

PEKING REVIEW

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March 17, 1978

The Constitution of The People's Republic of China

— Full text of the Constitution and Report on the
Revision of the Constitution by Vice-Chairman
Yeh Chien-ying

Personification of the Party's Style of Work

— Reminiscences of Premier Chou

The Middle East: Soviet Vexation

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First Session of Fifth C.P.P.C.C. National Committee Closes

The First Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which opened in Peking on February 24, closed on March 8 after fulfilling its tasks.

The session unanimously adopted the Constitution of the C.P.P.C.C. and approved the session's resolution.



Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was unanimously elected Chairman of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.

The resolution called on the people of all walks of life to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carry out the line of the 11th Party Congress under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. It also called on them to implement the new Constitution of the People's Republic of China, fulfil the tasks set forth

in the Report on the Work of the Government, eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," carry forward socialist democracy, turn all positive factors to account, expand the revolutionary united front and strive to transform China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

Teng Hsiao-ping spoke before the closing of the conference. He said that the session gave expression to the spirit of democratic consultation consis-

tently advocated by our Party. It was, he added, of great significance to the development of China's revolutionary united front, the enlivening of the nation's political life and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On March 9, *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* jointly published an editorial hailing the conclusion of the session.

The editorial said that the united front initiated by Chairman Mao is one of the impor-

tant weapons with which the Chinese Communist Party defeated its enemies in the Chinese revolution. It will continue to play an important role in the period of socialist revolution and construction. The "gang of four" trampled upon our Party's line and policies concerning the united front and sabotaged its policies regarding the nationalities and religion, thereby causing very bad influence. The revolutionary united front has now again received the attention due to it. The Party Constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congress and the Constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress clearly stipulate that the revolutionary united front should be consolidated and developed. Without the great unity of the people, the editorial said, it is impossible to fulfil the overall task of the new period.

Chairman Hua Meets Romanian Comrades

On March 8 when he met the Romanian comrades, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng said: "The friendly relations between the two Parties and the two countries of China and Romania have been developing very well all along. We hope that Romania will become strong, and we know Romania hopes that China will become strong too."

The Romanian comrades were Nicolae Giosan, Alternate Member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Com-

unist Party and Chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and members of the Romanian Grand National Assembly Delegation led by him.

Chairman Hua said: "You have come to China after the conclusion of the First Session of China's Fifth National People's Congress. You are the first delegation I meet after the session."

Chairman Giosan extended warm congratulations on the successful convocation of the Fifth National People's Congress and congratulated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng on his re-assumption of the post of Premier of the State Council. He conveyed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's regards and best wishes to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

Chairman Hua requested Chairman Nicolae Giosan to convey his regards to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

International Women's Day

The National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China and the Peking Women's Federation jointly gave a tea party on March 7 to celebrate International Working Women's Day (March 8). Altogether 1,800 people attended. Among them were Vice-Premier Chen Mu-hua, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Teng Ying-chao, women representatives from all walks of life, and foreign guests including women diplomats, wives of diplomatic officials and women experts helping China in her socialist construction.

Vice-Chairman of the National Women's Federation

Kang Ke-ching, in her toast at the get-together, urged Chinese women to work hard in making China a modern and powerful socialist country at an early date. She also said that they should support the just struggle of women of all countries in the world.

At the tea party, artists gave a performance of songs and dances.

On March 4, the National Women's Federation held a discussion meeting to celebrate the convocation of the first sessions of the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Kang Ke-ching who presided over the meeting noted that it was the first forum held by the federation in the last 13 years.

Both Vice-Premier Chen Mu-hua and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Teng Ying-chao spoke. They urged Chinese women to respond to Chairman Hua's call and work hard to accomplish the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology as set forth in the Report on the Work of the Government.

Present at the discussion meeting were grey-haired women revolutionaries of the older generation, labour heroines, advanced women workers, scientists, Deputies of minority nationalities to the N.P.C. and members of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee. Many spoke at the meeting, some recited their own impromptu poems and some sang songs and danced.

System of Military Service

The Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress held its first session on March 7, after the Congress closed on March 5. Yeh Chien-ying, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, presided over the session.

The session discussed and approved the "Decision on System of Military Service" submitted by the State Council. Since 1955, China has had a compulsory service system. This decision said that the continuous development of the army's technical equipment has now placed higher demands on the fighters' military and political quality and their technical standards. Therefore, it has decided that the system of combining compulsory service and volunteer service be put into force this year and the existing terms of service for the compulsory servicemen be extended appropriately.

The session also decided on the appointment of Deputy Secretary-Generals of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Vice-Presidents of the Supreme People's Court and Vice-Presidents of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

IN THE NEWS

• A Venezuelan Socialist League delegation recently visited Peking, Shanghai and Kwangchow at the invitation of the China-Latin America Friendship Association. Shen Chien, a responsible member of the association, met and feted the delegation.

The Constitution of The People's Republic of China

(Adopted on March 5, 1978 by the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its First Session)

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Preamble

After more than a century of heroic struggle the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China headed by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, finally over-

threw the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by means of people's revolutionary war, winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, and in 1949 founded the People's Republic of China.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the historical period of socialism in our country. Since then, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all our nationalities have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs and have won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated struggles against enemies both at home and abroad and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been consolidated and strengthened, and China has become a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder of the People's Republic of China. All our victories in revolution and construction have been won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao.

The triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. In accordance with the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism, the general task for the people of the whole country in this new period is: To persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century.

We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road. We must oppose revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We must be prepared to deal with subversion and aggression against our country by social-imperialism and imperialism.

We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. We should enhance the great unity of all the nationalities in our country. We should correctly distinguish and handle the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. We should endeavour to create among the people of the whole country a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to help bring all positive factors into play, overcome all difficulties, better consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and build up our country more rapidly.

Taiwan is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland.

In international affairs, we should establish and develop relations with other countries on

the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Our country will never seek hegemony, or strive to be a superpower. We should uphold proletarian internationalism. In accordance with the theory of the three worlds, we should strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, the socialist countries, and the third world countries, and we should unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the social-imperialist and imperialist superpowers to form the broadest possible international united front against the hegemonism of the superpowers and against a new world war; and strive for the progress and emancipation of humanity.

Chapter One General Principles

Article 1 The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Article 2 The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

The guiding ideology of the People's Republic of China is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Article 3 All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels.

The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at various levels and all other organs of state practise democratic centralism.

Article 4 The People's Republic of China is a unitary multinational state.

All the nationalities are equal. There should be unity and fraternal love among the nationalities and they should help and learn from each other. Discrimination against, or oppression of, any nationality, and acts which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways.

Regional autonomy applies in an area where a minority nationality lives in a compact community. All the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

Article 5 There are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at the present stage: socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by the working people.

The state allows non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement and management by organizations at the basic level in cities and towns or in rural areas. At the same time, it guides these individual labourers step by step on to the road of socialist collectivization.

Article 6 The state sector of the economy, that is, the socialist sector owned by the whole people, is the leading force in the national economy.

Mineral resources, waters and those forests, undeveloped lands and other marine and land resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize land under conditions prescribed by law.

Article 7 The rural people's commune sector of the economy is a socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people. At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the produc-

tion team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when its conditions are ripe.

Provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is ensured, commune members may farm small plots of land for personal needs, engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas they may also keep a limited number of livestock for personal needs.

Article 8 Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state ensures the consolidation and development of the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and of the socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people.

The state prohibits any person from using any means whatsoever to disrupt the economic order of the society, undermine the economic plans of the state, encroach upon or squander state and collective property, or injure the public interest.

Article 9 The state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, houses and other means of livelihood.

Article 10 The state applies the socialist principles: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Work is an honourable duty for every citizen able to work. The state promotes socialist labour emulation, and, putting proletarian politics in command, it applies the policy of combining moral encouragement with material reward, with the stress on the former; in order to heighten the citizens' socialist enthusiasm and creativeness in work.

Article 11 The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, it undertakes the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy, and it continuously develops the productive forces, so as to consolidate the country's independence and security and improve the people's material and cultural life step by step.

In developing the national economy, the state adheres to the principle of building our country independently, with the initiative in our own hands and through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, it adheres to the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and it adheres to the principle of bringing the initiative of both the central and local authorities into full play under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

The state protects the environment and natural resources and prevents and eliminates pollution and other hazards to the public.

Article 12 The state devotes major efforts to developing science, expands scientific research, promotes technical innovation and technical revolution and adopts advanced techniques wherever possible in all departments of the national economy. In scientific and technological work we must follow the practice of combining professional contingents with the masses, and combining learning from others with our own creative efforts.

Article 13 The state devotes major efforts to developing education in order to raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation. Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour and must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

Article 14 The state upholds the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all spheres of ideology and culture. All cultural undertakings must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

The state applies the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" so as to promote the development of the arts and sciences and bring about a flourishing socialist culture.

Article 15 All organs of state must constantly maintain close contact with the masses of the people, rely on them, heed their opinions, be concerned for their weal and woe, streamline administration, practise economy, raise efficiency and combat bureaucracy.

The leading personnel of state organs at all levels must conform to the requirements for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause and their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

Article 16 The personnel of organs of state must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, wholeheartedly serve the people, endeavour to perfect their professional competence, take an active part in collective productive labour, accept supervision by the masses, be models in observing the Constitution and the law, correctly implement the policies of the state, seek the truth from facts, and must not have recourse to deception or exploit their position and power to seek personal gain.

Article 17 The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel.

Article 18 The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities, punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries, and punishes newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements.

The state deprives of political rights, as prescribed by law, those landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists who have not yet been reformed, and at the same time it provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

Article 19 The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the workers' and peasants' own armed force led by the Communist Party of China; it is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state devotes major efforts to the revolutionization and modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strengthens the building of the militia and adopts a system under

which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia.

The fundamental task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is: To safeguard the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by social-imperialism, imperialism and their lackeys.

Chapter Two The Structure of The State

Section I

The National People's Congress

Article 20 The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power.

Article 21 The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the people's congresses of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government, and by the People's Liberation Army. The deputies should be elected by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Under special circumstances, its term of office may be extended or the succeeding National People's Congress may be convened before its due date.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

Article 22 The National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) to amend the Constitution;
- (2) to make laws;
- (3) to supervise the enforcement of the Constitution and the law;
- (4) to decide on the choice of the Premier of the State Council upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China;

(5) to decide on the choice of other members of the State Council upon the recommendation of the Premier of the State Council;

(6) to elect the President of the Supreme People's Court and the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;

(7) to examine and approve the national economic plan, the state budget and the final state accounts;

(8) to confirm the following administrative divisions: provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government;

(9) to decide on questions of war and peace; and

(10) to exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

Article 23 The National People's Congress has the power to remove from office the members of the State Council, the President of the Supreme People's Court and the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

Article 24 The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the National People's Congress. It is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the following members:

- the Chairman;
- the Vice-Chairmen;
- the Secretary-General; and
- other members.

The National People's Congress elects the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and has the power to recall its members.

Article 25 The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) to conduct the election of deputies to the National People's Congress;

(2) to convene the sessions of the National People's Congress;

(3) to interpret the Constitution and laws and to enact decrees;

(4) to supervise the work of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate;

(5) to change and annul inappropriate decisions adopted by the organs of state power of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government;

(6) to decide on the appointment and removal of individual members of the State Council upon the recommendation of the Premier of the State Council when the National People's Congress is not in session;

(7) to appoint and remove Vice-Presidents of the Supreme People's Court and Deputy Chief Procurators of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;

(8) to decide on the appointment and removal of plenipotentiary representatives abroad;

(9) to decide on the ratification and abrogation of treaties concluded with foreign states;

(10) to institute state titles of honour and decide on their conferment;

(11) to decide on the granting of pardons;

(12) to decide on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of armed attack on the country when the National People's Congress is not in session; and

(13) to exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

Article 26 The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress presides over the work of the Standing Committee; receives foreign diplomatic envoys; and in accordance with the decisions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee promulgates laws and decrees, dispatches and recalls plenipotentiary representatives abroad, ratifies treaties concluded with foreign states and confers state titles of honour.

The Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress assist the Chairman in his work and may exercise part of the Chairman's functions and powers on his behalf.

Article 27 The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee may establish special committees as deemed necessary.

Article 28 Deputies to the National People's Congress have the right to address inquiries to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and the ministries and commissions of the State Council, which are all under obligation to answer.

Article 29 Deputies to the National People's Congress are subject to supervision by the units which elect them. These electoral units have the power to replace at any time the deputies they elect, as prescribed by law.

Section II

The State Council

Article 30 The State Council is the Central People's Government and the executive organ of the highest organ of state power; it is the highest organ of state administration.

The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress, or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee.

Article 31 The State Council is composed of the following members:

the Premier;

the Vice-Premiers;

the ministers; and

the ministers heading the commissions.

The Premier presides over the work of the State Council and the Vice-Premiers assist the Premier in his work.

