior Party cadres in particular, **"must all be open and aboveboard politically, always ready to express our political views openly and take a stand, for or against, on each and every important political issue. We must**

never follow the example of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and indulge in scheming." (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, 1955.*)

The untimely death of Comrade Chen Yi on January 6, 1972 was a tremendous loss to our Party and our army. On January 10, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao attended the memorial meeting for Comrade Chen Yi, highly evaluated his immense contributions to the people, condoled with his wife Comrade Chang Chien and their children and encouraged them to work hard and serve the people.

The "gang of four" and their followers, however, flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao's directives and, after Comrade Chen Yi's death, they continued to revile him. They even went to the length of ordering organized criticism of the revolutionary cadres and people of Shanghai who mourned Comrade Chen Yi and used this to attack some cadres. The deep hatred these bourgeois careerists had for Comrade Chen Yi showed how this proletarian revolutionary was implacably opposed to them.

Anyone familiar with Comrade Chen Yi knows that he never tried to cover up his shortcomings and mistakes which were impossible to avoid in long years of revolutionary struggle. He frequently drew lessons from the errors he made due to inexperience in the early days after joining the revolution to teach cadres and encourage comrades to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works in a still better way and earnestly remould their world outlook. Whenever mistakes occurred in work, he always shouldered the responsibility himself. He corrected his mistakes promptly and thoroughly. "History proves those who claim to be infallible often turn out to be incorrect," he was heard to say frequently. This was a scathing criticism of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" who shamelessly advertised themselves to be "representatives of the correct line."

Comrade Chen Yi was an intellectual in his early years, but he took to Marxism quite young and integrated himself over the years with the workers, peasants and soldiers. He acquired his proletarian revolutionary steadfastness through taking part in the extremely difficult and in-

tense struggles of the Chinese revolution. This noble quality of his was most pronounced during the ebb periods of the Chinese revolution. With Marxist insight and a materialist-dialectical world outlook, he could see the bright future ahead in times of trial. In his evening years, he encouraged himself and others with Chairman Mao's earnest admonition to veteran comrades about holding fast to their revolutionary integrity in their old age, and persevered in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Chen Yi was unassuming and approachable, honest in dealing with people, large-minded and had a fine sense of humour. He got along well with cadres under him and showed close concern for them. If a comrade made a mistake or had some shortcomings, he criticized the comrade concerned in a forthright manner and persuaded him by reasoning things out. He sincerely welcomed criticism and help from comrades. He had a correct appraisal of himself and never claimed credit or bragged about anything he had done, but he always attributed his achievements to the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, to the Party and the people. In his own words, "Oneself is nothing, the Party and the masses are all-powerful." He had a deep love for the people, regarding them, in his own words, as his parents. He was exceptionally attached to the People's Liberation Army and took great pride in being a veteran fighter under the leadership of Chairman Mao.

The "gang of four" and their henchmen framed all sorts of charges to viciously slander Comrade Chen Yi, which, however, could not in the least mar his lofty image. History has confirmed that throughout his life Comrade Chen Yi was loyal to the Party, loyal to our great leader Chairman Mao and loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The life of Comrade Chen Yi was one of selflessly and fearlessly fighting for the cause of the liberation of the proletariat and one of being open and above-board and making revolution until he breathed his last. Back in 1960, Comrade Chen Yi wrote a poem praising the evergreen pine which stands straight and unbending in high wind and heavy snow. This pine is an apt representation of Comrade Chen Yi's life.

# An Attempt to Restore Capitalism Under the Signboard of Opposing Restoration

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

by Hsiang Chun

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*The first half of this article appeared in our last issue. Following is the second half. — Ed.*

## Chairman Mao's Instruction on Pushing The National Economy Forward

In order to elucidate Chairman Mao's instruction on pushing the national economy forward, the article "On the General Programme," basing itself on the report made by Premier Chou at the Fourth National People's Congress, noted in its opening paragraph that to realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology was the "magnificent task of the development of China's national economy in the next 25 years." Regarding this, Yao Wen-yuan wrote this comment: "The premise: socialist revolution in the economic field and taking class struggle as the key link have been excluded." He also slanderously alleged that "On the General Programme" "has tampered with the Party's programme and negated the basic line." Following Yao Wen-yuan's "instruction," Cheng Yueh dished out an article entitled "A General Programme for Restoring Capitalism." The article said that "at the outset, 'On the General Programme' sets the realization of the 'four modernizations' in the next 25 years as the Party's goal of struggle," and this was a "negation of our Party's basic programme and basic line." Yao Wen-yuan's written comment and Cheng

Yueh's remark gave accurate expression to a "theory" vociferously advocated by the "gang of four" for years. According to this "theory," our Party's basic programme and basic line do not embrace the task of developing the socialist economy. The gang put socialist revolution and socialist construction in complete opposition to each other and even alleged that socialist revolution and class struggle were the ultimate goal of the communists. This "theory" only shows that the "gang of four" completely betrayed our Party's basic programme and basic line and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Contrary to the gang's "theory," our Party's basic programme includes as its content the development of the socialist economy and the expansion of the social productive forces.

The basic programme of our Party stipulates that the proletariat must completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. To achieve this goal, it is necessary, first of all, to seize political power, transform the relations of production and carry out socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure. But this alone cannot completely overthrow all the exploiting classes. The change in the relations of production has opened up a broad road for the development of the productive forces, but it is still necessary for the proletariat to have a correct line and to adopt correct policies to en-

sure the rapid development of the social productive forces and the continual consolidation of the socialist public ownership so as to raise them to still higher levels. Only thus can the proletariat have the material strength to thoroughly triumph over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The Party's basic programme requires that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means that, after seizing political power, the proletariat must suppress all resistance put up by the bourgeoisie and truly replace the bourgeoisie's domination with its own in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and all other fields. Great efforts must be made to organize the socialist economy and develop the social productive forces, otherwise the dictatorship of the proletariat will be aimless and will not have an adequate material basis, and consequently cannot fully consolidate itself.

In 1957, Chairman Mao wrote in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*: "The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture." Again in *The Situation in the Summer of 1957*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must understand that, counting from now, 10 to 15 years will be required to build a modern industrial and modern agricultural base in China. Only when the productive forces of our society have been fairly adequately developed over a period of 10 to 15 years will it be possible to regard our socialist economic and political system as having obtained a fairly adequate material base (now far from adequate), and will it be possible to regard our state (the superstructure) as fully consolidated."

Our Party's basic programme calls for the triumph of socialism over capitalism. This means, in the last analysis, abolishing the capitalist system of exploitation and all other exploiting systems and bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist system so as to create labour productivity much higher than that under capitalism and turn out far more social products than those under capitalism to satisfy the needs of the society. Lenin said: "In the

last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system. . . . Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished by socialism creating a new and much higher productivity of labour." (*A Great Beginning*, 1919.) When Chairman Mao spoke about uniting with all the forces that could be united in order to build China into a great socialist country in *Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward the Party's Traditions* in 1956, he pointed out: "You have such a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, it has been said that you are building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after much ado for fifty or sixty years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth." Chairman Mao thus attached extremely great importance to the task of developing the socialist economy.

