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● Soviet Strategy in Asia



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COVER: The Potala Palace, an ancient Chinese architecture, is located on Maburi Hill, north-west of Lhasa. This 13-storeyed magnificent building consists of a number of large palaces and temples, and the roofs of five palaces are covered with golden tiles. A merger of Han and Tibetan culture, it is the best example of Tibetan architectural art.

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CHRONICLE

Jan. 8

• China and Djibouti establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Jan. 9

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) meets with the U.S. Senate Delegation led by Democratic Senator Sam Nunn. During the meeting, the Vice-Premier says that China will do everything possible to aid Democratic Kampuchea.

Jan. 13

• Premier Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) meets Thai Deputy Prime Minister Sunthorn Hongladarom. Premier Hua says that in view of the needs arising from the present situation, the development of closer co-operation between China and Thailand is beneficial not only to the people of China and Thailand but also to the people in the Asia-Pacific region. China and Thailand, he adds, "must help and support each other."

Premier Hua points out that the Vietnamese authorities' armed invasion of Kampuchea "has fully exposed the true colours of Soviet big hegemonism and Vietnamese regional hegemonism." The ASEAN countries now have the common task of opposing hegemonism.

Vice-Premier Deng says to the Thai guests at another meeting that China wishes to actively develop trade relations with Thailand if the prices are fair and reasonable.

• Xinhua (Hsinhua) News Agency reports that the total volume of China's foreign trade in 1978 has outstripped that of 1977 by 39 per cent. Exports have increased by 28.6 per cent and imports by 50 per cent.

Jan. 14

• The Chinese Government issues a statement reaffirming that China will unswervingly stand on the Kampuchean people's side.

• Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping meet on different occasions with Ken Yasui, Speaker of the Japanese House of Councillors, and the Delegation of the Japanese House of Councillors led by him. Premier Hua says: "To accomplish the four modernizations, we must maintain stability and unity at home and at the same time we need a peaceful international environment. This is our desire." "However," he continues, "Soviet hegemonism has always tried to reach out its hands for us. We must maintain high vigilance."



China Reaffirms Firm Support for Kampuchean People

The Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese-Soviet hegemonism has now entered a new stage. A people's war is being launched all over the country.

On January 14 the Chinese Government issued a statement reiterating firm support for the Kampuchean people. It said: "The Chinese Government and people solemnly reiterate that they will, as always, firmly stand by the Kampuchean people and do their utmost to support and aid the Kampuchean people in every way." The statement added that "the Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prime Minister Pol Pot is the Kampuchean people's genuine representative and sole legal government." "The so-called 'people's republic' of Kampuchea is only a hastily rigged-up puppet and tool of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, and it is utterly illegal." (For full text of the statement see p. 8.)

Comrades Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping met separately with Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, on January 15 and 13 in Beijing (Peking), and reaffirmed China's stand. Chairman Hua said, "The Kampuchean people's struggle is our struggle. We supported you in the past, we support you now and will continue to support you in the future."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean

Communist Party and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Comrade Pol Pot, Ieng Sary extended his thanks to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. He said that the Kampuchean people are determined to carry the war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation through to final victory.

On January 15, *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial expressed China's determination to join the people of the various countries in the Asia-Pacific region in supporting the just struggle of the Kampuchean people. It said that the Kampuchean people will form the broadest national, democratic and patriotic united front to drive out the Vietnamese aggressors. "Far from being a paradise for Viet Nam," the editorial said, "Kampuchea is a grave for the aggressors." Final victory will surely belong to the Kampuchean people.

China's permanent representative to the United Nations spoke at a meeting of the Security Council, sharply condemning the Soviet-Vietnamese hegemonists. (See p. 10.)

Dalai and Other Tibetan Compatriots Welcome

A reception committee for returning or visiting Tibetan compatriots was set up on January 6 in Lhasa, capital of the Xizang Autonomous Region, with Tianbao (Tibetan) as chairman and Basang (Tibetan) and eight others as vice-chairmen. Both Tianbao and Basang are vice-chairmen of the region's revolutionary committee.