Article 32 The State Council exercises the following functions and powers:

(1) to formulate administrative measures, issue decisions and orders and verify their

execution, in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees;

(2) to submit proposals on laws and other matters to the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee;

(3) to exercise unified leadership over the work of the ministries and commissions and other organizations under it;

(4) to exercise unified leadership over the work of local organs of state administration at various levels throughout the country;

(5) to draw up and put into effect the national economic plan and the state budget;

(6) to protect the interests of the state, maintain public order and safeguard the rights of citizens;

(7) to confirm the following administrative divisions: autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties, and cities;

(8) to appoint and remove administrative personnel according to the provisions of the law; and

(9) to exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

Section III

The Local People's Congresses And the Local Revolutionary Committees at Various Levels

Article 33 The administrative division of the People's Republic of China is as follows:

(1) The country is divided into provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government;

(2) Provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties, and cities; and

(3) Counties and autonomous counties are divided into people's communes and towns.

Municipalities directly under the Central Government and other large cities are divided into districts and counties. Autonomous prefectures are divided into counties, autonomous counties, and cities.

Autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas.

Article 34 People's congresses and revolutionary committees are established in provinces, municipalities directly under the Central Government, counties, cities, municipal districts, people's communes and towns.

People's congresses and revolutionary committees of the people's communes are organizations of political power at the grass-roots level, and are also leading organs of collective economy.

Revolutionary committees at the provincial level may establish administrative offices as their agencies in prefectures.

Organs of self-government are established in autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties.

Article 35 Local people's congresses at various levels are local organs of state power.

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the Central Government, counties, and cities divided into districts are elected by people's congresses at the next lower level by secret ballot after democratic consultation; deputies to the people's congresses of cities not divided into districts, and of municipal districts, people's communes and towns are directly elected by the voters by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the Central Government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of counties, cities and municipal districts are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

Local people's congresses at various levels hold at least one session each year, which is to be convened by revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels.

The units and electorates which elect the deputies to the local people's congresses at various levels have the power to supervise, remove and replace their deputies at any time according to the provisions of the law.

Article 36 Local people's congresses at various levels, in their respective administrative areas, ensure the observance and enforcement of the Constitution, laws and decrees; ensure the implementation of the state plan; make plans for local economic and cultural development and for public utilities; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; protect public property; maintain public order; safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of minority nationalities; and promote the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Local people's congresses may adopt and issue decisions within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

Local people's congresses elect, and have the power to recall, members of revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels. People's congresses at county level and above elect, and have the power to recall, the presidents of the people's courts and the chief procurators of the people's procuratorates at the corresponding levels.

Deputies to local people's congresses at various levels have the right to address inquiries to the revolutionary committees, people's courts, people's procuratorates and organs under the revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels, which are all under obligation to answer.

Article 37 Local revolutionary committees at various levels, that is, local people's governments, are the executive organs of local people's congresses at the corresponding levels and they are also local organs of state administration.

A local revolutionary committee is composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members.

Local revolutionary committees carry out the decisions of people's congresses at the corresponding levels as well as the decisions and orders of the organs of state administration at higher levels, direct the administrative work of their respective areas, and issue decisions and orders within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law. Revolutionary committees at county level and above appoint or remove the personnel of organs of state according to the provisions of the law.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at the corresponding levels and to the organs of state administration at the next higher level, and work under the unified leadership of the State Council.

Section IV

The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

Article 38 The organs of self-government of autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The election of the people's congresses and revolutionary committees of national autonomous areas, their terms of office, their functions and powers and also the establishment of their agencies should conform to the basic principles governing the organization of local organs of state as specified in Section III, Chapter Two, of the Constitution.

In autonomous areas where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation in the organs of self-government.

Article 39 The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, in addition to exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified by the Constitution.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas may, in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area, make regulations on the exercise of autonomy and also specific regulations and submit them to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval.

In performing their functions, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used by the nationality or nationalities in the locality.

Article 40 The higher organs of state shall fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the

organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, take into full consideration the characteristics and needs of the various minority nationalities, make a major effort to train cadres of the minority nationalities, and actively support and assist all the minority nationalities in their socialist revolution and construction and thus advance their socialist economic and cultural development.

Section V

The People's Courts and the People's Procuratorates

Article 41 The Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at various levels and special people's courts exercise judicial authority. The people's courts are formed as prescribed by law.

In accordance with law, the people's courts apply the system whereby representatives of the masses participate as assessors in administering justice. With regard to major counter-revolutionary or criminal cases, the masses should be drawn in for discussion and suggestions.

All cases in the people's courts are heard in public except those involving special circumstances, as prescribed by law. The accused has the right to defence.

Article 42 The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ.

The Supreme People's Court supervises the administration of justice by local people's courts at various levels and by special people's courts; people's courts at the higher levels supervise the administration of justice by people's courts at the lower levels.

The Supreme People's Court is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local people's courts at various levels are responsible and accountable to local people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

Article 43 The Supreme People's Procuratorate exercises procuratorial authority to ensure observance of the Constitution and the law by all the departments under the State Council, the local organs of state at various levels, the per-

sonnel of organs of state and the citizens. Local people's procuratorates and special people's procuratorates exercise procuratorial authority within the limits prescribed by law. The people's procuratorates are formed as prescribed by law.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate supervises the work of local people's procuratorates at various levels and of special people's procuratorates; people's procuratorates at the higher levels supervise the work of those at the lower levels.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local people's procuratorates at various levels are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

Chapter Three

The Fundamental Rights And Duties of Citizens

Article 44 All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Article 45 Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and have the right to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters."

Article 46 Citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

Article 47 The citizens' freedom of person and their homes are inviolable.

No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a people's procuratorate, and the arrest must be made by a public security organ.

Article 48 Citizens have the right to work. To ensure that citizens enjoy this right, the state provides employment in accordance with the principle of overall consideration, and, on the

basis of increased production, the state gradually increases payment for labour, improves working conditions, strengthens labour protection and expands collective welfare.

Article 49 Working people have the right to rest. To ensure that working people enjoy this right, the state prescribes working hours and systems of vacations and gradually expands material facilities for the working people to rest and recuperate.

Article 50 Working people have the right to material assistance in old age, and in case of illness or disability. To ensure that working people enjoy this right, the state gradually expands social insurance, social assistance, public health services, co-operative medical services, and other services.

The state cares for and ensures the livelihood of disabled revolutionary army men and the families of revolutionary martyrs.

Article 51 Citizens have the right to education. To ensure that citizens enjoy this right, the state gradually increases the number of schools of various types and of other cultural and educational institutions and popularizes education.

The state pays special attention to the healthy development of young people and children.

Article 52 Citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities. The state encourages and assists the creative endeavours of citizens engaged in science, education, literature, art, journalism, publishing, public health, sports and other cultural work.

Article 53 Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life. Men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work.

Men and women shall marry of their own free will. The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state advocates and encourages family planning.

Article 54 The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese and their relatives.

Article 55 Citizens have the right to lodge complaints with organs of state at any level against any person working in an organ of state, enterprise or institution for transgression of law or neglect of duty. Citizens have the right to appeal to organs of state at any level against any infringement of their rights. No one shall suppress such complaints and appeals or retaliate against persons making them.

Article 56 Citizens must support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system, safeguard the unification of the motherland and the unity of all nationalities in our country and abide by the Constitution and the law.

Article 57 Citizens must take care of and protect public property, observe labour discipline, observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets.

Article 58 It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression.

It is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service and to join the militia according to the law.

Article 59 The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific work.

Chapter Four

The National Flag, the National Emblem and The Capital

Article 60 The national flag of the People's Republic of China has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem of the People's Republic of China is: Tien An Men in the centre, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital of the People's Republic of China is Peking.

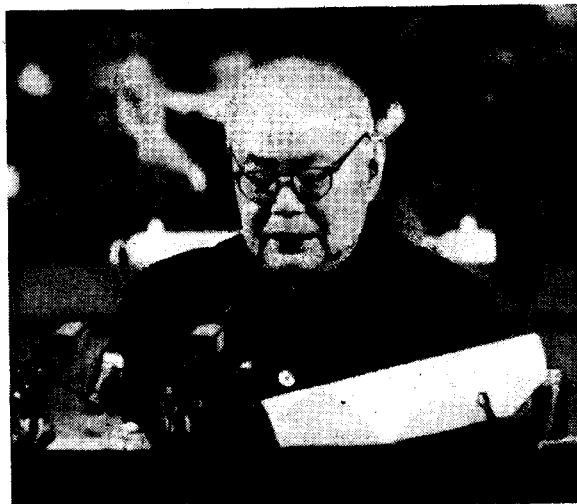
Report on The Revision of the Constitution

(Delivered on March 1, 1978 at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China)

YEH CHIEN-YING

Comrade Deputies,

The draft of the revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China now submitted to the Congress for discussion, has been drawn up by the Committee for Revising the Constitution, headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and composed of all the comrades on the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. During the drafting of the revised text, the Committee repeatedly consulted the broad masses both inside and outside the Party through the various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, the greater military areas and central departments, and adopted all the correct ideas brought up. The 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China discussed and adopted this draft at its Second Plenary Session, and decided to submit it to the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and approval. As entrusted by the Central Com-



mittee of the Party, I will now make a report to the Congress on the revision of the Constitution.

On the General Task for the New Period

The Constitution to be adopted by the Congress is a new Constitution, designed for the new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In September 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung passed away. Our beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chair-

man Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress had passed away some time earlier. The anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, who had long schemed to usurp power and restore capitalism, seized this opportunity to make trouble. The Chinese revolution was in dire peril.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's behest, the Central Committee of the Party, headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua, led the whole Party, army and people in crushing the conspiracy of the "gang of four" at one stroke. It was a historic turning point in the Chinese revolution, a turning point from danger to safety. The smashing of the "gang of four" was yet another great victory scored by us after the toppling of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao; it marked the triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country. Our socialist revolution and construction entered a new period of development. The Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua promptly made the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land and convened the Party's 11th National Congress. The line of the 11th Party Congress is being carried out in all fields with the warm support of the people of all our nationalities. The situation throughout the country is excellent.

To meet the needs of the new period in socialist revolution and construction, it is necessary to revise the Constitution of 1975. The new Constitution should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, give comprehensive and accurate expression to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and to Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should fully reflect the line of the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land formulated by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Hua. It should sum up the experience of our struggle against the "gang of four," uproot its pernicious influence, and consolidate and develop the achievements of the Cultural Revolution. These have been our guidelines in revising the Constitution and they also embody what the broad masses primarily demand of the new Constitution.

The immortal and historic contributions of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung are solemnly recorded in the Preamble of the draft of the revised Constitution. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of vic-

tory. Our revolution advances from victory to victory whenever Chairman Mao's thought and line are adhered to; it suffers setbacks or even defeats whenever it departs from Chairman Mao's thought and line. This is the most essential lesson taught by the historical experience of China's revolution. The people of all our nationalities take it as their sacred duty to hold high and defend the great banner of Chairman Mao, and they will teach coming generations to do the same. The Preamble emphatically points out, "All our victories in revolution and construction have been won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao."

The general task for the whole nation in the new period as set at the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party is laid down in legal form in the draft of the revised Constitution and written into the Preamble. It is: "To persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century."

This general task is based on Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party which he formulated for the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us that socialist society covers a historical period of considerable length and that in this period classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration invariably continue to exist, and that there is the threat of subversion and aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism. In line with this analysis, the Preamble states, "We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against

the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road. We must oppose revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We must be prepared to deal with subversion and aggression against our country by social-imperialism and imperialism."

Chairman Mao always linked revolution closely with construction and called on us to grasp revolution and promote production. To make China a modern, powerful socialist country is a task laid down by Chairman Mao long ago. At the Third National People's Congress held in December 1964, Premier Chou En-lai, on Chairman Mao's instructions, clearly set forth for the people of the whole country the goal of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century so that China's economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. Having defeated the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution, we now have adequate conditions for accomplishing this task. In the course of achieving the four modernizations, we must continue to carry out constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education in the political, economic and cultural spheres so as to triumph over the forces of capitalism and their corrupting and corrosive influence on the Chinese Communist Party and the organs of our state. What we must do at present and for some time to come is to deepen the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and get rid of its pernicious influence. Unless we firmly grasp the key link of class struggle, we cannot consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor will it be possible for us to accomplish the task of the four modernizations. Likewise, unless we bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play and speedily develop the productive forces so as to secure, step by step, a powerful material base of modern large-scale production for our socialist system, we shall be unable to check the growth of the forces of capitalism effectively and, in the event of aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism, to avoid being at the receiving end of their attacks. The criminal purpose of the "gang of four" in sabotaging our socialist revolution and construction and in opposing the four modernizations was to sub-

vert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, thus reducing China once again to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Chairman Mao teaches us, "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship." Our general task for the new period requires that we grasp the three great revolutionary movements simultaneously, in order to attain our goal of building a powerful socialist country.