The core of our Party's basic line is to persist in carrying out the struggle between the two classes and the two roads and prevent capitalist restoration. Keeping to the socialist road means, among other things, developing the socialist economy and the social productive forces.

While talking glibly about socialist revolution and class struggle, the "gang of four" tried to strike out the task of developing the socialist economy and the social productive forces from our Party's basic programme and basic line and put socialist revolution in opposition to socialist construction. This fully shows that the gang's so-called "revolution" was anything but the revolution referred to by Marxism.

According to Marxism, revolution means, in essence, changing the relations of production and liberating the productive forces. On January 25, 1956, Chairman Mao said at the Supreme State Conference: "Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces." This is an irrefutable truth of historical materialism.

"On the General Programme" said at the very beginning that to realize the "four modernizations" was the "magnificent task of the development of China's national economy in the next 25 years." But in going over and finalizing Cheng Yueh's article, Yao Wen-yuan brazenly changed it to "setting the realization of the

'four modernizations' in the next 25 years as the Party's goal of struggle." In so doing, Yao Wen-yuan and his cohorts had a twofold aim: On the one hand, they would be able to level the charge that "On the General Programme" "negates the Party's basic programme" and, on the other, they could publicize their false view that socialist revolution and class struggle were the ultimate goal of the communists. Contrary to their expectations, however, the alteration they made laid bare their true features as traitors to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In *On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China* in 1954, Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: "Our general objective is to strive to build a great socialist country. Ours is a big country of 600 million people. How long will it really take to accomplish socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation and mechanization of agriculture. . . ? I think for us to build a great socialist country, about fifty years, or ten five-year plans, will probably be enough. By then China will be in good shape and quite different from what it is now." To communists, socialist revolution and class struggle are means and not objectives; we should use this means to achieve our ultimate goal; i.e., the realization of communism through socialism.

In dealing with the relationship between revolution and production and between politics and economics, "On the General Programme" quoted Lenin and Chairman Mao to explain its viewpoint. Lenin said in *The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of the Political Education Departments*: "The only criterion of the results of political education is the improvement achieved in industry and agriculture." In 1945, Chairman Mao said in *On Coalition Government*: "In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces."

Concerning this, Yao Wen-yuan commented: "A distortion of Marxism-Leninism and a return to the theory of productive forces." With this comment as its basis, the mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities, in

its article "A Confession of Reversing Verdicts and Restoring Capitalism," attacked "On the General Programme" for "flagrantly distorting" the real meaning of the above-mentioned quotation from Chairman Mao. The "reason" given for this charge was that in quoting the above-mentioned passage from Chairman Mao it left out the sentence that immediately followed: "The social productive forces of China can be liberated only by destroying the Japanese aggressors, carrying out land reform, emancipating the peasants, developing modern industry and establishing an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China — and this will win the approbation of the Chinese people."

Chairman Mao's instruction as quoted in "On the General Programme" scientifically explains a basic principle of historical materialism. The following sentence explains, in line with this basic principle, the concrete tasks of the Chinese revolution at that time. It clearly points out that only the attainment of the objective of liberating "the social productive forces of China" by means of revolutionary struggle "will win the approbation of the Chinese people." "On the General Programme" quoted Chairman Mao's instruction to show that in the stage of socialist revolution it remains our criterion by which all our work should be judged. So here there is no such question as "distorting" or "quoting out of context."

On Yao Wen-yuan's "instruction," Cheng Yueh vilified in his article that "On the General Programme" "has preposterously tampered with Chairman Mao's instructions on the question of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and other subjects and made them serve only the realization of the 'four modernizations.'" This is an out-and-out distortion of Chairman Mao's instructions." Such harangue on the part of the "gang of four" warrants special attention, for it accurately spelt out another "theory" the "gang of four" had vehemently publicized for years. According to this "theory," the superstructure can be separated from the base and does not serve it, and politics can likewise stand aloof from economics and does not serve it. This "theory" of the gang's is a total betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Marxism holds that the superstructure must serve the base and politics must serve economics. The superstructure is determined by the base and politics by economics. Once the superstructure is established on a given base, its reaction on the base will take two forms: One is that it is basically in harmony with its base and therefore helps consolidate and develop the base, that is, as we usually say, the superstructure serves the base; the other is that it does not correspond to its base and hampers and undermines the development of the base. In the latter case, a revolution aimed at changing the superstructure will take place. This is what we usually mean by saying that when it is impossible for the economic base to consolidate without changing the superstructure, then a change in the superstructure plays the principal and decisive role. The same holds true for the relationship between politics and economics.

The proletarian revolutionary teachers repeatedly explained these basic theories. Lenin pointed out: "In the final analysis," every kind of political superstructure "serves production and is ultimately determined by the relations of production in a given society." (*Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin*, 1921.) Chairman Mao also pointed out: "Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.)

Is there any contradiction between the principle that the superstructure must serve the base and politics must serve economics and the principle which Marxism always stresses that politics is the commander, that politics cannot but have precedence over economics and that class struggle should be taken as the key link? Absolutely not. They are in perfect harmony. We always stress taking politics as the commander, placing politics before everything else and taking class struggle as the key link. This is because in the period of socialism there are classes and class struggle and there is the danger of capitalist restoration and because class enemies both at home and abroad always try to launch an attack on us. If we are not in a position to smash at any time the enemy's

onslaught and their plot for a comeback, we will not be able to consolidate our political power and socialist system and the development of our socialist economy and social productive forces will be out of the question. Moreover, political work is the life-blood of all economic work. Unless the proletariat uses effective political work to command economic work, it will not be able to defeat the bourgeoisie's attempt to sabotage the socialist economy, effectively resist corrosion by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies and ensure our economy to develop along the socialist road. Unless this is done, there is the likelihood that work in the economic field will slide down the wrong path.

Therefore, after seizing political power, the proletariat must firmly keep the power of political rule in its hands, persist in taking class struggle as the key link and adopt a correct line so as to guarantee the maximum development of the social economy. Obviously, the commanding role of politics over economics cannot be separated from the development of the economy, otherwise the commanding role of politics over economics simply does not exist. Fundamentally speaking, such a role means that politics serves economics in a correct and effective way so that the economy will successfully and speedily advance in the correct political direction.

*On the Ten Major Relationships*, a brilliant work written by Chairman Mao in 1956, has set a fine example for us in solving the problem concerning the unity of politics and economics and politics serving economics. The five relationships dealt with in this article — the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior, the relationship between economic construction and defence construction, the relationship between the state, the units of production and the producers and the relationship between the central authorities and the local authorities — directly explain the important principles and policies in economic work and are at the same time all politics. The relationships between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities,

(Continued on p. 37.)



## *Farm Mechanization in Wusih County (III)*

# Freeing Themselves From Heavy Manual Labour by Their Own Efforts

by Our Correspondent Chin Chi-chu

*This is the third and last article in this series of reports. The first two appeared in our issues Nos. 31 and 33. — Ed.*

**I**N the semi-colonial old China, the reactionary government set up a few mechanized farms with foreign equipment and bragged that these would help "spread" farm mechanization in the country. But even these "show windows" did not last long owing to the lack of spare parts and proper maintenance, the high cost of fuel and electric power as well as the mechanical application of foreign methods quite unsuitable to Chinese conditions. So "farm mechanization" remained so much pie in the sky.