Speaking at the inaugural meeting, Basang declared that all Tibetan compatriots living abroad, including Dalai, are welcome to return to China and take up permanent residence in the motherland, to visit relatives and friends or tour the country.

She said: "We will welcome them no matter when they return and we will receive them cordially. Proper arrangements will be made for those who wish to remain and settle down. Those who wish to leave again will be provided with all necessary facilities and given a courteous send-off." Tibetan compatriots abroad, she added, are free to return and leave again, for this will enhance mutual understanding and clear all doubts remaining in their minds. Moreover, it will help fulfil the long-cherished desire of Tibetan compatriots to meet and reunite with their relatives and friends.

"In accordance with the Party's policies," she stressed, "the local government has entrusted special personnel to look after the property left behind by border residents who have gone abroad. Perishables have been converted into money and put in the bank to be returned to the owners on their return. The people's government will help repair or build those houses which have fallen into disrepair or collapsed during the owners' absence. Returnees who have difficulties will receive aid from the government. We always mean what we say, and we hope that the Tibetan compatriots now living abroad will cast away unnecessary misgivings."

The most patriotic act for Tibetan compatriots living abroad, Basang noted, is to uphold the unification of the motherland and oppose the separation of Xizang from the People's Republic of China which is a big family of various nationalities. "In so doing, you will remain our kith and kin, our friends and members of one and the same family. It is our hope that you will have a clear assessment of the situation as soon as possible, return to the embrace of the motherland and, together with other fraternal nationalities, make your contributions to the four modernizations in Xizang." Over the past two decades, she added, the people of various nationalities in Xizang have been living a happy life and working to the best of their ability to create a bright future for themselves. "When you come back," she said, "you will see all this for yourselves. We hope Dalai Lama will place the interests of national unity above everything else and make his contributions to safeguarding the unification of our motherland. If you do so, it will prove that you really care for the happiness of the Tibetan people."

Mass Criticism of Lin Biao And "Gang of Four" Winds Up

The nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has ended and the focus of our Party's work and the attention of the whole nation should henceforth be shifted to socialist modernization. This was announced by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist

Party of China held in December last year.

How the Movement Was Carried Out. The aforementioned mass movement was carried out in three stages from October 1976, when the "gang of four" was overthrown, through 1978. Efforts were first concentrated on exposing and criticizing the gang's plot to usurp Party and state power. That was known as the "first battle." During the "second battle," the gang's criminal history was made public and repudiated. The "third battle" centred on the theoretical criticism of the gang's line which opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

To eliminate the bad ideological influence of the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist line and set things to rights will of course be a long-term task. But as far as the whole country is concerned, this mass movement has in the main come to a successful conclusion. The plenary session declared, therefore, that though a few places and departments lagged behind in the movement and had to continue it for a period of time, conditions on the whole were ripe for shifting the focus of the Party's work on to socialist modernization.

Achievements. The two-year movement has achieved great success. The scoreboard:

1. Investigations have been made with regard to persons and incidents connected with the gang's plot to usurp supreme Party and state power. Their factional setups in various parts of the country have been uncovered and smashed. Facts show that the people involved are only a handful.

2. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their reactionary ideology have been repudiated. A clear distinction has been made between right and wrong on issues of basic principles.

3. Hard-core elements of the gang involved in plots have been removed from leading bodies at all levels. Those who have erred have been helped to correct their mistakes.

4. Large numbers of victims of frame-ups, wrong sentences and false charges resulting from the plots of Lin Biao and the gang have been rehabilitated.

5. The Party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, jettisoned over the past few years by Lin Biao and the gang, are being revived and carried forward.

6. Nationwide stability and unity have been achieved, and the sense of organization and discipline has been heightened.

Curing the Sickness to Save the Patient. The mass movement was carried out in an orderly way. The handful of major culprits involved in the conspiratorial activities of Lin Biao and the gang and other serious law-breakers were exposed and criticized; some were duly punished according to law and Party discipline. As for the majority who have committed mistakes or even serious mistakes due to ideological reasons, the main thing is to help them make self-criticisms and correct their mistakes.

The Ministry of Petroleum has gained useful experience in this respect.