The Preamble outlines the broad scope of our revolutionary united front fully and in concrete terms, and it lays emphasis on the great unity of the people of all China's nationalities on the broadest possible base. We must unite with all the forces that can be united, correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions and strive to create a nationwide political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Without this great unity of the people, it will be impossible to accomplish the general task for the new period. Chairman Mao taught us time and again: "The proletariat must rely on its broad allies to exercise dictatorship, it cannot do so all by itself." The Chinese proletariat "must rely on the several hundred million poor and lower-middle peasants, city poor, badly off handicraftsmen and revolutionary intellectuals in order to exercise dictatorship — otherwise it cannot." "Workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeois elements, patriotic intellectuals, patriotic capitalists and other patriotic democrats together comprise more than 95 per cent of the whole population. Under our people's democratic dictatorship, they all belong to the category of the people." This comprehensive and scientific class appraisal which Chairman Mao made of the various social forces that our proletarian dictatorship must rely on and unite is a most profound strategic concept. We must uphold it in our struggle to carry out our general task for the new period.

Chairman Mao always fully esteemed the profound significance of international support to the victory of the Chinese revolution, and the world significance of the victory of the Chinese revolution. China's population is one-fifth of that of the whole world. The Chinese people should make a greater contribution to humanity. By running China's affairs well and making China a modern, powerful socialist country we will gladden the hearts of the people of all lands. Today, China belongs to the third world. In future, when it becomes powerful, it will still belong to the third world. China will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower. We must uphold proletarian internationalism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great theory of the three worlds, we

must unite with all the forces in the world that can be united to form the broadest possible united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and against a new world war, and strive for the progress and emancipation of humanity.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao pointed out, "As long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall always be victorious." By relying on these two fundamental conditions, we have already won great victories in socialist revolution and construction, and we will surely be able to score still greater victories in our efforts to fulfil the general task for the new period.

On the Revision of the Articles Of the Constitution

I shall now give some explanations concerning the revision of the articles of the Constitution.

First. To turn to account the socialist enthusiasm of the people of all our nationalities in striving for the fulfilment of the general task for the new period, it is imperative to give full play to socialist democracy.

Under our socialist system, the people are the masters of the country. Our socialist democracy is a democracy which truly ensures that the people run state affairs. Speaking on this question, Chairman Mao acutely pointed out: The people must have the right to manage the superstructure; we must not interpret the question of the people's rights to mean that only under the administration of certain people can the masses enjoy the right to work, the right to education, the right to social insurance, etc. He also taught us that, under the socialist system, the right of the working people to manage affairs of state, to run various kinds of enterprises and to administer culture and education is their supreme and fundamental right, without which they can enjoy neither the right to work, nor the right to education and rest, nor any other right.

In the light of this concept of Chairman Mao's the following article has been added to the General Principles of the draft: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel." With regard to the structure of the state, some specific provisions have been added concerning the improvement of the electoral system and the extension of the functions of the National People's Congress and of the local people's congresses at various levels, so as to enhance the role of the people's congresses at all levels in the political life of the country and enable them to exercise more effectively the state power vested in them by the people. There are also some new provisions on the democratic rights of citizens in the political, economic, cultural, educational and other fields. As for the material conditions necessary to ensure the rights of citizens, these should be gradually expanded on the basis of increased production through the joint efforts of state enterprises, people's communes, collectively owned enterprises, people's organizations and the people themselves under the guidance of the state.

We must earnestly carry out democratic management with the participation of the broad masses, from the grass-roots units on up. Whether or not grass-roots units are democratically run is a vital link in ensuring the people's democratic rights. It has always been a rewarding practice of our People's Liberation Army to exercise democracy at the company level in three main fields, namely, political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy, and this has attained three major objectives: a high degree of political unity, improvement in living conditions and a higher level of military technique and tactics. Since this could be done in our armed forces, why can't it be done in our factories, villages, stores, offices and schools? Take the rural people's communes, production brigades or production teams, for example. It is necessary to have good democratic management at each of these three levels in every aspect of their work, whether it is production management, the distribution of income, the livelihood and welfare of the members, or anything else. This is an important matter, affecting the immediate interests of several hundred million peasants. We have already accumulated a good deal of experience in democratic management in grass-roots units, including enterprises and public institutions. We must seriously sum up and apply this experience so as gradually to perfect a system of democratic management suited to our conditions, a system which gives full expression to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Our Party has always urged giving broad play to democracy among the masses, including the use of great democracy when necessary. Chairman Mao teaches us, "**Democracy is a method, and it all depends on to whom it is applied and for what purpose. We are in favour of great democracy. And what we favour is great democracy under the leadership of the proletariat.**" It is precisely for the purpose of ensuring great democracy under the leadership of the proletariat that the draft of the revised Constitution provides that citizens "have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters.'" The "gang of four" waved the banner of "great democracy" to oppose the leadership of the Party and the proletariat and

mouthed such things as "the greater the disturbances, the better," "kick aside the Party committees in order to make revolution" and "the correct orientation is to direct the spearhead upwards against the leadership." In so doing they were attempting to put their gang above the Party and the people, acting like overlords not bound by Party discipline and the laws of the state, and practising revisionism, splittism and conspiracy so as to usurp power in the Party, the army and the state and establish their gang's fascist rule. Such "great democracy" would mean a vengeful comeback of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, and an anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightist coup. Just look at the areas and departments which were under the gang's strict control and were seriously ravaged and you will see that there, evildoers were in power while good people suffered, and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements wreaked vengeance while newborn counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois elements ruled supreme; these scoundrels even took measures of dictatorship against the revolutionary masses and cadres whom they cruelly persecuted; they gravely undermined socialist law and order and deprived the people of their just democratic rights and guarantees of personal safety. Isn't it fair and just for the broad masses to reject that kind of "great democracy"? Chairman Mao long ago said, "**If anyone resorts to what he calls great democracy to oppose the socialist system and try to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party, we shall exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over him.**"

In our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there must be both broad democracy and a high degree of centralism, and this is proletarian democratic centralism. The "gang of four" not only trampled on democracy but also impaired centralism, disrupted socialist discipline and undermined the unity of the country and the unity of the people. In eliminating the gang's pernicious influence, we must energetically revive and carry forward our democratic tradition and fight against any encroachment on the people's democratic life or violations of the rights of citizens. At the same time, we must mobilize and rely on the masses to put things in order in every field of work

and we must combat anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and all acts that impair discipline and unity. On the basis of democracy, we must vigorously strengthen centralism and heighten our sense of organization and discipline so as to achieve genuine unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action. In 1959 Chairman Mao said emphatically, **"Now the task for the whole country, the whole nation and the whole Party is to make China a powerful socialist country in the span of several five-year plans. This calls for unity and iron discipline; it cannot be done without iron discipline. How else, I ask you, can we reach such a goal?"** This spirit is embodied in the draft of the revised Constitution. With regard to the duties of citizens an article is added on the need to take care of and protect public property, observe labour discipline, observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets.

Democratic centralism is of fundamental importance in the political life of our country, especially at present. Once democracy is exercised to the full and democratic centralism is strengthened, we will be able to improve our work more and more and our cause will advance much more smoothly.

Second. The draft makes fairly big changes in the articles concerning organs of state and state personnel and sets indispensable, strict demands on them. The most essential is that they maintain contact with the masses.

Our people are a very fine people. Having been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses have raised their political consciousness to a much higher level. They take a deep interest in state affairs, know how to tell right from wrong in matters of political line, have boundless faith in the Chinese Communist Party, in Chairman Mao and in the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and have tremendous enthusiasm for transforming China into a modern, powerful socialist country. Chairman Mao always taught us to follow the mass line. He declared, **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** To maintain contact with the masses, it is necessary to have complete faith in them, respect their sense of responsibility to the revolution, care for and protect their socialist enthusiasm and initiative,

share their feelings and sentiments, and earnestly heed their criticisms and complaints, particularly in relation to leading bodies and leading cadres. All well-meant criticisms from the grass roots and the masses should be warmly encouraged. The people's right to expose evildoers and bad deeds in state organs should be fully guaranteed. Leading cadres must go down to the grass roots and among the masses to investigate matters, so that their own thinking and work can adequately express the interests and desires of the masses; they must earnestly help the masses solve problems for which the masses urgently demand solutions, and serve the people heart and soul.

We have talked about the mass line for so many years, and yet there are still cadres who, because of the vicious influence of the "gang of four" and their own failure to remould their world outlook properly, are going against the mass line. Some don't make investigations, don't go down to a grass-roots unit to gain experience, don't consult the masses when problems arise, don't concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, don't participate in collective productive labour and don't treat them as equals. Others sit up high in leading positions, make arbitrary decisions and act dictatorially, suppress differing opinions and try to keep people from voicing their ideas while they themselves mess things up by issuing ignorant orders and even stoop to deception. Still others revel in their high position, pursue comfort, squander money and exploit their status for personal gain. They love extravagance, are addicted to the lazy life, and the people's interests mean nothing to them. Such cadres don't have an atom of the Communist in them. They reek of bureaucracy from head to toe and arouse nothing but disgust among the masses. Unless these cadres get rid of their bureaucratic airs and mend their ways, the masses will not allow them to remain in leadership. Those who have committed serious offences will be dealt with in accordance with Party discipline and the laws of the state. Chairman Mao says, **"We must overcome bureaucracy and maintain close contact with the masses of the people if we are to undertake national construction on a large scale."** We must follow his teachings and do away with bureaucratic airs, go all out in work, seek the truth from facts, and strive to correct

all shortcomings and mistakes existing in our work, in our work style and in our work systems. We must integrate ourselves with the masses and together work hard to make China a modern, powerful socialist country. It is what the people expect of us and we should live up to their expectations.

Drawing on the experiences of the inner-Party struggles between the two lines, Chairman Mao set forth the basic principles, "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." Whether or not the leadership at all levels of Party and state organs is in the hands of Marxists who adhere to these basic principles is a crucial matter. The Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua attaches the utmost importance to the question of consolidating and building up the leading bodies at all levels. This spirit is embodied in the provision in the draft that the leading personnel of our state organs at all levels must conform to the five requirements set forth by Chairman Mao for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause, and that their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and young cadres. This provision obligates us to

know our subordinates, put them where they can do the best work, and appoint people by merit. We must oppose the gang's reactionary line of appointing people by favouritism and using only those from its own gang and factions, and make serious efforts to eliminate the impurities of organization in our state organs, and especially in the leading bodies, which have resulted from the gang's interference and sabotage.

On the question of state organs, another point to be mentioned is that the draft explicitly stipulates that our country in the main applies a three-level system of local organs of political power, namely, at the provincial, county and commune levels. Prefectures under the provinces and autonomous regions, with the exception of national autonomous prefectures, are not classified as a level of political power. There instead of people's congresses and revolutionary committees, administrative offices will be set up as agencies of the revolutionary committees of the provinces or autonomous regions, and administrative commissioners and deputy commissioners will be appointed. Where districts are set up under counties, they likewise are not a level of political power, but are agencies of the county revolutionary commit-



by Hsu Chi-hsiung

tees. These stipulations are aimed at trimming the administrative structure and raising efficiency.

Third. The draft also stipulates that the people's state apparatus must be reinforced and dictatorship over the enemy strengthened.

With regard to the people's armed forces the draft has added: "The state devotes major efforts to the revolutionization and modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strengthens the building of the militia and adopts a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia." The draft further stipulates that it is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service and to join the militia.

In view of the extreme importance of fighting against violations of the law and discipline, the draft requires that people's procuratorates be set up. Procuratorial organs at various levels of the state exercise their authority, within the limits prescribed by the Constitution and the law, over state organs, state personnel and all citizens, to ensure their observance of the Constitution and the law. While strengthening the unified leadership of the Party and relying on the masses, it is necessary to give full scope to the role of such specialized bodies as the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts. These should complement and restrict each other. This is very important for protecting the people and dealing blows to the enemy. The "gang of four" raved about "smashing the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts" and put their words into action, seriously undermining the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They went so far as to exercise dictatorship within the Party and the ranks of the people. We must thoroughly expose and condemn the gang's crimes in undermining our public security and procuratorial organs and the people's courts, sum up experience, draw lessons and strengthen our socialist legal system. Acts of smashing and grabbing are strictly forbidden. Detention and arrests must follow legal procedures and the system of checking and approval must be strictly observed in this regard.

In the trial of cases, stress must be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study. To obtain confessions by compulsion and then give them credence is strictly forbidden. Only thus will it be possible to protect the people effectively and strike sure, accurate and relentless blows at the enemy, with the stress on accuracy.