The establishment of a socialist system in China paved the way for industrialization, but big state-owned plants alone could not provide all the machines and equipment required in the vast countryside nor solve such problems as the accumulation of funds and the training of technicians. The peasants described this state of affairs in these words: "When there were no machines we wanted them; when they were available we could not afford to buy them; when we got them we started worrying about repairs." How did the peasants of Wusih County solve these problems?

They did it by "freeing themselves from heavy manual labour by their own efforts," that is, relying on their own efforts to replace manual labour with machines.

The county today has 4,355 tractors and more than 70,000 other farm machines, more

than 90 per cent of them are locally made. The communes themselves provided over 90 per cent of the money to buy these machines. The rest came from the state. More than 30,000 truck and tractor drivers and an even larger number of workers to make and repair farm machinery have been trained from among the peasants.

Assistance from the big state plants is important, of course, but one must not just sit back and wait or depend completely on aid from these plants. The principle of "walking on two legs" has to be adhered to.

Following Chairman Mao's instructions and his consistent ideas, our Party formulated the policy of making the farm machines primarily by the localities, with the stress on producing medium-sized and small farm machines, and getting the communes, production brigades and production teams (units of collective ownership) to buy most of the farm machines themselves. This policy brings into play all the positive factors. Under the centralized leadership of the Party and unified state planning, the localities are developing their farm mechanization by relying on their own efforts and mobilizing the masses. The course taken in farm mechanization by Wusih County fully demonstrates this policy in action.

### **Farm Machine Manufacture and Repair Network**

Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution the county has swiftly set up a three-level (county, communes and production



A leading cadre of the county revolutionary committee inspecting a farm machinery plant.

brigades) network of rationally distributed plants to make and repair farm machines. There is specialization and co-ordination within the network. When we were in Wusih County, the workers and management staff were busy overhauling farm machines and turning out new ones in preparation for the coming summer harvest and transplanting of early rice. On the walls of workshops and farm machine stations were the slogans, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai," and "In industry, learn from Taching" and charts showing the results of emulation drives. The atmosphere in these places was one of intense drive.

The county has one diesel engine plant and one tractor plant, each with about 1,000 workers and staff members. They are state enterprises, the backbone of the local farm machinery industry. Last year, they turned out 13,505 12-h.p. diesel engines and 6,520 walking tractors and the quality of these products is excellent. Apart from supplying the county itself, their products go out to seven nearby counties. The five medium-sized farm machine plants in dif-

ferent parts of the county turn out for the communes items high on the list for farm mechanization such as harvesters, rice transplanters and machines to pull up rice-seedlings and dig ditches. These plants also undertake to do major overhaul jobs which are at present beyond the power of the communes.

Every commune in the county has its own farm machinery plant of about 200 to 300 workers. These make machines their own communes need and do overhauls and repairs. Each brigade has a small farm machine workshop with at least a lathe, a planer, a drilling machine and an electric welder. They take care of the minor repairs. All these plants and workshops stress the production of spare parts to keep the machines fully operative.

Related management departments set up include a county farm machinery bureau which plans for the whole county, organizes production and distribution of farm machines and important accessories and handles routine management work. Communes have their own farm machine stations and brigades their tractor teams to operate and keep the farm machines in good working order.

The county, the communes or the brigades run their own small iron and steel, chemical fertilizer and cement plants, other such small plants serving agriculture, as well as small plants producing parts and accessories for the big state plants (see table below).

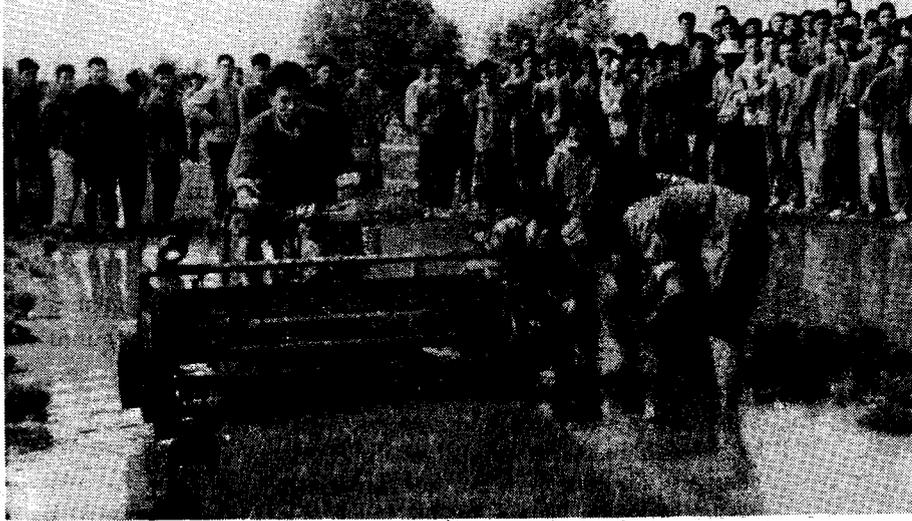
## Industry in Wusih County

(1976 figures)

	Number of plants	Number of workers and staff
County-run plants	119	19,033
Commune-run plants	266	30,148
Brigade-run workshops	1,511	45,206

The farm machinery network provides a powerful material foundation for mechanizing farming in the county. Apart from those in the county-run plants who are full-time workers and staff members, the others in the network are commune members who earn work-points which enable them to get their share of returns from their own production teams. They are

workers most of the year, but peasants again during the busy farming seasons when they return to work in their production teams. All farm machinery plants are held fully responsible for the quality of their products. Repairs are free within a prescribed period and unsatisfactory products can be replaced free or refunded. Repair crews are sent out regularly to the villages — a service very welcomed by the commune members.



Demonstrating a rice-seedling puller.

### "Arming Themselves"

The farm machinery network is set up by reliance on the masses, hard work and "arming themselves" with self-made equipment.

The county diesel engine plant, a backbone enterprise mentioned earlier, was once a farm tool repair shop housed in a tumble-down temple. It started turning out 12-h.p. diesel engines in 1970, but great efforts over the last seven years have made the plant what it is today. Its Party organization led and organized the workers to go in for extensive technical innovations which helped them make upwards of 300 pieces of machines and equipment, 72 per cent of all those existing in the plant today. The plant has installed ten production lines, some of them automated, such as the one processing crankshafts by digital-controlled machine tools. Ten years ago most of these innovators were peasants. Over the last seven years, the plant produced more than 48,000 diesel engines and 693,000 pieces of accessories.

We also visited the Yangshih Commune's farm machinery plant not far from the diesel plant. It was set up in 1968 and it, too, had "armed itself" bit by bit, making its own tools and equipment as it went along, beginning with the simple and gradually going on to the more intricate. Today it has grown into a plant with 105 machine tools and has a work force of 290. At the very start, no one in the plant knew how to make machine tools, so workers were dispatched to other places to learn the skill while the plant sent people to find and collect discarded, worn-out machine tool parts

and odds and ends in the big plants in the cities. It laboriously processed the parts out of these and assembled its first machine tools, and went on step by step to expand production capacity. It now batch-produces pumps, threshers, 7.5-h.p. electric motors and 5,600 kva transformers and turns out buses with chassis and engines from other plants.