During the mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the various departments under the ministry

brought to book major offenders who had closely followed the gang. A series of meetings were held at which Minister Song Zhenming and other leading cadres told them not to have any misgivings, made them realize their mistakes and encouraged them to draw lessons from them.

The majority of these offenders are young people. In the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution, they took part in the movement with great enthusiasm. But misled ideologically by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many committed serious mistakes. The reasons were diverse, the chief one being that, instead of comprehensively grasping the essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, they quoted a phrase here or a sentence there, all out of context to serve their own ends. For instance, misled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they wrongly applied Chairman Mao's teaching "It is right to rebel against reactionaries," and "rebelled" at will, without making any distinction between ourselves and the enemy. Another major reason was their bourgeois individualism which led them astray on to the path of seeking personal gains.

By summing up the experience of the past few years and drawing lessons therefrom, many of them have made in-depth criticism of their mistakes and expressed the determination to work with all their energy for the cause of the revolution.

Chairman Mao said long ago that we should adopt the policy of "curing the sickness to save the patient" towards those who have made mistakes and are

willing to correct them. This policy has been carried out to the letter. In certain circles abroad, there is the cock-and-bull story that China is conducting a "new purge" and "massive suppression." This is a gross misunderstanding, if not a deliberate distortion of facts.

China Establishes Diplomatic Relations With Djibouti

On January 8 China established diplomatic relations with Djibouti. To date, 118 countries have established diplomatic relations with China — 28 are in Asia, 44 in Africa, 12 in Latin America, 27 in Europe, 2 in North America and 5 in Oceania.

Representatives of the Chinese and Djibouti Governments signed in Paris on January 5 a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Renmin Ribao greeted the event in an editorial. Situated in the northeastern tip of the Horn of Africa, the editorial pointed out, Djibouti guards the southern entrance to the Red Sea and occupies an extremely important strategic position. The Red Sea area is being seriously threatened by the Soviet Union which resorts to political ploy, economic infiltration, subversion, assassination and military intervention to seize strategic points there. Countries in this region are becoming increasingly aware that the danger to peace comes from the new tsars in the Kremlin. At present, the African people and the Arab people are supporting each other in their common struggle. The Chinese people resolutely support them in their

fight against hegemonism and power politics.






Is Money Synonymous With Capitalism?

The bourgeoisie ... has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." ... The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

— *Marx & Engels:*
*"Manifesto of the
Communist Party"*
(1848)

Communists of course detest this money relation under capitalism. The "gang of four" in our country who set themselves up as "super-revolutionaries" but were actually phoney "Communists" had a queer theory on this matter. They equated capitalist money relation with money itself and whipped up an ultra-"Left" trend of thought, alleging that money (not the money relation of exploitation of man by man under capitalism) was the same thing as capitalism. With this as the premise, they declared that to be well-off (that is, having plenty of money, in popular terms) meant going "capitalist" and "revisionist," and revolution ordained that everyone should be poor. So, the gang claimed, when "a satellite is launched to orbit in space" (meaning the country is on its way to modernization and becoming better off), "the red flag is sure to fall to the ground" (meaning the revolution will surely end in failure).

This is sheer chop logic. What is involved here is not only a theoretical question but a very important issue in real life.

	 Yield per <u>mu</u> *	 Food grain per head	 Hogs sold	 Surplus grain sold	 Pay per workday	Total output value of farm, side-line and industrial products (per capita)
1963	245 _{kg}	163 _{kg}	—	—	0.29 _{yuan}	112 _{yuan}
1977	1,045 _{kg}	350 _{kg}	530	38,050 _{kg}	2.00 _{yuan}	435 _{yuan}

*15 mu = 1 hectare

Take China's vast countryside for instance. Arable land is limited, while the population is large. Rural labour productivity is low, and the peasants must toil all the year round to feed themselves, with little or no surplus grain for the market. Moreover, at present the price for the little marketable grain is still low. On the other hand, there is the pressing demand for funds (money) for mechanization of farm work and rural development in general. How should we solve this contradiction?