The draft specifies that the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat "suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities, punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries, and punishes newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements." An important change is that the provision regarding the punishment for newborn bourgeois elements has been added in conformity with the present situation of the class struggle in our country. It refers to those newly emerged elements who resist socialist revolution, disrupt socialist construction, gravely undermine socialist public ownership, appropriate social property or violate the criminal law. Not a few of the embezzlers, thieves, speculators, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, gangsters, smash-and-grabbers and other evildoers who have committed serious crimes and offences against the law and discipline or disrupted public order in our socialist society belong to this category of newborn bourgeois elements. Chairman Mao has said, "The reactionary classes which have been overthrown are still attempting a comeback. In socialist society, new bourgeois elements will still emerge." Though not numerous, newborn bourgeois elements of this kind, acting in collusion with the old unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois elements, are now the most rampant section of the urban and rural capitalist forces. To exercise dictatorship over them is very necessary.

The draft also stipulates, "The state deprives of political rights, as prescribed by law, those landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists who have not yet been reformed, and at the same time it provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour." There has been a differentiation over

the years among the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and elements guilty of counter-revolutionary or other crimes in the past. The policy consistently pursued by our Party and state in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, is to analyse the conduct of each one of them and deal with every case on its merits, giving them a way out. The provision quoted from the draft means that on the one hand, we must continue to exercise dictatorship over the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists, counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements, and strengthen supervision over such persons so as to reform them, dealing resolute blows particularly at those who have sought class revenge aided and abetted by the "gang of four," committed serious crimes and incurred the bitter hatred of the masses. It also means that, on the other hand, with regard to those who after remoulding and education have really behaved well, we should remove their labels as landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries or bad elements and give them citizenship rights with the consent of the masses on the basis of public appraisal and approval by a revolutionary committee at the county level. This work must be done seriously, prudently and systematically under the unified leadership of Party committees at various levels and in accordance with specific policies. What if some such persons make trouble again after their labels are removed? Well, we will just mobilize the masses to strike them down — and put their labels back again.

Fourth. In accordance with the general task for the new period, the present revised Constitution includes clear-cut stipulations for the consolidation of the socialist economic base and for high-speed development of the productive forces.

In the General Principles of the draft, the struggle to safeguard socialist public ownership is given more prominence. In our country, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was essentially completed long ago, and socialist public ownership consisting of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working people has been fully established for some time. This great victory was already recorded in the existing

Constitution. But with regard to the question of ownership the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road is by no means over. Facts over the past two decades have borne this out repeatedly. Especially in recent years, a handful of old and new bourgeois elements, aided and abetted by the "gang of four" and using all kinds of illegal means, have unscrupulously engaged in embezzlement and speculation, undermined the state plan and disrupted financial and economic discipline, doing grave damage to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and that owned collectively by working people. In conducting the mass movements to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and to learn from Taching in industry and Tachai in agriculture, we must boldly mobilize the masses and effectively strengthen the publicly owned economy, launching a large-scale attack against the capitalist forces, urban and rural, and striking relentless blows at the bourgeois elements, old or new, who are guilty of serious crimes. As for capitalist tendencies in the ranks of the people, they must be earnestly corrected through socialist education. On the economic front the struggle to safeguard socialist public ownership is an important task in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and it will long continue to be so. Only by waging persistent struggles against capitalist forces and tendencies, and at the same time raising the productive forces to a fairly high level fairly rapidly can socialist public ownership be fully consolidated and further expanded.

With regard to the rural people's commune sector of the economy which is collectively owned the draft says, "At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit." This is provided because the nationwide situation indicates that the "three-level ownership," with the production team as the basic accounting unit, corresponds in general with the present level of development of the productive forces in the countryside. The draft stipulates, "A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when its conditions are ripe." A

number of production brigades with sound leading bodies have already become basic accounting units, because they possess the necessary conditions, such as a fairly strong economic base, fairly balanced economic development between their production teams and the masses' willingness to make the move. We should adopt dynamic but steady policies and steps, proceeding from reality to enable the production brigades to become basic accounting units, one by one or batch by batch, whenever the conditions are really ripe. Where the conditions are not ripe, we should not hastily make the move. Instead we should energetically prepare the conditions by conscientiously implementing the various policies concerning the rural economy and by developing production.

The system of distribution is a vital feature of the relations of production. The principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" can only be applied on the basis of socialist public ownership of the means of production. It is a socialist principle. It is necessary to give appropriate overall consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Only by correctly implementing the principle of "to each according to his work" in the distribution of the means of livelihood can the consolidation of socialist public ownership and the development of the productive forces be promoted. The "gang of four" slanderously alleged that "to each according to his work" is a capitalist principle. They attacked our system and policies of payment for labour which embody this principle as the use of material incentives as bait, and thus they undermined the application of this principle, dampened the working people's socialist enthusiasm and disrupted socialist production. We must thoroughly expose and criticize the gang for the theoretical confusion it created and the practical damage it wrought, and conscientiously apply the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" as stipulated in the Constitution.

Chairman Mao once said, "**To combine political work with the necessary practice of distribution according to work — this, I think, is good.**" Political and ideological education is in command, it is dominant and takes the lead.

We have all along opposed putting bonuses instead of proletarian politics in command. We must do our ideological and political work thoroughly and meticulously, help the working people to keep on raising their political consciousness, and educate them in learning from the people of Taching and Tachai the communist attitude towards labour, learning from the spirit of defiance of hardship and death, of indifference to fame and personal gain, and of devoting one's ability to contributing more to socialism. At the same time, it should be understood that the income of the working people will differ in accordance with their production and work. **"To reject this difference is to reject the socialist principle of to each according to his work and more pay for more work."** Hence, the state and the collective should practise distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done. Those who do outstanding work should be commended and appropriately rewarded in accordance with the policy of combining moral encouragement with material reward, with stress on the former.

The General Principles section of the draft states, "The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, it undertakes the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy, and it continuously develops the productive forces, so as to consolidate the country's independence and security and improve the people's material and cultural life step by step." A significant addition here is the reference to high-speed development of the national economy and steady increase of the productive forces. This is a vital prerequisite for the triumph of socialism over capitalism. **"In saying that the socialist relations of production correspond better to the character of the productive forces than did the old relations of production, we mean that they allow the productive forces to develop at a speed unattainable in the old society, so that production can expand steadily and increasingly meet the constantly growing needs of the people."** The development of economic construction in our country over the past 28 years is a preliminary demonstration of this superiority of the socialist system. However, the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the

"gang of four" have seriously affected the speed of our national construction. Especially when the "gang of four" was preaching that it would "prefer socialist low speed" and wildly sabotaging production, the development of our national economy slowed down to a standstill and even slipped back. Now that the gang has been toppled, we have already changed this situation. We must do all we can to bring about a really broad high-speed development of China's productive forces and so initiate, on a planned and proportionate basis, a sound, steady and sustained leap forward in our national economy.

High-speed development of the productive forces depends on putting proletarian politics in command, on adherence to the mass line, and on adherence to the Party's general line for building socialism and the series of policies known as "walking on two legs." All this is expressed in the draft of the revised Constitution. In the General Principles, a separate article is devoted to our work in science and technology; this shows the importance of stepping up such work in order to fulfil our general task for the new period. We must fight this battle well, intensify scientific research and promote technical innovation and technical revolution so as to accelerate the development of the productive forces.

Fifth. To accomplish the general task for the new period requires an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere as well as an upsurge in economic construction. The draft gives this ample attention.

A great effort to expand education is vital both for our revolution and for economic construction. To stress this point, a separate article in the General Principles section is devoted to educational work. We must follow the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, work well and conscientiously in the revolution in education, rapidly develop our country's educational undertakings of all types and at all levels and raise the quality of education and the cultural, scientific and technological level of the whole nation. All this is essential to fulfilling the general task for the new period.

As to the development of socialist culture, special mention should be made of the following provision in the General Principles: "The state upholds the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all spheres of ideology and culture" and the policy "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend."

To uphold the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the spheres of ideology and culture, the proletariat must grasp the leadership and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in all of them, and use Marxism as an ideological weapon to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie so as to enable socialist culture to flourish. This is what Chairman Mao wanted us to do when he talked about **the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture.**

In accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, in our struggles in the ideological and cultural spheres we must correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions that differ in nature. We must never allow counter-revolutionaries to have their way in their anti-Party, anti-socialist and anti-Marxist activities in these fields. **"Outside the ranks of the people, it is criminal to allow counter-revolutionaries to be unruly in word or deed and it is legitimate to exercise dictatorship over them."** Within the ranks of the people questions of an ideological, academic or artistic nature can only be solved by the method of reasoning, criticism and discussion, and the method of dictatorship should never be used. **"Within the ranks of the people, it is criminal to suppress freedom, to suppress the people's criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes of the Party and the government or to suppress free discussion in academic circles."** The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend put forward by Chairman Mao is conducive to correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions differing in nature, and is a fundamental policy of our country in the spheres of ideology and culture.

The "gang of four" at one time usurped a substantial portion of leadership in these spheres, but we have already won it back. They turned things upside down with regard to questions of line in various cultural spheres, and now we are gradually setting these things right so as to be able to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in these fields correctly and integrally. The "gang of four" tampered with the essence of Chairman Mao's thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the cultural realm, flagrantly opposed the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, persecuted intellectuals, and trampled on fragrant socialist flowers by means of dictatorship while permitting anti-socialist poisonous weeds to grow unchecked. We must thoroughly repudiate these crimes of the gang and resolutely carry out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend advocated

by Chairman Mao. Under this policy, so long as the six political criteria* are observed, different forms and styles in art should freely develop, different schools in science should freely contend and questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. We firmly believe that so long as we seriously implement this policy, we will be able to unite the broad masses of intellectuals, urge them on to continue their self-education and self-remoulding, help build up a vast army of working-class intellectuals, strengthen the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all the spheres of ideology and culture, help socialist flowers to bloom and uproot anti-socialist weeds, promote the rapid development of the arts and sciences and create a flourishing situation in our socialist culture.

On the Enforcement of the Constitution

The enactment of the new Constitution is a major event in the political life of our people. If we are to bring about great order across the land, we must have rules for running it. The new Constitution is a set of general rules for managing the affairs of the state in the new period.

Our Constitution is the concentrated expression of the will of the proletariat and of the people in general. It is clear-cut in its class character and militant in spirit. It is a powerful weapon for maintaining revolutionary order, safeguarding the interests of the working people and protecting the socialist economic base and the productive forces. The people will use this weapon to oppose and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and deal blows to the enemies of socialism; they will also use this weapon to correctly solve the contradictions among the people so that they can better close their ranks and, marching in step, strive to build a modern, powerful socialist country.

After the Constitution is adopted, we must make sure that it is fully observed in letter and spirit. No one will be allowed to violate the

* The six criteria for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds, which were laid down by Chairman Mao in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* in 1957, are as follows:

- (1) Words and deeds should help to unite, and not divide, the people of all our nationalities.
- (2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.
- (3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.
- (4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.
- (5) They should help to strengthen, and not shake off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.
- (6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

Constitution. Acts that undermine the socialist legal system, injure the interests of the state and the people or encroach upon the people's rights shall be sternly dealt with, and serious violations will be punished by law. In accordance with the new Constitution we shall revise and enact other laws and decrees, as well as rules and regulations for the various fields of work. In the period when the "gang of four" rode roughshod over the country, they incited anarchism and slandered the socialist legal system and every kind of rational rules and regulations as revisionist and capitalist in their vain attempt to throw our proletarian country into chaos and seize power amid this chaos. Through the enforcement of the new Constitution we should eliminate the evil influence of the "gang of four" and strengthen the socialist legal system so that our work in every field will develop in a more orderly way.

One of the significant functions and powers of the National People's Congress as prescribed by the new Constitution is to "supervise the enforcement of the Constitution and the law." Local people's congresses at various levels must also "ensure the observance and enforcement of the Constitution, laws and decrees" in areas under their administration. In this regard, we should also bring into play the role of the trade unions, the Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants' Associations, the Communist Youth League, women's federations and other mass organizations. Full play, too, should be given to the significant role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is an important organizational form of the revolutionary united front.

For the purpose of mobilizing and relying upon the strength of the masses for the enforcement of the Constitution, we should now launch a nationwide campaign to publicize the Constitution and educate the people, and link this campaign with deep-going exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." Such propaganda and educational work should be done

regularly from now on. The strengthening of the socialist legal system answers the needs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the people, and accords with the people's fundamental interests. The socialist legal system is a deterrent to, and a restraining force upon, law-breakers and offenders; for enemies who sabotage socialist revolution and construction it is a merciless iron fist; but for the masses of the people it is a code of conduct which they voluntarily observe. Through study of the Constitution, the people should steadily raise their political consciousness, heighten their awareness of being masters of the country, enhance their sense of respect for law, correctly exercise the rights of citizens as stipulated in the Constitution, faithfully fulfil their duties as citizens, supervise the enforcement of the Constitution and, as the country's masters, properly administer and build up our socialist state.