The other six plants in the Yangshih Commune have developed in a similar way. The powder metallurgical plant, for instance, carried on production out in the open with hand-operated presses when it was established in 1966. Again, by gradually "arming itself" over the years, it has put up spacious and bright workshops and made many pieces of equipment for itself, including a 200-ton oil press and high-quality spare parts. Foreign visitors were surprised to see such a well-equipped plant in a commune. Some of the original hand-operated presses are kept in the plant to teach the young workers on joining the plant to keep up the tradition of working hard and self-reliantly.

### Where Do the Funds Come From?

State investments go to building the big electric pumping stations and the county's several major water conservancy projects. Funds for buying farm machines and building farmland improvement projects (irrigation channels, land levelling, etc.), indispensable to farm mechanization, come from the communes. Before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the commune funds were derived

mainly from agricultural accumulation, but since 1970 most of their funds have come from accumulation by commune- and brigade-run industries.

The Chachiao Commune is an example. In 1965 it put aside an accumulation of 250,000 yuan, 10.5 per cent of the total income from agricultural production and side-line occupation. At that time industry in the commune and its brigades was in its infancy and practically unable to accumulate any fund. But a vast change has occurred in the last seven years. Accumulation reached 2,280,000 yuan last year (see chart), most of it was from industry.

The county stipulates that 60 per cent of industrial accumulation by the communes and brigades should be used in buying farm machinery and building water conservancy works which directly serve agriculture, 30 per cent for expanded reproduction of their industries and the rest for collective welfare.

In Wusih County 90 per cent of the funds used in farm mechanization come from accumulation by commune- and brigade-run

plants. Of the 1,777 such plants 76 per cent serve agriculture. The county comrades said that they "build industry around agriculture, and make a good job of industry to promote farm production." This is implementing our general principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in the development of the national economy.

### Training Technicians

The county leadership attaches great importance to training an army of technicians for mechanizing farm production and has found effective ways to accomplish this in the course of practice.

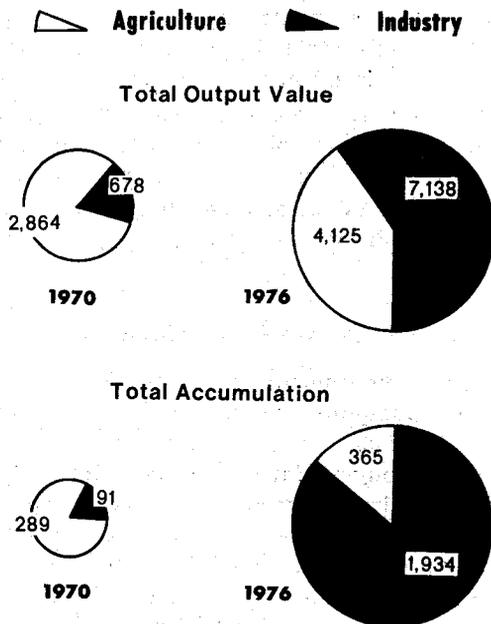
Plants are responsible for training their own technical force. For instance, the Yangshih Commune has trained 525 skilled workers by the two following methods. The first is the apprentice system whereby experienced, veteran workers teach newcomers. The second method is to send workers out to learn in other plants and scientific research departments, or invite technicians from these places to give lectures. Under our socialist system there are no technical secrets to be kept from each other. In fact, it is common practice for plants and scientific research departments to swap experiences.

Technical training programmes vary according to farm mechanization requirements at various times. These are mainly organized by the county. For instance, when rice transplanters were being popularized last year it sent commune cadres to the suburbs of Shanghai to acquire experience. Then the county ran a training class for peasants drawn from the various communes. They were instructed by technicians who explained the structure and principle of transplanters, their maintenance and how to use them. When these trainees returned home after completing their studies, they in turn train people in their brigades.

Commune farm machine stations hold regular short-term classes to train truck and tractor drivers and electricians for its brigades. Generally speaking, people in their late twenties

### INCREASE OF ACCUMULATION FROM INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE IN CHACHIAO COMMUNE

Unit: 1,000 yuan



and early thirties all have had at least a junior middle school education, so they can learn rapidly through the method of theoretical study combined with practice. It takes a little longer to learn how to do maintenance and repairs, but they do not find it very difficult either.

This is how Wusih County solved its problems of equipment, funds and technical force by bringing into full play the initiative and creativeness of the people. As the late Comrade Chou En-lai said in his report to the Tenth Party Congress in 1973: "One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses."

Besides Wusih County, a number of communes, counties and prefectures (embracing many counties) in China have made rapid progress in farm mechanization. Their common experience demonstrates that so long as the correct road is firmly adhered to, the Party provides strong leadership and the masses are fully mobilized, the goal of basically realizing farm mechanization in the country by 1980 can be attained. Fulfilment of this tremendous task will be an important step forward to realizing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology in China before the end of the century.

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(Continued from p. 32.)

between Party and non-Party, between revolution and counter-revolution, between right and wrong and between China and other countries directly deal with political questions, and "it is to focus on one basic policy" that these questions were raised, "the basic policy of mobilizing all positive factors, internal and external, to serve the cause of socialism." "In short, we should mobilize all forces, whether direct or indirect, and strive to build China into a powerful socialist country." This makes it perfectly clear that politics and economics are a unity and that politics serves economics.

Lenin said: "According to the bourgeois world outlook, politics was divorced, as it were, from economics." (*Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments*, 1920.)

Members of the "gang of four" are dyed-in-the-wool historical idealists. They deliberately described politics as something supreme, looked down upon economics as something inferior and despised politics serving economics. They categorically denied "man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities." (Mao Tsetung: *On Practice*, 1937.) They denied that "mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics,

science, art, religion, etc." (Engels: *Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx*, 1883.) They also denied that the development of human society is determined, in the last analysis, by the development of the social productive forces.

The purpose of the "gang of four" in preaching such "theories" was to sabotage China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, undermine the socialist economy, usurp Party and state leadership and turn China back again into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

Yao Wen-yuan made yet another shocking comment on the article "On the General Programme." In its concluding part, the article declared that we "are certainly able to realize the magnificent goal of building China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century." This was stated by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou on many occasions and is completely correct and beyond question. Yao Wen-yuan, however, had the audacity to write this comment: "Certainly able to bring about a restoration? A wild dream!" Now everything is crystal clear. What did members of the "gang of four" mean by restoration? It meant "building China into a powerful socialist country." So when they made a ballyhoo about "opposing restoration," they were actually opposing Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and opposing socialism and they were trying to restore capitalism.

# Chairman Mao Tsetung Stands On the Pinnacle of History

— Excerpts from an article by Comrade E.F. Hill

Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), in his article which appeared in the July 28 issue of "The Vanguard," pointed out that Chairman Mao's strategic concept of three worlds contributes greatly to the cause of world revolution. Following are excerpts from the article. — Ed.