In the years when the mass media was under the control of the "gang of four's" hired "theoreticians," anyone who wanted to develop a diversified rural economy and accumulate funds (that is, to make money) for the expansion of the collective economy, he would be accused of "putting money in command" and branded as a worshipper of the filthy capitalist system. And anyone who proposed to help the peasants earn more and live better, he would be smeared with the same brush because, so they said, this was the evil "material incentive" and it meant encouraging people and their families to get rich. This theoretical vandalism on the part of the gang caused near-complete stagnation in rural production.

Some did pooh-pooh the gang's nonsense. The Xiashitang Production Brigade in Yibing County of Sichuan Province is an example.

Once poor and with little land, the brigade had 700 people, averaging one-twentieth of a hectare per head. In 1963, each brigade member received only 29 fen, about 14 cents in U.S. currency, per workday.

In 1964, a member by the name of Yang Zhiguo was elected head of the brigade. An ex-urban worker with some knowledge of cost accounting, he knew what should be done to improve the situation. To develop production, he said to members of his brigade, we not only need hard work, but funds as well. Why should we be afraid of talking about "money"?

To solve this question, he and other cadres of the brigade decided to get the money they needed through their own efforts. There was clay on the hill for making bricks and tiles and they could build a small quay for shipping business. But building kilns and vessels needed a large outlay. So they went to two members who had just been demobbed with grants and borrowed from them 600 yuan. With the money, the brigade went into the business

of making noodles. The profit brought in from this first venture enabled it to start on another — raising pigs. That prospered, too, and plenty of manure from the hogs boosted crop yields. The following year, the brigade earned enough money to buy mills and thrashers which in turn brought in enough to build kilns and buy vessels to operate a shipping business.

There is no need here to go into the details of how the brigade later "got rich." What should be pointed out is this: Xiashitang "got rich" through hard work; not speculation, through efforts made for the common good, not cut-throat competition with other brigades.

Compared with 1963, the brigade in 1977 increased the total value of its products in farming, side-line occupations and industry 4.9 times and the pay per workday was 7 times as much.

Things really began to look up for the brigade members. Eighty per cent of the households have moved to new brick houses and members now enjoy 16 kinds of fringe benefits — medical treatment, film showing and tuition for school children, to mention only a few, are all free. Life has really become much better.

When the "gang of four" was in power, the brigade's cadres had been brought on the carpet on several occasions for "putting money in command," "taking the capitalist road," and so on. Today, what is right and what is wrong is clear. Commenting on what had happened in the Xiashitang Brigade, *Renmin Ribao* said:

"Is money synonymous with capitalism? Certainly not. It all

depends on how the money is earned and how it is spent. In the case of the Xiashitang Brigade, production has been developed through collective labour and wealth created for the state and its members. This is in keeping with the socialist orientation and in conformity with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the letter."

Lively Debates

Publication of short stories exposing the "gang of four" has touched off heated debates which have livened up Chinese literary circles after more than a decade of repressed silence. Opinions are divided, with both pros and cons, but there is the consensus that these short stories, with the poignancy and profound appeal characteristic of literary works, are a strong indictment against the gang and will go a long way to eliminating their evil influence.

The Form Master, one of the early works in this respect, describes how the teacher helps a boy in his class who loves to pick quarrels and create disturbances mend his ways. Son of a worker, the boy has been badly influenced by the "gang of four," wilful, empty-headed and without any aim in life. The story also portrays a girl who is somewhat abnormal in her way of thinking. A responsible member of the Communist Youth League in her class, she is honest, with lofty ideals and ready to make sacrifices, but she is so narrow-minded and strait-laced that she regards anyone wearing a dress made of printed cloth as bourgeois and reading foreign literary works as undisciplined and wicked. The form master, who looks

upon her as "a healthy girl unfortunately infected with an epidemic bug," willingly undertakes to help her "regain her health."

When the story was published in *Renmin Wenxue* (People's Literature), the author, a middle school teacher by the name of Liu Xinwu, received nearly 1,000 letters, most of which congratulated him for having written a good story. A few, however, thought differently.

The *Wenxue Pinglun* (Literary Review) in Beijing sponsored a special forum. Literary critics, writers and educationists who were invited to attend endorsed the work for having faithfully and penetratingly mirrored life as it is and put forward the question of helping the teenagers get rid of the influence of the gang, a problem that has become public concern.