State organs at all levels should organize the study of the Constitution well. Whatever their rank, all personnel in the state organs are servants of the people; they should all be examples and take the lead in implementing the Constitution and abiding by it. In handling both contradictions among the people and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves we should act according to the provisions of the Constitution and guard the sanctity of the law. Speaking of eliminating counter-revolutionaries, Chairman Mao said, "**The legal system must be respected. Acting in accordance with the law does not mean being bound hand and foot.**" We should mobilize the people and struggle against the enemy in accordance with the law, with our hands and feet unfettered, so that all class enemies will realize their only way out is to behave themselves and obey the law of the state. At the same time we should protect the rights of the people in accordance with the law. We should see to it that all who support socialism feel that their freedom of person, democratic rights, and legitimate economic interests as prescribed by the Constitution are solidly assured.

We should mobilize the masses of the people to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a handful of class enemies, thus heightening the people's morale and deflating the enemy's arrogance. The revolutionary people will feel proud and happy while class enemies will not dare speak or act in an unruly way. In all factories, villages, schools, army units and offices, we should establish good order characterized by stability and unity, order which is indispensable for revolution, production, other work and study. Then the masses of cadres and people will be able to work in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness and contribute their best efforts to socialism.

Comrade Deputies!

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, has made a report on the work of the government to this Congress. The report reviews and sums up the work done since the Fourth National People's Congress and in particular during the last year or so since the smashing of the "gang of four." It sets forth comprehensively and systematically the tasks, principles, policies and measures for building a modern, powerful socialist country. It has given full expression to the lofty ideals and high aspirations of our people who are resolved to work hard for the prosperity and transformation of China, and has charted the road for our socialist cause. It is a great programmatic document.

The people of our country are most happy because we have our wise leader Chairman Hua at the helm. Our Chairman Hua has all along held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and unswervingly carried out his revolutionary line. He is Chairman Mao's good student, and Chairman Mao chose him as his successor. Chairman Hua was appointed at a time of turmoil, he was entrusted with his mission at a critical and difficult moment. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Hua, the whole Party,

army and people, by their joint exertions, have succeeded in turning the tide and created a bright new situation in just over a year. That we have overcome so grave a crisis and scored so signal a victory in so short a time, at such an extraordinary historical juncture, proves that the line, principles and policies formulated by the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua are entirely correct. With all their hearts the people love Chairman Hua and support the Central Committee which he heads. We all take great pride in the fact that our Party and our country again have their own wise leader.

Our country has tremendous prospects. At the start of the 20th century, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the precursor of the Chinese revolution, led the 1911 Revolution, but it ended in failure. Chairman Mao led us for over half a century and founded and built the new socialist China. Now Chairman Hua carries on the cause and leads us forward on a new Long March. Raising the great banner of Chairman Mao, holding firmly to the line of the 11th Party Congress and mobilizing all positive factors inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad, the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is leading the whole Party, army and people in revolution and construction and modernization, and in fulfilling, step by step, the general task for the new period. In another 23 years when China enters the 21st century, how changed our socialist motherland will be! Let our whole nation work together with one mind, overcome all difficulties, defeat our enemies, transform China into a great modern, powerful socialist country and forge ahead towards the great goal of communism. This is the behest of our great leader Chairman Mao and the great cause for which our beloved Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation worked and fought all their lives, and for which countless revolutionary martyrs made the supreme sacrifice. We shall certainly carry this great cause to triumph.

Personification of the Party's Style of Work

— Reminiscences of Premier Chou

by Lo Jui-ching



Beginning with this issue we are running a series of articles in memory of our late Premier Chou, born 80 years ago, on March 5.

This article was written by Comrade Lo Jui-ching, a former Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, now a leading member of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The Party's style of work essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism. — Ed.

ON January 8, 1976, my wife, Comrade Hao Chih-ping, and I set out from Foochow, capital of Fukien Province, on a trip to Shanghai for medical treatment. When we arrived the next morning we heard over the radio that Premier Chou had passed away. We could not believe our ears! We were stricken with grief.

Some six months earlier when I had returned to Peking to participate in the August 1 celebrations marking the founding of the People's Liberation Army, a responsible comrade of the Headquarters of the General Staff had told me that Premier Chou had asked him whether I had come back to Peking and had also asked him to urge me to take good care of my health. I immediately wrote to the Premier asking when I could see him. A little later Comrade Teng Ying-chao (wife of Premier Chou) phoned to say that Premier Chou had just undergone an operation and was not allowed visitors. The Premier had asked her to enquire how my family and I were and also to pass on what the Premier said: "All hatred should be focussed on that traitor Lin Piao," and "All solicitous regard

comes from Chairman Mao." He also said that I had years ahead of me and that I should get well as soon as possible. In those trying days of adversity these words of Premier Chou, so full of the Party's solicitude, were a great comfort and encouragement.

Premier Chou was always full of proletarian love for comrades and concerned about the well-being of the cadres. There is an incident which I shall never forget. It took place during the Long March. Premier Chou was down with typhoid and had to be carried on a stretcher. Comrade Yang Li-san, who was Head of the General Logistics Department at the time also took turns in carrying Premier Chou. In those days, always on the march, always cold and hungry, cadres and soldiers alike were physically exhausted and it was tremendously taxing to carry a stretcher.

Accompanying Comrade Nieh Jung-chen (now Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) when he went to call on Premier Chou during his illness, I saw with my own eyes how considerate the Premier was and how he felt for the comrades carrying him. I saw him get off the stretcher time and again. When Comrade Yang Li-san died after liberation, the Premier insisted on attending the funeral and served as a pall-bearer. (It was not the practice then to cremate the dead.) This was more than just an act of friendship, it showed his lofty feelings—his respect for a comrade who had performed good service in times of trial and tribulation.

The words which Premier Chou had asked Comrade Teng Ying-chao to convey to me were not, of course, a mere manifestation of concern for me alone. They carried profound

revolutionary meaning; they demonstrated the care and solicitude for all the veteran cadres barred from working for the Party further when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were on the loose.

Many comrades, from veteran cadres to ordinary people, personally experienced this warm, just solicitude of Premier Chou when they were falsely accused and under attack by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." When that veteran revolutionary cadre Comrade Ho Lung (a Vice-Premier of the State Council when he died) was being cruelly persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," Premier Chou aided and sheltered him in many ways. He invited Comrade Ho Lung to move into Chungnanhai in Peking (where the Party Central Committee's offices are) in order to protect him from physical harm at the hands of lawless ruffians. Comrade Ho Lung's immediate relatives were quite overcome with feeling as they spoke to me of this considerate offer. When Comrade Ho Lung was rehabilitated and his ashes interred with honour, Premier Chou left his sickbed to attend and personally delivered the memorial speech. It was expressed in such deep-felt terms that all comrades present were deeply moved. While Comrade Yang Yung (now Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.), persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," was "down at the grass roots," he fell and broke his leg. As soon as Premier Chou heard of this he sent a plane to bring Comrade Yang Yung back to Peking for timely treatment. There are many, many instances of this kind.

Premier Chou was always attentive to the welfare of others but heedless of his own. Comrades who have worked directly with Premier Chou know that he generally worked until very late, and when he wanted to consult someone or discuss something, unless in exceptional cases, he always asked his secretary if the person in question was asleep or not, if he was asleep, then he was not to be disturbed. How considerate our Premier Chou was towards the cadres, right down to the most trivial detail!

Chairman Mao was also like that. When he was alive he too worked through the night. We who knew this habit of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou instructed our secretaries that no matter what time of night it was, if a call came

from Chairman Mao or Premier Chou, we were to be informed. How we yearned to be called frequently by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou! Alas, the joy of waking to their call will never come again!

Many comrades like myself had wished to visit Premier Chou when he was ill. Just before the National Day celebrations in 1975, Comrade Teng Ying-chao phoned to say that arrangements were being made for Premier Chou to receive me. She told my wife to prepare me, while she prepared Premier Chou, so that the emotional impact of our meeting would not be too much for us. However, the doctors did not agree to the visit because Premier Chou was not recuperating well after the operation. The meeting with Premier Chou was postponed. But we lived in eager expectancy to the day when he would be well enough to meet us. On my way to Shanghai I was waiting for this happy event when overnight our fondest hope turned into everlasting regret!

I interrupted my course of treatment and hurried back to Peking in time to pay my last respects and to take part in the memorial activities. We were staying at the Chinghsi Hotel on the day of the cremation. Everyone, residents and hotel staff, almost without exception, stood silently waiting for the hearse bearing Premier Chou's remains to pass by. We old comrades were waiting, too. The old and weak sat by the windows of the hotel. People massed all along the route on both sides of the street stretched far off into the distance and out of sight. As the hearse slowly passed by, the weeping of the people, rising above the blasts of bitterly cold wind, could be heard up on the 12th floor where we were staying. At the memorial meeting, as Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was delivering the memorial speech, the huge hall was filled with sobbing that broke through all efforts to suppress it, making it all the more shattering to hear. The sadness welling up from the bottom of the hearts of the cadres and the masses was so intense and genuine. . . . In the depths of my grief I recalled and cherished all the more the many lofty qualities of our late Premier.

Here, briefly, I would like to recall in particular how vividly the Premier personified the Party's style of work, recall his exemplary

deeds in forging close links with the masses, integrating theory with practice and practising criticism and self-criticism.

His Close Links With the Masses

The deepest and most heart-warming impression the Premier left on all who came in contact with him was his fine style of forging close links with the masses.

I remember telling Comrade Teng Ying-chao when she was enquiring after my health on behalf of Premier Chou that an 80-year-old doctor of traditional Chinese medicine in Foochow was treating my legs. This doctor was a very experienced osteologist. He had successfully treated many cases and had done much for the labouring people in the course of his practice. However, he was not given the recognition due him and had no one to hand on his skills to. When Premier Chou heard of this from Comrade Teng Ying-chao, he immediately instructed that this doctor's invaluable experience should be taken down and passed on to the younger generation for the benefit of the people. When I went to Foochow again I told a leading comrade of the Fukien provincial Party committee what the Premier had said, and he saw to it that this was done.

The Premier also paid much attention to the urban traffic problem because it had a bearing on the work and the lives of the people. One winter Premier Chou heard that Peking had a

Premier Chou among peasants, 1958.



Premier Chou down in a pit of the Kailan Coal Mine, 1958.

bit of a traffic problem which was particularly acute during rush hours. So one evening during the rush hours Premier Chou rode buses and trolleys around half of Peking to learn about the situation at first hand. Sometimes, when there was a conference or he had work to do at the Peking Hotel, the Premier would stand in front of the meeting hall or the Peking Hotel and direct traffic himself.

Once when Premier Chou went to the Great Hall of the People to attend a meeting, he found that the traffic was not flowing smoothly. He turned and asked a comrade where was "Big Blackie" of the traffic police department. This "Big Blackie" was the nickname of Comrade Yu Yu-fu, once leader of a Peking traffic police detail who had a way of handling traffic. When the Premier was told that this comrade had left

the job a long time before, Premier Chou instructed that he be transferred back and put on the job right away. Just an ordinary cadre whom he had not seen for years, yet Premier Chou remembered him so clearly! Comrades may put this down to Premier Chou's extraordinary memory. This is only part of the explanation. It was mainly because he had the masses' well-being constantly in mind, and had trained his memory so that he could serve the people well in his handling of the multifarious important affairs of state. If this were not so, can anyone imagine how he could get to know comrades so well and place them in the proper positions?

Wherever he went Premier Chou always did his best to go deep among the people. He did not like having a lot of security personnel about him and disliked even more being accompanied by a retinue, because he felt it interfered with his getting close to the people. Once when he left Peking a security man, out of concern for his safety, suggested that he grow a beard. Premier Chou wouldn't hear of it. "How could you try to separate me from the masses?" he asked. Once at an art exhibition, he stopped before a painting of Chairman Mao and Comrade Chu Teh strolling in a park. There was no one else in the picture. The back-

ground, Premier Chou pointed out, would never do. "Has everyone else been driven out of the park?" he asked. A thought-provoking question indeed.

This instance reminds me of something about Chairman Mao when I was working in the Ministry of Public Security. Once, from considerations of safety, I sent a car ahead of Chairman Mao's car to clear the way. When the Chairman heard of this, he rebuked me. "Isn't this separating me from the masses?" he asked. Chairman Mao criticized me for this many times during the course of that one year. He put it quite sharply so as to make sure I did not forget. He was right and I thoroughly deserved to be criticized. The fine style of work of our Party was gradually built up through the examples set by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other Party and state leaders.

Forging close ties with the masses is not merely style of work. It is intimately bound up with the question of political line. I often ponder: Why was it possible for Premier Chou to hold constantly to the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao during the Great Cultural Revolution? What enabled him to see through and counter Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" intrigues and perverse activities? Premier Chou



**Premier Chou among
scientists, 1956.**

was a long-tested great proletarian revolutionary, so naturally one can find all sorts of reasons. But I always feel, a most important reason lay in his close, enduring bonds with the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. This enabled him, to accurately reflect the people's sentiments, summarize their opinions and come up with a scientific analysis and evaluation of the objective situation.