**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tsetung was the great continuer of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Chairman Mao was the greatest single fighter against modern revisionism. He was unswerving in his adherence to Marxism-Leninism and upholding its revolutionary banner.

Like the immortal Lenin, he stood as a giant on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theoretical principle, the purity of which is critical to the victory of proletarian revolution.

Amid all the furore of revisionism, amid the avalanche to the Right, this mighty man calmly and deliberately expounded correct Marxist-Leninist principle. He declined to go along with revisionism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung upheld with the magnificent courage of a truly classic developer of Marxism-Leninism the revolutionary essence of scientific socialism which in their day Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had expounded and upheld.

He stood his ground against all comers.

All the recognized leaders of international communism, headed by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., proclaimed revisionism as Marxism-

Leninism. Chairman Mao Tsetung denounced it as revisionism.

And Chairman Mao systematically developed the great Marxist-Leninist principle of continuing class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Even at a time when the great Stalin wrongly denied the continuance of class struggle in the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao affirmed its existence.

This theoretical principle he greatly developed.

In all respects, Chairman Mao Tsetung upheld the great truths of Marxism-Leninism. The victory of Chinese liberation and socialism are living proof of it. When the Chinese revolution followed the Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao it won great victory; when it departed from that line, it suffered defeat.

Chairman Mao Tsetung made an indelible, immortal all-round contribution to Marxism-Leninism, an inestimable contribution to the cause of world revolution.

Chairman Mao Tsetung paid great attention to the development of a Marxist-Leninist proletarian foreign policy.

He proceeded from the interests of the world proletariat.

Lenin in his day, paid great attention to the international situation. From this emerged among other outstanding contributions, the possibility of building socialism in one country — a then new development of Marxism. Lenin

analysed the uneven development of capitalism, he analysed the cracks and schisms in the relationships between the capitalist powers and the need for the proletariat to take advantage of the merest crack, to ally itself if need be, with the most vacillating ally, having confidence that if the proletariat firmly adhered to Marxist-Leninist principle, it would not err.

Lenin opposed Trotsky's idea of no deals with any imperialist.

Out of Lenin's principled stand came the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (peace between revolutionary Russia and imperialist Germany) which saved the Russian revolution. Who was correct — Lenin or Trotsky?

Lenin's ideas were followed by Stalin in the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939. Which was correct — Stalin's Marxist-Leninist line or the Trotskyist line of no compromise?

Lenin ridiculed the "Left" line of "no compromises." Lenin analysed the world in a series of classics notable among which was *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. In his speeches to the Third International he paid great attention to the divisions among the capitalist countries.

Lenin showed that capitalism dictated the development of a handful of major imperialist powers, showed the utter falsity of Kautsky's idea of ultra (or super) imperialism (agreement between the imperialisms), he showed the differentiation between the powers and he stressed the decisive importance of the peoples of the East (now we may add Africa and Latin America).

Faithful to Lenin's teachings and in line with them, Chairman Mao studied an immense amount of factual material of the contemporary world. He deduced his great theory of three worlds — (1) the superpowers, (2) the intermediate countries and (3) the third world.

Does this theory accord with the facts for that is the sole test of materialist dialectics?

Chairman Mao's theory does accord with the facts.

He showed that the superpowers U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism could never agree fundamentally (contrary to views

of ultra or super-imperialism), their agreement was conditional, their struggle absolute.

Is that not borne out today?

Yes it is.

In Australia it can be seen very clearly.

In the second world countries is there not rebellion at least to a degree even by the ruling circles against the superpowers? Yes there is, because the superpowers do interfere in and bully the second world countries. The bourgeoisie of these countries resist superpower encroachment; true, they compromise, are unstable. The peoples of the second world countries wage consistent revolutionary struggles.

The third world is the most reliable opponent of the superpowers. The peoples of the third world are decisive in the struggle against the superpowers.

Chairman Mao's analysis identified enemies and friends.

It shows the conflict between the superpowers. That conflict weakens each of them. It shows the main force against them is the third world and it shows aspects of the second world as opposing the two superpowers. That is based on the dialectical principle of everything coming into being and passing away. So U.S. imperialism has come into being as a mighty imperialist power, now it is beginning to pass away. Soviet social-imperialism is coming into being as a mighty imperialist power. Materialist dialectics teaches us to discern what is growing and what is dying. Hence it is correct to point to the comparatively greater menace of Soviet social-imperialism. It is correct to recognize the contradiction between these two superpowers. At the same time, it is imperative to recognize the menace of each of them. Chairman Mao's insistence on digging tunnels, storing grain, being prepared, testified to this.

Chairman Mao correctly recognized the aspect of the European Economic Community that constitutes a certain barrier particularly to Soviet social-imperialist expansion in Europe and at the same time, has a certain anti-U.S. imperialist aspect. Is it correct to recognize this, to take advantage of all positive factors? Of course it is.

He greatly encouraged the third world and classified China as a socialist country of the third world. In the days of the dominant ascendancy of U.S. imperialism, Chairman Mao was the world's foremost fighter against it. When Soviet social-imperialism emerged as a challenger to U.S. imperialism Chairman Mao correctly recognized it as the coming superpower and analysed the relations between it and U.S. imperialism.

All this is the very reverse of revisionism.

It is to arm the revolutionary peoples with a proletarian revolutionary foreign policy, to provide the theoretical guidance for forming the broadest united front of all who can be united against the superpowers.

Chairman Mao never confused relations between countries with relations between the classes in the given countries. But he did show and show correctly the inter-relation between the internal and external class struggle.

In the given countries, the class struggle takes on different forms and the governments of the given countries vary from one to the other.

The universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought are one and the same the world over. Their integration into the actual conditions of the given countries is a different matter.

The objective position of the third world countries, their common interests, weaken imperialism as a whole, even though some of their governments are fascist. It is absurd to see them as all entirely the same, but it is correct to see what is common to them — a trend of anti-imperialism. Worldwide socialism can only be successfully won in a historically short time if all factors, all their infinite variations, divisions, are taken into full account.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was pre-eminently the champion of the people. The people and the people alone make history, he proclaimed. What a magnificent concept — infinite confidence in the common folk!

In order that those people can take advantage of every weakness in the camp of their enemies and take advantage of every ally even

though vacillating, conditional, he armed the proletariat with the great theory of the three worlds.

Australia is a second world country. Yet she has affinities with the third world and even belongs to certain third world organizations. On the other hand, Australia is in the orbit of U.S. imperialism which now Soviet social-imperialism is challenging.

It is correct to analyse Australia's position exploiting her second world position and her third world affinities to deal blows at the superpowers. Likewise it is correct to use her being within the U.S. imperialist orbit to deal blows at the Soviet superpower but never forgetting the U.S. imperialist enemy.

If everyone is an enemy and there are no allies, no main enemy, is this not objectively akin to Trotsky's position?

Chairman Mao with the great skill of the master of materialist dialectics that he was, discerned the facts in the world and the constant movement of the facts.

With boundless confidence in the people he applied his analysis of the three worlds. It greatly helps the people in the cause of world revolution.