The controversy over another short story, *The Wound*, was even more lively. It is a tragedy about a young girl who severs relations with her mother and leaves home for some faraway place after her mother has been branded a traitor to the Party by Zhang Chunqiao, a member of the "gang of four." After years of suffering the mother's wrong is redressed, and the daughter hurries back home, only to find that her mother has died the day before.



A maiden work by Lu Xinhua who majors in Chinese literature at Fudan University in Shanghai, it first appeared in the students' wall newspaper and was later published in a local daily. The response was strong and immediate. Some liked it very much, some rejected it out of hand, and some approved it but with strong reservations. A debate ensued.

At one time *The Wound* was the talk of the campus, in classrooms and dormitories, at dining tables and on the playgrounds. Many questions were asked: Is it right to write so openly about the seamy side of life in our country? Why should the author choose as the heroine of his story a young girl who is immature in thought and completely unaware of the fact that the "gang of four" was persecuting revolutionaries of the older generation, her mother included. And why should the author lavish his sympathy on such a girl? Why doesn't he write about people who fought the gang at the risk of their own lives? And why those tragic scenes evoking pity on the part of the readers? Do they conform to the requirements of socialist literature?

When the debate between those for and those against the story came to a head, both sides started calling names and hurling abuses, with neither willing to yield an inch. The university Party committee decided to help settle the dispute, declaring that everyone has the right to express his opinion as long as there is nothing against the Party and socialism. The Party committee later held a meeting with more than 500

(Continued on p. 27.)

Chinese Government Statement

January 14, 1979

IN late December last year, the Vietnamese aggressors, aided and abetted by Soviet social-imperialism, launched a frenzied and savage aggression on an unprecedented scale against Democratic Kampuchea in defiance of the strong opposition of the world's people and the stern condemnation of international opinion. Relying on their superior military equipment and numerical strength and employing blitzkrieg tactics, the Vietnamese authorities made a reckless thrust into Kampuchea and have occupied most of its cities and large tracts of its land, putting the resisting Kampuchean army and people at a great disadvantage. The Kampuchean Government has led the entire army and people in making a timely change in strategic policy. Basing themselves on the vast countryside, mountains and jungles, they have unfolded a massive people's guerrilla war in a sustained struggle against the invading enemy troops, swamping the latter in a vast ocean of people's war so as ultimately to annihilate them and liberate the occupied territories.

The Vietnamese expansionists have temporarily gained the upper hand in Kampuchea. This change in the Kampuchean war situation poses a direct threat to the security of the Southeast Asian countries and has a most adverse effect on the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region.

On January 11, 1979 the Government of Democratic Kampuchea issued a statement accusing Viet Nam and the Soviet Union before the whole world of committing naked aggression and towering crimes against Kampuchea. It solemnly declares that the entire Kampuchean people are determined to form the broadest possible national, democratic and patriotic united front to fight the Vietnamese aggressors to the end and appeals to the people of the world for every form of support. The Chinese Government and people express their firm support to this just stand of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The Kampuchean people's struggle against the Vietnamese-Soviet hegemonists has now entered a new stage. A people's war is spreading to all parts of Kampuchea. At the forum

of the United Nations Security Council the Delegation of Democratic Kampuchea unsparingly exposed and denounced the atrocious aggression perpetrated by Viet Nam and the Soviet Union against Kampuchea and won extensive international support and sympathy. The heroic Kampuchean nation will by no means submit to the enemy because of temporary difficulties. Truth and justice are on the side of the Kampuchean people. The reactionary Vietnamese authorities, which were faced with serious difficulties and were already very feeble, are now more isolated than ever both at home and internationally. Indulging in militarism and wild aggression and expansion, they will tighten the noose around their own neck and increase their own burdens till inevitable doom. A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. We firmly believe that the Kampuchean people, carrying out the policy of the national, democratic and patriotic united front and keeping up a sustained people's war under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, will bring about a radical change in the war situation, pin down and eventually defeat the aggressors and win the final victory of their war of national self-defence. As a result, they will make a great and glorious contribution to the safeguarding of the peace, security and stability of the Southeast Asian countries and the Asia-Pacific region.