The whole country today is engaged in criticizing the "dictatorship of a sinister line,"* a slander concocted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Actually, Premier Chou was fighting their absurd claim years ago. For instance, when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" called for "smashing the public security organs, the procuratorial organs and the people's courts" on this pretext, Premier Chou opposed it from the beginning. Chairman Mao once said: Some say that the bourgeoisie exercises dictatorship over the proletariat in Peking Municipality. Then how is it we have been able to remain in Peking for so long? Some say that the people's public security organs in Chekiang have gone corrupt. I've been to Hangchow [capital of Chekiang Province] many times and nothing has happened. How do you explain that?

The Premier ignored the opposition of those with ulterior motives and people whose minds had been badly affected by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and went on repeating these words of Chairman Mao's. He acted as always, in accordance with Chairman Mao's thought. The Premier in 1971 pointed out at a national public security conference: "Chairman Mao's revolutionary line which leads the whole nation has always been dominant in our public security work. Otherwise, how could we be where we are today? Some claim that a sinister revisionist line dominated. This is inconceivable! This is equivalent to negating Chairman Mao's

* The so-called "dictatorship of a sinister line" refers to a slander levelled by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" which completely negated the achievements in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution. They claimed that during these years the sinister revisionist line had exercised dictatorship over the proletariat on the literary and art as well as other fronts.

March 17, 1978



Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Ho Lung receiving athletes, 1959.

leadership and his revolutionary line." Premier Chou's words reflected the consensus of the members of the public security organs as well as the real situation in regard to their work.

During the Cultural Revolution Premier Chou protected many veteran revolutionary cadres according to Chairman Mao's line and policies on cadres. It must be pointed out, this was not only because of the revolutionary bonds established with veteran cadres over the long years of struggle. It was also a reflection of the actual sentiments of the masses. On the question of cadres Premier Chou held to the scientific evaluation that the red line, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, had held sway over the 17 years immediately after liberation.

Theory and Practice Integrated

In regard to the integration of theory with practice, Premier Chou's spirit of matching word to deed was a salient aspect of his style of work, and one of the qualities we need most to learn.

When he first came to recognize the correctness of Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman

Mao's line at a very early period, Premier Chou genuinely and sincerely supported Chairman Mao, served as his willing assistant and devoted his whole life to implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At the Tsunyi Meeting called in 1935 during the Long March, Premier Chou played an extremely important role, and after that, he firmly sided with Chairman Mao in all the inner-Party two-line struggles. At that meeting, which marked a turning point in our Party's history, the domination of Wang Ming's line was ended and Chairman Mao's leading position established throughout the Party. Later, at the Huili Meeting, also during the Long March, Premier Chou resolutely opposed Lin Piao's attempt to seize military power from Chairman Mao and place Peng Teh-huai in command. In the struggle against the splittist line of Chang Kuo-tao, the Premier stood four-square behind Chairman Mao, which was why Chang Kuo-tao made Chairman Mao and Premier Chou his main targets of attack.

After the founding of New China, in the successive struggles against Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," Premier Chou remained a staunch defender of Chairman Mao's line. This explains why Chairman Mao had such supreme confidence in Premier Chou and placed so much trust in him. It also explains why anti-Party chieftains almost to a man fabricated lies and hatched all sorts of plots against Premier Chou.

In the early post-liberation days I heard Chairman Mao say: Comrade En-lai has all the qualifications for being our Premier. Kao Kang, however, was vehemently against this. In 1964 while we were on our way somewhere I heard Chairman Mao say that Kao Kang had come to him fulminating against Premier Chou, protesting that Chou En-lai should not be Premier, but that "someone else" should be. This "someone else" was none other than Kao Kang himself. The Chairman rebutted him: "Can't do that! I think he [Premier Chou] is doing a fine job!" Liu Shao-chi was also against the Premier, and he spread all sorts of base rumours against him. And how Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in particular hated Premier Chou! Enemy opposition was proof what a most close comrade-in-arms Chairman Mao had in Premier Chou,

and that the Premier was the Chairman's best aide in applying Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Chinese revolution on all fronts.

Criticism and Self-Criticism

Premier Chou is also our model in practising criticism and self-criticism. He was broad-minded towards others while setting strict demands on himself. His patience and gentleness in helping comrades correct their shortcomings and mistakes was effectively persuasive, leaving them utterly convinced. And he never went about slapping labels on people. He had done so much for the revolution yet he asked for no recognition but always stressed his shortcomings and errors, using them to alert the whole Party. "Speak about your errors to others. It will get comrades' supervision and help, and will help others to draw a lesson," he said, and he practised. During the Yen-an rectification movement in 1942, Premier Chou made a thorough self-criticism, which won increased confidence from the whole Party. Before non-Party democratic personages, too, he was strict in examining himself. He was open and aboveboard, with nothing to hide from anyone.

Although he was one of the most prestigious, most influential and most experienced leaders of our Party and state, he never permitted the part he played to become detached from the role played by the Party and the masses. He always maintained that he was a student of Chairman Mao's, always and everywhere made conscious efforts to help people understand Chairman Mao's decisive role and his leading position.

In September 1961 when the Premier was visiting the Memorial Hall of the Nanchang Uprising* in Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Prov-

* When Chiang Kai-shek unleashed his counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in 1927, it marked the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) led by the Communist Party of China. In order to overcome this setback, the Party on August 1, 1927, organized an armed uprising in Nanchang, Kiangsi Province, which was led by Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Yeh Ting, Ho Lung and others. Subsequently, August 1 was designated the Chinese People's Liberation Army Day.

ince, he stressed time and again to highlight Chairman Mao, publicize the Autumn Harvest Uprising* led by Chairman Mao, emphasize the revolutionary path of the Chingkang Mountains blazed by Chairman Mao. Of his own role in the Nanchang Uprising, our Premier Chou said not a word. He told workers at the memorial hall to make known the role played by Comrades Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting, Liu Po-cheng and Chen Yi.

In 1955 when Premier Chou was in Kwangchow after taking part in the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in Indonesia, he visited the site of the National Institute of the Peasant Movement (a school founded by Chairman Mao in 1926 to train backbone elements for the peasant movement). Noticing that his photo was larger than those of other comrades who had taught at the institute, he asked Comrade Teng Ying-chao to have the staff replace it with one no larger than the others. Said the Premier: "Those comrades have laid down their lives for the revolution. My photo should not be larger than theirs."

He would not permit any place being turned into a memorial to him. He categorically refused permission to turn any place he had once lived in into an exhibition hall. Once when I was looking over the terrain in Kiangsu Province I visited Huaian where Premier Chou was born. Leading comrades of the county Party committee there told me that they had requested the Premier's permission many times to turn his former home into a memorial hall. The Premier turned down all their requests and told them to pull the house down so as to build a factory, or turn it over to the local people to live in. He insisted that this be carried out and a report sent to him to this effect.

*In September 1927, Chairman Mao led the peasants and workers to launch an armed uprising in eastern Hunan Province and western Kiangsi Province, and established a workers' and peasants' revolutionary army. In October that year Chairman Mao led the army into the Chingkang Mountains in Kiangsi and established the first rural revolutionary base area. Because the uprising took place at the time of the autumn harvest, it has come to be known as the Autumn Harvest Uprising.

Did this modest attitude affect the heroic name of Premier Chou at all? Not one bit! Did uncompromising self-examination lessen his great image at all? Not a whit! On the contrary, it was this very spirit which won the sincere respect of the cadres and the masses for our Premier Chou.

During the Great Cultural Revolution the whole Party, the whole army and all the people learnt even more to admire the proletarian revolutionary qualities of Premier Chou. When some of us old comrades talk among ourselves, we cannot imagine what the Great Cultural Revolution would have been like without our great leader Chairman Mao, nor can we imagine it without our respected and beloved Premier Chou. Because the Premier unflinchingly upheld the style of work of the Party fostered by Chairman Mao, instructed and influenced others by his word and deed, and strove to implement Chairman Mao's strategic plan, the damage caused by the interference of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" was minimized. He played a particularly outstanding role in bringing about victory in the Great Cultural Revolution.

Premier Chou contributed enormously to the Chinese revolution. His memorial rests in the hearts of the people and his deeds will remain in the annals of history. It is the great Chinese revolution which cast such a great proletarian revolutionary as Premier Chou. His extraordinary experience in revolutionary struggle endowed him with rare wisdom in applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the realities of every front of the Chinese revolution. The lofty ideal of proletarian liberation imbued him with a lofty mind. A thoroughgoing materialist world outlook gave him his frank and forthright stand. Boundless loyalty to the people fostered his indefatigable spirit of dedicated service in their interest.

Our late Premier Chou's life personified our Party's style of work, a model we must always learn from.

(A slightly abridged translation.)

A Poem by the Late Premier Chou

大江歌四聲
浪東還密跡
科濟世六躬
面壁十年圓
破壁維洲端
海島英雄
名詩乃吾十九歲東
渡時所作
民國二十三年三月

THIS is a poem written by Comrade Chou En-lai in his youth before he went to Japan in September 1917 to further his studies. In March 1919, he returned to China and dedicated himself to the revolution against imperialism and feudalism. On the eve of his departure from Japan, he wrote this poem in his own handwriting and gave it to his friend Chang Hung-kao who, after keeping it for more than half a century, has presented it to the Museum of Chinese History.

Following is a free translation of the poem:

Singing in a Heroic Strain

September 1917

*Singing in a heroic strain,
I turn away and sail east
To delve into the sciences
To save the country now in peril.
For ten years I'll endeavour
To find ways to clear up the mess;
If I fail in my attempt,
I'd die a glorious death.*

Our Deputies

THE First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was attended by 3,497 Deputies elected from the 30 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the People's Liberation Army.

This Congress was marked by broad representation as shown in the following breakdown: workers—26.7 per cent, peasants—20.6 per cent, P.L.A. men—14.4 per cent, revolutionary cadres—13.4 per cent, intellectuals—15 per cent, patriotic personages—8.9 per cent, and returned overseas Chinese—1 per cent.

Women made up 21.2 per cent of the total, and middle-aged and young Deputies 62.9 per cent. All the 54 nationalities in China were represented at the Congress and their Deputies accounted for 10.9 per cent.

Most of the Deputies have distinguished themselves in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, as reflected in the following stories.

Lu Kuo-liang — A Fitter

When in 1976 the "gang of four" and its cohorts in Shanghai framed charges against Com-



Lu Kuo-liang (centre) speaking at a group meeting.

March 17, 1978

rade Teng Hsiao-ping and other leading members in the central authorities and forced the workers to "criticize" some of their remarks, Lu Kuo-liang, a young fitter from the Shanghai Chemical Machinery Factory, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the gang by producing a reference material entitled "What Teng Hsiao-ping and Other Comrades Have Said Is Correct."

The material was compiled in such a way that the statements of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and other comrades are compared one by one with the relevant quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is divided into nine parts, with one banner headline for each part, such as: "Are Revolution and Production Diametrically Opposed to Each Other?" "Is It Necessary for Scientific Research to Precede Production and Construction?" and "Should We Be Concerned About the Well-Being of the Masses?"

In the foreword, Lu Kuo-liang wrote: "Marx's and Lenin's teachings have been discarded in the present-day Soviet Union, but this is not the case in China today. So when we consult works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in order to arm ourselves in struggles, we find that the remarks of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and other comrades conform with Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of these remarks is tantamount to going against Marxism."

In these words, he scathingly revealed the true features of the "gang of four" who shouted vague revolutionary slogans and actually opposed going in for production and scientific research and raising the people's living standards.

The gang's followers in Shanghai flew into a rage when they read this material. In total disregard of socialist legality, they clandestinely

took Lu Kuo-liang into custody and persecuted him. It was not until the downfall of the gang that he regained his freedom. Since his return to work, he has overfulfilled his production quotas every month so as to make up for the lost time.

When Lu Kuo-liang was elected a Deputy to the National People's Congress, everyone was highly satisfied, saying, "We are very happy to have a person like him represent us!"

Jan Ta-ku — A 105-Year-Old Peasant

Jan Ta-ku from the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, is the oldest Deputy to the Congress.



Jan Ta-ku receives warm greetings from fellow Deputies.

She was born in 1873 and witnessed many historical changes. For several decades before liberation, she had her fill of suffering. At 15, she, like her parents, began working as a farm labourer for the landlords. Her husband was killed by the Japanese invaders and her three children died from illness or starvation. The year her native village was liberated, she was suffering from several diseases and was nearly blind. It was the P.L.A. medical workers who restored her health and cured her eye trouble.

As she was cited a labour model of Kwangsi in the early 50s, she has come to be known as a "model of long standing." Over the last two decades and more, she has lived up to this title

of honour and devoted all her energy to collective production. As a civil servant holding several posts, she has to attend meetings in the regional capital, county seat and other places, but last year this centenarian still managed to work for almost 300 days in the production brigade she belongs to.

Despite repeated advice from cadres and commune members, Jan Ta-ku refuses to sit back, but persists in doing whatever work she can. With rich experience behind her, she acts as an "adviser" to the production brigade, helping its cadres work out methods to improve farm work and increase production. Showing the utmost concern for others, she always spends holidays looking after the family members of martyrs who died in the revolutionary wars. Besides, she pays constant attention to educating the young people to work hard for the state and the collective.