His efforts have been crowned with the tremendous international and internal victories of China and her peoples, the enormous advance worldwide of Marxism-Leninism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung stood for the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. So long as there was fundamental upholding of Marxism-Leninism by the Communists, he insisted that different ways of looking at things by Communists in different countries should not be used to break that unity. The fermenting of differences could only weaken the common front against imperialism.

From first to last, Chairman Mao Tsetung stood for the unity of all genuine Communist Parties and Marxist-Leninist groups.

Chairman Mao Tsetung's works are noted Marxist-Leninist classics. They expound, defend

and develop the whole science of Marxism-Leninism.

The great work of Chairman Mao is being carried on by the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao's successor, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

Chairman Mao Tsetung stands on the pinnacle of history and man's achievement. He was the great theoretical and practical champion of the victory of proletarian revolution and socialism. His work and inspiration will live for ever.

Nothing can alter that.

**C.M.E.A.**

## **Soviet Union Tightens the Screws on East European Countries**

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**A**T the recent 31st session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) held in Warsaw, Kosygin advertised the so-called "fraternal co-operation" within "the socialist community" as "international co-operation" unprecedented in the history of international economic relations. Kosygin's rhetoric went unheeded. Delegates of the other member states were more interested in making known their hardships brought on by a shortage of fuel and energy supplies.

Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal stressed at the session that solving the question of fuel and energy resources was an extremely pressing matter for his country.

Soviet revisionist boss Kosygin claimed in an attempt to quell the rising resentment and opposition of East European countries that per-capita fuel consumption in these C.M.E.A. countries already equalled that in the E.E.C. countries, adding that the Soviet Union would continue to take the most active part in solving the energy question of C.M.E.A. member states. Although the communique issued after the session said that the conference had put special emphasis on tasks related to the further expanding of the base areas of energy and raw materials, no fundamentally significant decisions were made at the meeting. This shows

that Moscow and these East European countries are at loggerheads, each side having an ax to grind over the question of supplying fuel and raw materials, thus exacerbating the contradictions between them.

With insufficient energy and other resources of their own, a number of C.M.E.A. member states have all along depended on Moscow for their energy and raw material supplies. These countries now have a more pressing need for fuel and raw materials since their industrialization has gone ahead over the past few years. For instance, statistics published in the Bulgarian press shows that in recent years more than 90 per cent of the country's total oil imports, 100 per cent of its natural gas, 98.6 per cent of its electricity and 87.5 per cent of its iron ore have come from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, the self-appointed "big brother" of "the socialist community," sees this as a fine opportunity to step up its control and plunder of East European countries.

Claiming that it costs more now to exploit and ship oil and other raw materials, Moscow has made East European countries pay more. Take the price of oil for instance. It rose 130 per cent in 1975, 8 per cent in 1976 and 25 per cent this year. These sharp price increases for

raw materials and fuel going to these East European countries have imposed extra burdens on their economies. This year Bulgaria will have to pay the Soviet Union about 110 million rubles more than last year for oil alone. At the same time, these countries are being compelled to export more machinery and farm produce to Moscow in payment for Soviet oil.

Using as a pretext the fact that it was short of funds and manpower to exploit and ship enough fuel and raw materials to satisfy their needs, Moscow has forced these East European countries to contribute money and manpower to its current five-year plan to take part in construction of some ten large joint C.M.E.A. investment projects inside the Soviet Union at a total cost of more than 10,000 million U.S. dollars. Bearing a substantial share of this burden, these countries have been coerced into sending vast quantities of machinery, equipment and manpower to the Soviet Union at the expense of slashing their own domestic investments, slowing down their pace of industrial development and paring down consumer goods for the people. It can be easily conceived how heavy the costs are for these countries.

Though these extortionate demands have been duly met by its C.M.E.A. partners, Moscow has failed to fulfil their energy requirements. This was because, to earn the hard currency it so badly needs, it has in the last few years increased its oil exports to the West much faster than to these East European countries. Last year, while doubling its oil exports to the West, it even cut oil shipments to the East European countries by nearly 10 per cent. This has brought on an oil shortage and greater economic difficulties in these countries. A number of East European factories have stopped work or are operating under capacity.

Moscow for a long time has exploited these countries' dependence on its oil and natural gas to press them to agree to carry out so-called "economic integration" in opening up oil fields, laying oil and gas pipe-lines and building joint mining industries inside the Soviet Union. Shrinking Soviet oil supplies are making East European countries look more and more to the Middle East and other areas for the supplies

they need. And this, as Moscow knows, is to its great disadvantage. An example is Poland which will import 25 per cent of the oil it uses this year from the Middle East. Moscow needs its oil both to bring its C.M.E.A. partners into line and to solve economic problems at home and balance its trade with the West. The Soviet Union proclaims itself the world's biggest oil producer, yet it is having trouble to cope with this situation.

It seems that in trying to keep a firm grip on its C.M.E.A. partners through supply of fuel, particularly oil and natural gas, Moscow is put in a spot because of its inadequate economic strength. But it is not reconciled to letting these "fraternal states" get out of its control. It is playing another trick today. It is doing everything it can to make these states rely further on the Soviet Union in the key industrial sector of machine building. To this end, Moscow is making a big fanfare about the so-called integration of the machine-building industry, standardization of products and mixed administration of machine-building combines within the C.M.E.A. Its purpose is to turn the Soviet Union into the major supplier of machinery and spare parts in the C.M.E.A. area as a whole.

But as in oil and fuel, Moscow's smug calculations cannot be matched by its strength. First of all, the machine-building industry in the Soviet Union is very backward, a fact admitted by its economic experts. Furthermore, since 1970 other C.M.E.A. member states have stepped up co-operation with Western countries in production, trade and monetary matters. They have signed more contracts with Western countries concerning machine-building industry than with Moscow and these contracts cover a wide range of products. So it is extremely difficult for Moscow to bring about the standardization of products.

At present, Moscow is pressing the other C.M.E.A. member states to make joint investments in expanding and modernizing its machine-building industry. Brezhnev even demanded that these states take into account the interests of all the C.M.E.A. partners and not merely their own national interests when signing contracts with Western countries.

— by Ho Hsing



pointed out uneasily: "Thus, if a dispute with the Soviet Union over fishing around the four islands occurs, Japan's position will inevitably be weakened. Both the Japanese-Soviet and Soviet-Japanese interim fishery agreements have placed new blocks in the way of the settlement of the territorial problem."

The Soviet Union has built Japan's four northern islands into important military bases for hegemonic contention with the United States in the north Pacific. Permanent Soviet occupation of these Japanese islands constitutes a serious threat to Japan's security.

Ishkov's satisfaction stems from Japan's agony and uneasiness and is a reflection of the hegemonism Soviet social-imperialism pushes towards Japan.

However, the Japanese people will not allow the new tsars to rest satisfied. They will never recognize the "legality" of the Soviet occupation of the northern territories or agree to continuation of the occupation. A gigantic nationwide campaign against Soviet hegemonism will build up to deal it a heavier blow.