The Chinese Government and people solemnly reiterate that they will, as always, firmly stand by the Kampuchean people and do their utmost to support and aid the Kampuchean people in every way. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prime Minister Pol Pot is the Kampuchean people's genuine representative and sole legal government. The so-called "people's republic" of Kampuchea is only a hastily rigged-up puppet and tool of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, and it is utterly illegal. It is no "representative" of the Kampuchean people but a handful of shameless traitors and national scum. Viet Nam and the Soviet Union are making their aggressive crimes more glaring by trying to hide

them by such a stupid and clumsy trick. The Chinese Government calls on all justice upholding countries and people to make joint efforts to safeguard the peace, security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole by exposing the Vietnamese-Soviet frauds and schemes, standing by the bit-

terly fighting Kampuchean people, sympathizing with and supporting their just cause, condemning and stopping the Vietnamese-Soviet hegemonists' outright aggression against and occupation of a sovereign state, and forcing them to desist from all acts of aggression and withdraw all aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

Statement of Government of Democratic Kampuchea

THE Embassy of Democratic Kampuchea in China distributed on January 13 a statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on Viet Nam's aggression. The statement reads in full as follows:

The Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists, swallows of territory of Kampuchea and exterminators of the Kampuchean nation have mobilized huge forces, including a lot of tanks and heavy artillery pieces as well as planes of all kinds, such as Mig-19, -21, -23, to launch large-scale invasion and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, causing immense devastations to the Kampuchean people, and temporarily occupied a number of cities and the capital of Phnom Penh. Concerning this situation, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea would like to issue the following statement:

The frenzied invasion by the Vietnamese aggressors supported by their master, the Soviet Union, is the most criminal act aiming at exterminating the nation and the people of Kampuchea. This situation causes indeed temporary difficulties to the Kampuchean people. But the heroic Kampuchean people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have most courageously opposed the enemy in their capacity as the holders of the glorious banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, the banner of national honour and dignity of the Kampuchean people. They are resolute in fighting the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories and their master with blazing hatred and loftiest revolutionary heroism. This struggle is spreading all over the country, its intensity surpassing that at the beginning of our five-year war. Endowed with this heroism, our whole people and whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are determined to unite as one, endure all kinds of difficulties and sufferings,

and continue to carry out the people's war in conformity with the statement made by Prime Minister Pol Pot dated January 5, 1979 to resolutely and totally annihilate the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories.

At present, the heroic people and Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are waging a resolute struggle, resolutely refuse to kneel down in front of the Vietnamese enemy. The experiences in the history of struggle of the Kampuchean people themselves as well as those in the history of the peoples the world over have clearly confirmed that any people, victim of aggression and oppression, once they are resolute to struggle, will surely triumph. We have now preserved all our effective strength. All the leaders headed by Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea Pol Pot are now leading the Kampuchean people in the sacred territory of Kampuchea to courageously wage the struggle, and all of them are resolutely and categorically determined to hold aloft the banner of the Kampuchean nation, the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, national honour and dignity and the race of Kampuchea and to ensure their perennality, despite all difficulties and sacrifices they have to surmount and endure.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea with Secretary Pol Pot as Prime Minister, in its capacity as the one responsible for the destiny of the whole nation and people of Kampuchea, would like to call upon:

1. All peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples the world over to support its struggle in all ways and in all forms against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallows of territories, condemn them, cut off all aid to them and categorically demand the immediate and total withdrawal of

all Vietnamese aggressors from the territory of Democratic Kampuchea.

2. All Kampuchean compatriots, at home and abroad, to unite and to resolutely carry on the struggle, not to become slaves of Viet Nam, not to let their nation be wiped out, not to let the Vietnamese plunder and oppress Kampuchea at will. The Vietnamese enemy have exacerbated and are further exacerbating the contradictions with the whole nation and people of Kampuchea. These contradictions are very deep and will be deeper and deeper with each day. Therefore, the Vietnamese enemy are now in the middle of the volcano crater of national hatred of the whole nation and people of Kampuchea. The latter have

clearly seen the nature of these fundamental and sharp life-and-death contradictions.