When asked about the secret of keeping fit and living a long life, she smiled and said: "Secret? Yes. It lies in doing manual labour every day. You need some 'tonics' too, but they are mainly sunshine, wind and rain."

Lin Tzu-chuan — A P.L.A. Cadre

Lin Tzu-chuan is deputy political instructor of a P.L.A. battalion. Since he enlisted in the army 14 years ago, he has always taken as his own the maxim of the heroic fighter Lei Feng* — To live is to make others live still better. Because of his selfless and wholehearted devotion to the people, he has been cited or presented with awards on 23 occasions.

Some people recently did a little arithmetic and found that Lin Tzu-chuan had completed 16 years of work in 14 because there were more

*Lei Feng was an outstanding young fighter of the P.L.A. who died on duty in 1962. The following year, Chairman Mao wrote the inscription "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng," calling on the nation to emulate him. In 1977, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng issued a similar call with this inscription: "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao."

than 700 Sundays in the 14 years which he had devoted to work. This, of course, did not include the numerous occasions when he had worked through the night.

When he took his first home leave eight years after joining the army, he surprised everyone by his decision to use this opportunity to visit his men's families on his way home and acquaint himself with their present situation. Before departure, he drew a map showing his itinerary for visiting some 30 fighters' families in 19 out of his 20 days of holiday. It was actually a trip covering over 1,000 kilometres. Wherever he went, he told every fighter's parents and relatives about that fighter's work, study and life and also helped them with their household chores. He only stayed overnight at home.

The above-mentioned map is now on display in the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution in Peking as a fine example showing the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and the P.L.A. officers' loving care for their men.

Lin Tzu-chuan has always given solicitous attention to his men and shared weal and woe with them. When he travelled by train, he was often seen helping the crew sweep the aisles, giving fellow passengers a helping hand or treating the sick with the medicine he carried on him in a small first-aid kit. When there were snowstorms, he would spend his off-hours carrying coal and water to elderly people living in the vicinity of the barracks and doing housework for them as well.

During those days when the "gang of four" ran wild, he once made an entry in his diary which reads: "It won't do just shouting revolutionary slogans. I must put the lofty idea of serving the people into practice through whatever work I do and whatever action I take throughout my life."

Yuan Chia-chin — An Ophthalmologist

Professor Yuan Chia-chin was formerly an eye-doctor at a hospital affiliated to the Tientsin

Medical College. In 1969, in response to Chairman Mao's call "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," she went to Shatang, an out-of-the-way rural people's commune in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region to begin work and life in a new environment far away from the big city of Tientsin.

In a little over eight years, she successfully treated many patients' eye diseases thanks to her superb skills and sense of responsibility. This was achieved despite a shortage of medical supplies and equipment, poor conditions for medical treatment and the lack of adequate nursing services in the locality. When the news spread, many patients from neighbouring provinces and counties came over to consult Dr. Yuan. Among them was an old man of Hui nationality whose eyesight was restored after an operation. Deeply moved, he said: "It was with the help of my family members that I managed to come here for treatment. Now I can walk back home and must let all the villagers know about the good doctor sent by Chairman Mao who brought back my eyesight."

Professor Yuan has also made contributions in scientific research. When she was still in Tientsin, she joined efforts with other comrades in writing *Ophthalmology in Industry* in 1954, the first of its kind in China. From 1956 to 1966, she wrote *Ocular Slit-Lamp Microscope Diagnostics* in co-operation with other comrades. The latter runs to 320,000 words with over 1,000 illustrations. Basing herself on material accumulated in clinical practice and the study of domestic and foreign medical literature, she has in recent years revised the book many times and added several chapters to it including one on laser therapy and another on fluoroscopy. This book will soon be published.

When she was elected a Deputy to the recent National People's Congress, she said with elation: "I'm determined to redouble my efforts and make greater contributions to the realization of the socialist modernization of the

motherland at an early date!" She is now busy writing a new book on ophthalmology.

Tsering Lam — An Emancipated Tibetan Serf

Born in a slave family, Tsering Lam is secretary of the Party branch of the Chiehpa People's Commune in Tibet's Naitung County. This place on the north bank of the Yalutsangpo River is



Tsering Lam with commune members.

3,700 metres above sea level, with a short frost-free period and poor soil. It used to be very poor; but after six years of hard work by the commune members under the direction of Tsering Lam in transforming nature, it has changed beyond recognition. Today it is known throughout Tibet and elsewhere as a thriving commune where well laid-out fields are criss-crossed by irrigation channels and tree-lined roads, machines are in use and every family has bank savings and surplus grain.

As a result of earnestly implementing the call issued by the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture held in 1975, Chiehpa Commune gathered in 76.7 per cent more grain in 1976. The following year saw a further increase of 12 per cent despite frost, insect pests, drought and other natural adversities. The commune's present per-hectare grain yield is seven tons and there is a marked improvement in the commune members' living standards.

What accounts for such a tremendous change?

The commune members' answer is: "This is because we have a good cadre in Tsering Lam. It is the result of her leading us in learning from Tachai." Tsering Lam, however, attributed the commune's good harvests to the leadership of the Party and the strength of the masses, for "an antler can never reach the azure sky no matter how long it grows and geese can fly beyond the grasslands only when they flock together," as a popular Tibetan saying goes.

As far back as in the 60s, Tsering Lam was the first to show a keen interest in agricultural co-operation. In 1961 she herself took the lead in forming a mutual-aid team made up of her own family and 11 poor families in the area. Through steady improvement since then, it has developed into today's Chiehpa Commune. The Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet at the time commended her as an "example for Tibet's million emancipated serfs." When people's communes began to be established in Tibet during the Cultural Revolution, she again stood firmly in the van of the movement.

Li Mao-sheng — A County Party Committee Secretary

Now secretary of the Party committee of Suihsien County, Honan Province, Li Mao-sheng is an ex-serviceman, who had performed meritorious deeds in the War of Liberation in the 40s. He was seriously wounded in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea and had to have both legs amputated below the knee.

While convalescing at a sanatorium for disabled army men, he time and again asked the Party organization for work, saying that he was unwilling to stay on for long. To get ready for whatever work he might be assigned, he practised walking with his artificial limbs despite throbbing pain. Before long the Party organization complied with his request and sent him back to his native village where he did whatever work he could while recuperating.

At that time, the movement to promote mutual aid and co-operation in agricultural production was in full swing throughout the countryside. Regarding this as a new move towards



Li Mao-sheng doing physical labour.

effecting social changes, he went about on crutches to call on the peasants and chat with them, bringing home to them the advantages of collectivization and the Party's relevant policies. Moreover, he took the lead in organizing mutual-aid teams and later agricultural producers' co-operatives, serving first as team leader, then co-op chairman and later as vice-chairman of the people's commune which was

set up in 1958. He has thus become known throughout Suihsien County as a pace-setter for agricultural collectivization.

To help boost production, he handed over the pension the state allocated to him as a disabled veteran to the production brigade he belongs to. He also displayed extraordinary tenacity and determination in learning to ride a horse and a bicycle, so as to be able to move about more easily.

Li Mao-sheng became secretary of the county Party committee in 1975. This is indeed a heavy task for a person like him with physical infirmities, but within only two years after taking up the new post, he had visited all the 24 communes and most of their production brigades in the county, making investigations, giving on-the-spot guidance and working in the fields alongside the peasants. Some people said to him jokingly: "Old Li, you are killing yourself with hard work!" Li Mao-sheng replied smilingly: "Look! In the old society the landlords did not succeed in taking my life, neither did the Kuomintang reactionaries. On the Korean battlefield, the U.S. imperialists only managed to bite off the lower halves of my legs. Don't think I'm good for nothing. I will follow Chairman Hua in speeding along the bright road leading to the realization of the four modernizations by the year 2000! Believe it or not, let's have a race and see!"

Panchen Erdeni Interviewed

IN a recent interview with correspondents in Peking, Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng described his impressions on attending the session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (the organization of the revolutionary united front) and being present as an observer at the session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

Panchen Erdeni said: "I was very happy to see the wise leader Chairman Hua and other leaders of the Party Central Committee and to

meet with representatives from all over the country at the Great Hall of the People. The two meetings are a striking manifestation of the great unity of the people of all nationalities and reflect the consolidation and development of the revolutionary united front."

He continued: "I never thought that someone like me, standing guilty before the people, could attend such solemn meetings. This shows the thoughtful care of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee. I am de-

terminated to follow the Communist Party steadfastly from now on. I am only 40 years old and in good health, so that I can work for the motherland and for the people for several decades, doing my share."

Reviewing the lessons he had drawn from his mistakes, Panchen said: "In the beginning, I was patriotic. The day after the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, I sent a message of greetings to Chairman Mao, to hail the birth of New China and express my loyalty to the people's motherland — the People's Republic of China. The great leader Chairman Mao and beloved Premier Chou En-lai received me and showed me the utmost concern.

"Yet, at the critical moment in the class struggle when the Dalai clique of traitors fled the country in 1959, reactionary elements among the serf-owners and the three kinds of estate-holders (the feudal government, the monasteries and the nobles) called on me and heaped all sorts of slanders on the Communist Party. Since my original reactionary class stand had still not changed, I got the idea of committing treason and running away.

"When this was discovered, the Party and Chairman Mao did not punish me. Instead, they tried their best to save me. In repeated talks with me, our beloved Premier Chou En-lai patiently admonished me. I, however, turned a deaf ear to his words. Finally, in 1964, the Party and the people dismissed me from my post as Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. But I retained my post as Standing Committee Member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, with all my property and my full pay of over 500 yuan, or over 1,000 yuan a month including allowances for my parents and relatives. I have been treated with lenience. The exposure and criticism of me conducted by the government and the people were entirely justified, in the interests of the country, in conformity with the will of the Tibetan people and designed to save me."

Panchen paid high tribute to Chairman Hua for smashing the "gang of four." This victory,

he said, saved the Party, the country and the people of all nationalities — and it saved me as well. "Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee have agreed to let me work again for the country. Now, my house has been re-done to look its best, and I am enjoying very good treatment politically and economically."

In conclusion, Panchen declared: "I'll devote my life to enhancing the great unity of all nationalities in China, building a new socialist Tibet and transforming our motherland into a great socialist country."

At a group meeting of the C.P.P.C.C., session, Panchen recounted the process of confessing his guilt. He said: "In the past, I considered myself the representative of the interests of the Tibetan people. In essence, a nationality is divided into classes. As far as Tibetan nationality is concerned, the three kinds of estate-holders and the vast numbers of serfs are two antagonistic classes. Who represents the interests of a nationality is determined by whether he represents the interests of the broad masses of the people. As for the Tibetan serf system, I had agreed to its reform. Yet when the time came to really reform it and a million serfs stood up to overthrow the serf system, I immediately took a stand on the opposite side. This was due to my class nature and the influence of some reactionary estate-holders around me. Standing on the side of the three kinds of estate-holders, I regarded the aspirations and interests of a small number of people as those of the whole nationality. My stand not only did not represent the interests of the vast numbers of the Tibetan people who account for more than 90 per cent of the total population in Tibet, but in fact went against them, and I became an obstacle to the progress of the Tibetan people."

The development of Tibet is another reason for confessing his guilt. He said that in the past few years, he had shown concern about all the development of the construction in Tibet. The news about Tibet interested him. After the democratic reform in Tibet, the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood made him realize that taking the socialist road is correct.

The Middle East: Soviet Vexation

AFTER Egyptian President Anwar Sadat took the peace initiative last November, the Soviet Union galvanized its propaganda machine to set up a barrage against Egypt. The Kremlin has directly commanded actions to split the Arab ranks and disrupt Arab unity. Brezhnev personally came out with a statement on February 21, saying, "The imperialists strive to split the national-liberation movement, to find in its ranks conciliators and capitulators." Directing the spearhead of his attack at Egypt, he slandered the Egyptian leadership as having "embarked on the road of separate deals with Israel."

One would like to ask: When a leader of a sovereign Arab state took the initiative, approved by his people as a due move, to preserve national independence and state sovereignty and throw off foreign interference, and in the negotiations with Israel, stuck to the just stand calling for recovery of the lost Arab territories and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their national rights and for an all-round solution, how could he have offended the Soviet Union which has nothing to do with the Middle East?

To this, the Egyptian paper *Al Akhbar* gave the correct answer in an editorial stating, "Brezhnev's anger and criticism are understandable, for Egypt has rejected its patronage and has freed her will from Soviet domination and ambitions. It is quite natural that the Soviet leaders should vent their wrath on Egypt and her policy."

This is exactly how things stand. Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia have one after another seen through Soviet ambitions and freed their will from their influence. Especially Egypt, having suffered with surfeit at the hands of social-imperialism, has taken four steps against hegemonism during the past six years. In 1972, it expelled the Soviet military personnel as the

first step to get rid of Soviet shackles. The next year, going against the Soviet will, it launched the October War and won an important victory over the Israeli aggressors. In 1976, it abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet treaty of "friendship and co-operation" and denied the Soviet Union the right to use its port facilities. Last year, President Sadat held direct negotiations with Israel in an effort to make a comparatively thorough break with Soviet control over the Middle East peace talks. In a certain sense, this also weakened U.S. manipulation over the talks. Sadat's move has aroused anxiety on the part of both superpowers, especially the Soviet Union.