*(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, August 12.)*

## *Economic Notes*

# The Biggest Trade Deficit in U.S. History

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**T**HE U.S. trade deficit stood at 12,600 million dollars in the first half of this year, or more than double that of the whole of last year. Washington officials expect U.S. trade deficit to be running at an annual rate of 25,000 million dollars this year, a record in U.S. history.

### **Decline of Economic Position**

The worsening U.S. foreign trade reflects the decline of its economic position. In most of the years prior to World War II, the annual volume of U.S. foreign trade was only smaller than Britain's and ranked second in the world. During World War II, the United States superseded Britain and led the world in foreign trade. In early postwar years, the United States, capitalizing on its military and economic strength built up during the war, expanded its market everywhere and attained absolute predominance

in the capitalist world market. In 1947, U.S. exports made up 32.4 per cent of the world's total. From the 1950s onward, the U.S. dominant position in the capitalist world market was steadily eroded as a result of the economic recovery and development in Western Europe and Japan. U.S. trade surpluses dropped drastically. The surpluses rose slightly in the early 1960s, but fell rapidly again as the United States extended its war of aggression in Viet Nam. In 1971 it had its first trade deficit since 1888. Since then, U.S. foreign trade has fluctuated; there were three years of deficits and two years of surpluses. (See chart.)

### **Cause**

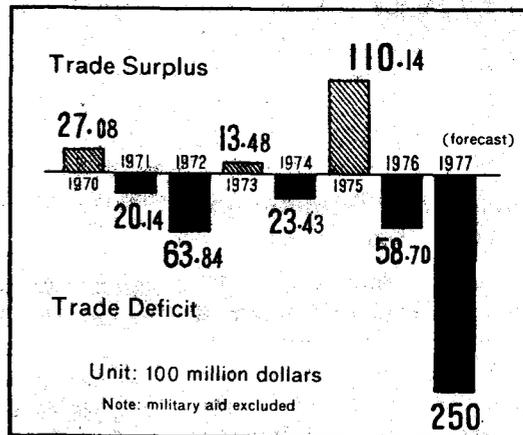
The end of U.S. hegemony in the world market stems from the fact that U.S. imperialism has been obdurately clinging to its policies

of aggression and war and engaging in military expansion and war preparations in a big way. This has led to the militarization and lopsided development of the national economy and increasingly grave inflation. Apart from some sophisticated commodities such as aeroplanes and electronic computers, the United States is gradually falling behind other major capitalist countries in many aspects of the production equipment and technology of consumer industries. Coupled with an increase in production costs caused by inflation, this has greatly weakened the competitiveness of U.S. commodities in the international market. The proportion of U.S. manufactured goods in this market has steadily gone down since 1958. It was down to 19.2 per cent in 1972 from 27.7 per cent in 1958. Two U.S. dollar devaluations, in December 1971 and February 1973, relatively improved the competitiveness of U.S. commodities in the international market and the U.S. share somewhat picked up in 1973 through 1975. But a recent U.S. Department of Commerce study showed that the proportion dropped again from 21.2 per cent in 1975 to 20.3 per cent in 1976.

International factors also caused an end to U.S. hegemony in international trade. First, because of the uneven development of capitalism, economically and politically, the West European Common Market and Japan have become increasingly powerful rivals to the United States. Second, the rising third world countries have stepped up their struggle to defend their national interests and economic independence. Using oil as a weapon, the oil producing countries, in particular, have made it impossible for the major capitalist countries to expand production with cheap oil. One of the main reasons for the U.S. trade deficit is the increase in prices of imported oil. The U.S. Department of Commerce predicted that U.S. oil import bill will jump to 42,000 million dollars this year, as against 31,460 million dollars last year.

The Carter administration has declared that the huge trade deficits are not important and

## CHANGES IN U.S. FOREIGN TRADE



there is no need to worry about them. But Congress and the business circles are asking: How long will this trend last?

### Impact

The huge trade deficits cause great repercussions.

First, a huge trade deficit weakens the credibility of the dollar abroad. The exchange rates of the dollar against the currencies of Japan and major West European countries have dropped steadily since late June, with the rates against the West German mark and the Swiss franc plummeting to an all-time low. Hectic dollar sales have been reported on Western exchange markets. If this keeps up, there may be another tempestuous dollar crisis.

Second, a decline in the parity of the dollar will lead to higher imported commodity prices, which will exacerbate the runaway inflation in the United States.

Third, huge trade deficits will lend more strength to the arguments of U.S. protectionists. Pro-protectionist capitalists and trade unions hold that to guarantee employment at home, it is necessary to raise tariffs and restrict imports. If this happens, there will be counter-measures by other countries and an intensified trade war.

— by Ku Chin

# ROUND THE WORLD

## PANAMA-U.S.A.

### Agreement in Principle on A New Canal Treaty

Panamanian and U.S. negotiators on August 10 announced in the Panamanian capital that the two countries had reached an agreement in principle on the basic elements of a new Panama Canal treaty.

Chief Panamanian negotiator Romulo Escobar Bethancourt told pressmen that after 13 years of arduous struggle by Panama, a stage had ended today, the stage of drafting a new canal treaty. He expressed the hope that for Panama, "caducous concepts such as the want of jurisdiction over what is now the canal zone, the odious perpetuity and a series of other themes that prevent our country from having its complete physiognomy as a nation and state, will disappear in the future" with the drafting of a new canal treaty.

U.S. negotiators Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz expressed in a statement the hope that the basic elements of a new canal treaty agreed upon in principle by the Panamanian and U.S. negotiators will be incorporated into a formal treaty as soon as possible.

The just struggle of the Panamanian people has won the support of many Latin American countries. Recently, government leaders of Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Jamaica met in Bogota. In a final communique issued by the

meeting, they expressed the support for the early conclusion of a new Panama Canal treaty. The communique held that this would "terminate a colonial remnant in America and fulfil Panama's legitimate and undelayable aspiration to re-establish sovereignty on the whole of her territory."

Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez said at a press conference in Caracas on July 29 that the Panamanian-U.S. negotiations on a new canal treaty "are of continental interest and a problem of the whole of Latin America."

President Perez said in Bogota on August 5: "We are convinced that the just action of returning to Panama full sovereignty over the Canal Zone cannot be delayed any longer."

## THAILAND

### 12th Anniversary of People's Armed Struggle

The 12th anniversary of the Thai people starting armed struggle fell on August 7. Over the past 12 years, the single spark of armed struggle by the people kindled at the foot of Mt. Phuphan in northeast Thailand has now spread to various parts of the country.

To mark this occasion, the "Voice of the People of Thailand" broadcast on August 6 an editorial entitled "Carry Forward the August 7 Spirit, Advance Continuously to Still Greater Victories." The editorial

said: "The protracted struggle has provided our people with profound, precious experience and lessons. To make revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like ours, a peaceful or parliamentary road cannot really solve the problems of our nation and people."

The victories won by the Thai people in the past 12 years are a powerful proof that "the road taken by the Communist Party of Thailand, namely, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture the cities and seize power by armed force, is the only correct road. It is a powerful rebuff to the fascist, reactionary and traitorous ruling clique, to U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique," it stated.

In the past 12 years, the editorial went on, people's war has tempered the revolutionary forces. "Today, we have our powerful and strong People's Liberation Army of Thailand. The national democratic united front has broadened and developed at home and abroad. We have the correct leadership of the great Communist Party of Thailand. All this is the guarantee for defeating the enemy and winning final victory."

The growth of the People's Liberation Army and its victories have given encouragement to the people of the entire country and powerfully supported the people's struggle, thus pushing forward the struggle of the Thai national democratic revolution. From August 7, 1976 to the end of last July, the Thai People's Liberation Army wiped out 3,110 enemy troops (1,326 killed, 1,619 wounded and 165 captured) in 636 battles and seized large

quantities of weapons and ammunition.

## SOVIET-U.S.

### Rivalry in Japan

Trade imbalance between Japan and the United States in the former's favour amounted to 2,300 million U.S. dollars in the first half of this year. This was a great shock to the White House but aroused the interest of the Soviet Union.

In a July 13 press statement, Soviet Ambassador to Japan Dmitri Polyansky prated about the importance of "long-term economic co-operation" between the Soviet Union and Japan and stressed that "Siberia is a resource base nearest to Japan." He quoted Brezhnev as saying that trade and economic co-operation form the basis of all relations between states.

The Soviet ambassador's statement was in fact a request for more Japanese loans and technology, by means of which the Soviet Union could, for one thing, use Japan's help to gain strength in its contention with the United States for hegemony in Asia and, for another, gradually draw Japan closer through "long-term economic co-operation."

Naturally, the United States hates to see money Japan earned from it being lent out to its opponent—the Soviet Union, and even less can it stand letting the Soviet Union pull the rug from under its feet. Six days after the Soviet ambassador's statement, U.S. Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield made a speech in Tokyo, asking Japan to buy more U.S. goods with her U.S. dollars. He clearly pointed out

that if Japan continued to maintain an export surplus in her trade with the United States, it might become a "political matter."

The Soviet ambassador's demand is tantamount to grafting a piece of U.S. skin on a Soviet lesion. Instead, the U.S. ambassador demanded to have this piece of skin grafted on U.S. wound. The speeches of the two ambassadors, short as they were, spoke volumes for the intensifying contention over Japan between the two hegemonic powers.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Expanding Economic Co-operation With Developing Countries

The Yugoslav Government has in recent years made sustained efforts to promote co-operation with the developing countries in economic, trade, scientific and technological fields.

This aim was incorporated into a resolution passed by the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia in May 1973. The resolution stressed that "an important part of Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment is to enter into all-round economic co-operation with the developing countries." In June 1974, the Federal Executive Council set up a federal committee for economic co-operation with the developing countries, and subsidiary committees were also set up in the republics and autonomous provinces to take care of affairs related to the carrying out of this policy.

Now, after several years' efforts, Yugoslavia has trade relations with nearly 90 developing countries and has formed mixed

commissions for economic co-operation with the governments of many of them. Its trade volume with these countries has expanded markedly, increasing to 1,960 million U.S. dollars in 1976 as against 455 million in 1972. The value of exports rose from 148 million dollars in 1972 to 800 million in 1976, imports from 307 million to 1,160 million. In the first half of this year, its trade volume saw another increase as compared with the same period of last year.

By exporting equipment and supplying technology, Yugoslavia has helped more than 40 developing countries build dams, highways, port facilities, power stations and other projects. In addition, it has assisted some of these countries in soil improvement, construction of water conservancy projects and big farms to increase grain output.

Yugoslavia has so far established scientific and technological co-operation with more than 80 developing countries and concluded agreements on scientific and technological co-operation with 65 of them.

## U.S.A.

### Vance's Middle East Tour

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance toured Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Israel between August 1 and 11. Following his visit to Israel on August 11, he paid a lightning visit to Jordan, Syria and Egypt.

At a news conference in Washington prior to his Middle East tour, Vance declared he would discuss with leaders of relevant Arab coun-

tries and Israel U.S. proposals for the convening of a Geneva conference on the Middle East problem "with respect to both questions of substance and questions of procedure." After his talks with the leaders of the five Arab countries and Israel, Vance said: "Fundamental differences remain . . . on key issues" between the Arabs and Israel.

The so-called questions of procedure are mainly over whether the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) should participate in the Geneva conference. The Arab countries insisted that the P.L.O., the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should attend talks on the question of the Middle East. But this was unreasonably rejected by Israel whose stance was backed by the United States. In the U.S. proposals put forward before the Arab leaders, Vance insisted that the P.L.O. must recognize Israel before attending the Geneva conference. This met with opposition from the Arab countries.

The so-called "questions of substance" boil down to two points: (1) the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories it has occupied; (2) the restoration of the national rights to the Palestinian people.

As regards the first point, the Arab states have firmly demanded the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories it has occupied since the June 1967 Middle East War. But Israel has refused to withdraw to its border of June 4, 1967.

The U.S. attitude towards this question is ambiguous. On the one hand, the U.S. Government

has admitted that Israel "clearly should withdraw from occupied territories," that is, withdraw "on all three fronts in the Middle East dispute — Sinai, Golan Heights, West Bank-Gaza." But on the other hand, the United States has repeatedly stressed that Israel's "exact borders" must be "agreed upon in the negotiations" and that "security arrangements on all fronts satisfactory to all parties" must be made.

The Arab states and the P.L.O. maintain that the Palestinian question is the crux of the Middle East problem. They insist that all national rights, including the right to build their own country, must be restored to the Palestinian people. Israel, however, has all along refused to recognize any national rights of the Palestinian people.

The U.S. Government has persistently refused to recognize in clear terms that the Palestinian people's national rights, including the right to build their own country, should be restored. It has refused so far to recognize the P.L.O., making P.L.O.'s recognition of Israel a prerequisite to the U.S. recognition of the organization. Meanwhile, the U.S. President indicated that one of the factors to ironing out the Middle East problem should be the solution of the Palestinian question. He also ambiguously referred to the necessity of providing "a homeland" for the "Palestinian refugees."

The U.S. Government's attitude mentioned above reveals its attempt to continue to support Israel's aggression while trying to earn the "confidence" of the Arab countries which are in confrontation with Israel, so as

to strengthen the U.S. position in its rivalry with the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

TASS in a spate of commentaries attacked Vance during his tour of the Middle East. This reflects Moscow's anger and uneasiness over the intensified U.S. activities in the Middle East to squeeze out the Soviet Union there.

## News Briefs

- Thousands of black students in South Africa walked out of schools to protest against Pretoria's segregated educational system. Beginning on July 25 at Atteridgeville Township where the blacks live in compact communities near Pretoria, the capital, the struggle has already spread to Johannesburg, the biggest city in South Africa.

The decision to boycott classes was made at a July 24 meeting of student leaders. They held that the only way to reform education is to stop going to school until the system is changed. The boycott struggle continued although the authorities employed large numbers of police to suppress it.

- In the first five months of the year, FRETILIN forces killed more than 1,800 Indonesian troops in Likica, Bazartete and Railaco in the northwest coastal area.

In skirmishes with the Indonesian army, they killed 1,277 enemy troops in Likica, 492 in Bazartete, and 117 in Railaco between March 20 and May and recaptured Railaco. This further demoralized the Indonesian troops.