The Middle East is strategically important for Soviet contention with the other superpower for world domination. Before 1972 the Soviet Union kept a firm grip on the Arab countries while conniving at Israel in its aggression, thus exerting an incalculable influence on war and peace in the Middle East. But its favourable position did not last long. With the expulsion of nearly 20,000 Soviet military personnel from Egypt, it lost its control over the Middle East situation. And this has become a source of vexation for makers of the policy of aggression in the Kremlin. Furthermore, Moscow's worries were increased after the October Middle East War, when the United States assumed the role of special mediator between Arab states and Israel, basically excluding the Soviet Union from the Middle East peace talks. Last October 1, the Soviet Union and the United States made a bargain. They issued a joint declaration on the Middle East, proposing the reconvening of the Geneva conference before the end of the year, with both of them as co-chairmen. The Soviet Union imagined that this could bring to an end the days when it was barred from interfering in the Middle East peace talks. It never occurred to Soviet rulers that all their

schemes would come to naught as a result of President Sadat's move of holding direct negotiations with Israel.

Brezhnev complained that because of the Egyptian leader's action, "the cause of the Middle East settlement has been pushed back." He called for "return of the cause of the settlement to the channel of the Geneva conference," saying this would "make a big contribution to the cause of improving the international climate."

Pravda commented: "The situation is far more complicated than that followed publication of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on the Near East when real hope for a package solution within the framework of the Geneva conference has emerged."

An article by the editorial board of the weekly *New Times* said that it is "not by a separate deal but through the Geneva conference" that "a just and lasting peace in the Near East" can be reached.

In a word, what Moscow wants is to rush to Geneva. The Soviet leadership and their publications really have a "Geneva conference craze." Naturally, what they are enamoured with is not a Middle East settlement but a scheme to subordinate Middle East developments to the requirements of their contention with the United States and to go on meddling with a free hand. That is to say, quoting *Pravda*, "no one can . . . efface it [the Soviet Union's role] in this [Middle East] as in any other area of the world."

That is what vexes the Soviet Union. How to reply to Soviet fault-finding and vexation? The Egyptian paper *Al Akhbar* put it well when it said: "There are sovereign nations and states which are exclusively entitled to adopt their own policy, decide their own fate and make their own history, in spite of the will of Moscow rulers." "Further lessons on the meaning of independence and sovereignty will be taught to the Kremlin leaders by nations in the area."

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Motive Behind the Draft "Soviet-Japan Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation Treaty"

THE Kremlin unilaterally and suddenly made public in *Izvestia* on February 23 the draft of the "Soviet-Japan good neighbourliness and co-operation treaty" without consulting Japan. Such an act of power politics is indeed a rare occurrence in the annals of international relations. It reflects Soviet impetuosity in its contention with the United States over Japan.

The draft treaty was aimed in the first place at legalizing Soviet occupation of Japan's northern territories. The text makes no mention of the pending territorial issue between the two countries in a vain attempt to fix by treaty the proposition that "the territorial issue has been solved" between the Soviet Union and Japan

— a proposition which the Kremlin has been obstinately pursuing for many years. The day before the draft was made public, Soviet Ambassador to Japan Polyansky told Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda that the "Soviet-Japan good neighbourliness and co-operation treaty" is "aimed at legalizing the results already achieved" [between the Soviet Union and Japan]. With regard to the territorial issue, he once again said that "it has already been solved."

Proceeding from its policy of aggression and expansion as well as its strategic need in its contention with the United States for hegemony, the Soviet Union has kept a firm grip on Japan's northern territories. Strategically the four north-

ern islands are very important. In World War II, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, a U.S. naval and air base in the Pacific, from its stronghold in the Kitokappu Gulf of Etorofu Island. Today, the Soviet Union has not only turned the Kitokappu Gulf into a naval base but has established military bases and installations on all the four islands for providing protection to vessels of the Soviet Pacific Fleet passing through the Soya and Tsugaru Straits into the Pacific. According to the Japanese press, in the Sea of Okhotsk the Kremlin has set up military bases for submarine-launched long-range guided missiles with multiple warheads. Japan's four northern islands and all of the Chishima Islands form a natural screen for this sea area. The first purpose of the Kremlin in trying to "legalize the results already achieved" by means of the "good neighbourliness and co-operation treaty" is to make Japan recognize legally the status quo of the Soviet occupation of the northern territories.

However, in trying to impose such a treaty on Japan, the Soviet Union does not limit itself to occupying these Japanese islands. The contents of the draft treaty reveal that Moscow contemplates bringing the whole of Japan under its control. Suffice it to compare a few articles of the "Japanese-U.S. treaty of mutual co-operation and security" (1960) and the Soviet-proposed treaty:

Article 6 of the Japanese-U.S. "security" treaty stipulates that "the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan"; while article 3 of the Soviet-proposed treaty states that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan undertake not to allow the use of their territories for any actions, which could prejudice the security of the other party." These two articles are obviously conflicting. If the Soviet-proposed treaty is signed it will undermine the Japanese-U.S. "security" treaty.

Another instance is that the Japanese-U.S. "security" treaty provides for the forming of a military alliance between the two countries. Article 4 stipulates that "the parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this treaty and, at the request of either party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East

is threatened," while article 5 of the Soviet-proposed treaty says that "should a situation arise, which in the opinion of both sides is dangerous for maintaining peace, or if peace is violated, the two sides shall immediately contact each other with the aim of exchanging views on the question of what can be done for improving the situation." It is not difficult to see that in proposing such a treaty the Soviet Union aims not only at weakening the Japanese-U.S. "security" treaty but at disintegrating or replacing the Japanese-U.S. military alliance by a Soviet-Japanese military alliance so as to put Japan in the orbit of Soviet strategy for world domination.

Article 12 of the draft "Soviet-Japan good neighbourliness and co-operation treaty" provides that the Soviet Union and Japan "do not claim and do not recognize anyone's claims to any special rights or advantages in world affairs, including claims to domination in Asia and in the area of the Far East." It is quite clear that in the world today only the United States is in a position to contend with the Soviet Union for "special rights" and "advantages" in world affairs including claims to so-called "domination" in Asia and in the area of the Far East. While only revealing its dishonesty in disowning its "claims," the Soviet Union is in reality refusing to recognize the "special rights" and "advantages" of and "domination" by the United States. Moscow is trying to utilize this stipulation to edge out and replace U.S. influence. The Japanese press noted that this is intended to drag Japan into the Soviet-proposed "Asian security system."

The Soviet scheme to perpetuate the occupation of Japan's four northern islands and to replace the Japan-U.S. military alliance has torn to shreds the veil of "good neighbourliness and co-operation." Having obtained certain hard-won improvements in its relations with the United States, Japan will not allow itself to be ordered about by the Soviet Union through the "Soviet-Japan good neighbourliness and co-operation treaty." The fact that the Soviet-proposed draft treaty met with strong opposition from both the ruling and opposition parties as soon as it was trotted out reflects the true feelings of the Japanese people.

ROUND THE WORLD

D.P.R.K.

U.S.-Pak Joint Military Exercise Condemned

A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement on March 6 condemning U.S. imperialism and the south Korean Pak Jung Hi clique for their joint military exercise in south Korea beginning the next day.

Among the more than 100,000 personnel taking part in the exercise dubbed "Team Spirit for 1978" are U.S. troops stationed in south Korea, U.S. army, naval, air and marine units from the U.S. mainland and the Pacific area and south Korean puppet troops. The U.S. main forces are equipped with missiles, jet fighters, heavy tanks and other weapons. The exercise scheduled for 11 days is the largest undertaken by the United States and the Pak clique since the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement in 1953.

The exercise is taking place under the signboard of U.S. "withdrawal of troops" from south Korea. Under the pressure of the Korean people's valiant struggle and the people of the United States and other countries of the world, the U.S. Government last year professed willingness to withdraw its land units and nuclear weapons from south Korea within four or five years, while maintaining its naval and air forces in south Korea. At the same time, the U.S. Government promised to

provide the Pak clique with 1,900 million dollars' worth of combat equipment. It agreed last month to appropriate in the next fiscal year some 350 million dollars in "aid" to the Pak clique in order to strengthen the latter's military might.

The statement said that the current exercise was aimed at using "strength" to threaten the Korean people, thereby placing another obstacle to Korea's reunification and provoking a new war of aggression and, at the same time, inflating the arrogance of the Pak clique which is completely isolated from and repudiated by the people.

"The United States must stop at once the reckless war clamour, facing squarely the trend of the times, and withdraw its aggressor forces from south Korea in accordance with the U.N. resolution and its own pledge," the statement said.

RHODESIA

The Desperateness of the Racist Smith Regime

On February 27, troops of the racist Smith regime in Rhodesia entered Botswana and ambushed members of Botswana's defence force patrolling areas one kilometre from the boundary, killing 15 soldiers and two civilians and wounding eight soldiers. This was the worst in a series of military provocations made by the Smith regime.

On March 6, the Smith regime dispatched troops and

planes to launch massive attacks on Zambian territory.

In recent years, the racist regime has frequently carried out provocations against and intrusions into the neighbouring independent countries of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. In 1977 alone, its armed forces crossed the border into Botswana on 11 occasions for unprovoked attacks. They also repeatedly attacked and carried on provocations against Mozambique and Zambia causing heavy losses of lives and property to the local people.

The Smith regime is doing its utmost to jeopardize the full solidarity of African countries with the Zimbabwean people in their fight for independence, and at the same time it is continuing its armed provocations against neighbouring countries in an attempt to cow the African countries and people fighting resolutely against racism.

Moreover, the Smith regime resorts to all kinds of tricks, such as "parliamentary election" and "internal settlement." In defiance of the Ministerial Council of the Organization of African Unity, the regime signed on March 3 an "agreement for internal settlement" on Zimbabwe. The "agreement" not only maintains the political and economic privileges of the white racists, but also attempts to make the racist Smith regime a "legal" and "majority government," so as to induce the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front to abandon its struggle for independence and freedom.

The successive adventurous moves and counter-revolutionary dual tactics adopted by Smith are a reflection of the desperateness of his regime.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Accumulating More Funds for Socialist Construction

CHINA'S state-owned enterprises achieved encouraging results last year in expanding their profits or, in the case of some enterprises, reversing the previous state of running at a loss.

This work has been given prior consideration since the second half of last year. In less than six months, the losses incurred by the nation's enterprises were enormously reduced as compared with those in the whole year of 1976. The difference between these two amounts of losses exceeds the annual total wage increases which became effective last October. (This raise covers 60 per cent of all workers and staff members.)

The profits from all state-owned enterprises reached a record high last year and are still steadily rising month by month. Losses are being reduced. Running enterprises at a loss or with diminishing profits year after year, a trend resulting from the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, has been checked.

In Pingdingshan, a coal city in Honan Province, the net losses of all its industrial enterprises topped 40 million yuan in 1976, but they accumulated a

profit of 24 million yuan last year. The profits from all textile mills in Hopei Province's Shihchiachuang city were 21 per cent higher last year than in 1976. The tax and the portion of profit handed over to the state by the mills amounted to more than 400 million yuan.

State farms incurred fairly big losses in the last few years. Last year, however, their profits rose 18 per cent while their losses were cut down by 16 per cent.

Speeding up development of the national economy calls for a considerable supply of funds. Our socialist system determines that mobilizing the masses in all production units to increase production and practise economy is the only method for accumulating funds. Profits from state-owned enterprises make up the main source of accumulation. If there are no profits from the enterprises, there will be no accumulation and nor will there be any possibility of high-speed development.

China's state revenue showed considerable increase last year compared with 1976 and the budget was balanced with a surplus. This made it possible for us to raise wages, make additional investments in the petroleum industry and other fields, and ensure stable prices. By reducing losses and

increasing profits, the enterprises played a significant role in bringing about this favourable situation.

At a time when the "gang of four" was running amuck, they negated the basic Marxist principle of accumulating funds for socialist construction. They labelled the making of proper profits from enterprises as "putting profits in command" and following the "profit principle" of capitalism. This was responsible for many enterprises running at a loss.

Tibet Reports Good Harvest

PEASANTS in the Tibet Autonomous Region reaped a good harvest last year despite drought and other natural calamities.

Total grain output showed an increase of 5 per cent over 1976. Other crops did well too. Average yield of winter wheat topped three tons per hectare, with a record per-hectare output of 12 tons for wheat and 8.3 tons for barley in some places.

In the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, the Tibetan peasants built large numbers of water conservancy works which brought huge areas of farmland under irrigation. The use of fine strains and expansion of the acreage under winter wheat contributed to the good harvest.

Tibet has been self-sufficient in grain since 1974.

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