The entire Kampuchean people will form the broadest national, democratic and patriotic united front and carry the fight against the Vietnamese aggressors through to the end. They will annihilate the aggressors and liberate all the occupied territories, and thus make their contribution to the peace, security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. Final victory belongs to the Kampuchean people.

The Kampuchean nation, the Kampuchean people, the Kampuchean race, the Kampuchean tradition and civilization will live for ever!

Kampuchea, January 11, 1979

U.N. Security Council Discusses Viet Nam's Invasion of Kampuchea

THE U.N. Security Council met at the request of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the afternoon of January 11 to discuss Viet Nam's Soviet-backed armed aggression against Kampuchea.

In his January 3 message to the President of the Security Council, Kampuchean Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary had asked the Security Council to call an urgent meeting to condemn Viet Nam's act of aggression against his country.

Foiling Soviet Interference

Viet Nam's armed invasion of its small and weak neighbour Kampuchea has shocked all who uphold justice and love peace. Many delegates to the United Nations described the invasion as "a classic case of foreign aggression," and "another Czechoslovakia." Viet Nam's imperialist behaviour was unforgivable, they said. All the member states of the Security Council with the exception of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia agreed to Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary's request for an urgent meeting. The two dissenters came out with all sorts of objections and resorted to despicable tricks in an effort to stop the meeting being called.

As soon as the Security Council meeting began on January 11, the Soviet representative launched a vitriolic attack against Democratic Kampuchea and trotted out a so-called "people's

revolutionary council" which he described as the "sole and genuine representative" of Kampuchea. He said that his country was against holding of the meeting because the Soviet Union regarded what was happening in Kampuchea as "a pure concern of that country" and "should not be subject to a debate at the Security Council."

The Czechoslovak representative echoed what Moscow's representative said.

Chinese Representative Chen Chu said that it was totally unjustified for the Soviet representative to misrepresent the large-scale armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea currently launched by Viet Nam with the support of the Soviet Union as a "civil war" or as "internal affair" to oppose the holding of a formal Security Council meeting. It is fit and proper for the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to ask for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to take effective measures to condemn and check Vietnamese aggression. The Chinese Delegation moved that the Security Council should brush aside Soviet interference and sabotage and immediately adopt the agenda.

After the Chinese representative had spoken, the President of the Security Council announced that it was the opinion of the majority that the agenda to consider the telegram

from Kampuchea's Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary should be adopted.

But the Soviet representative took the floor again and proposed that the meeting be convened on January 15 when a delegate of the puppet regime reached New York. The Chinese representative opposed the Soviet proposal.

A vote was taken and it showed that 13 were against and only two (the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia) were for the Soviet proposal.

A False Telegram

But that was not the end. The Soviet representative brought out his last card. He asked the Security Council to invite a so-called representative from the "people's revolutionary council" to participate in the discussions.

He produced a "telegram" from the "president" of the "people's revolutionary council" issued by the Vietnamese Permanent Mission to the United Nations on January 11 which said that the "people's revolutionary council" would send its "foreign minister" as its representative to attend the Security Council deliberations should there be such a meeting.

At this point, Chinese Representative Chen Chu took the floor. The "telegram" was a fraud, he said, because enquiries made to verify the authenticity of the telegram showed that it was forged. The telegraph company had confirmed that there was no direct line of communication between New York and Phnom Penh, but the telegram was purported to have come direct from Phnom Penh to New York. The assembled were stunned. All eyes were on the Soviet representative who, tight-lipped and slack-jawed, stood there dumbly licking his thumb. Loud twittering and astonished gasps filled the hall. It was a thundering condemnation of the big and small hegemonists for their despicable behaviour aimed at misleading the public for their own unspeakable political ends.

That same day a report by the Secretary-General on the credentials of the Democratic Kampuchean Delegation was distributed at the Headquarters of the United Nations. The report said: "The Secretary-General received the attached communication on January 9, 1979 signed by the Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the composition of the delegation of that country. The current 33rd session of the General Assembly has accepted the credentials

of the Delegation of Democratic Kampuchea emanating from the same authority."

Samdech Sihanouk's Speech

Then the Security Council welcomed Samdech Sihanouk to speak in his capacity as senior



Samdech Sihanouk speaks at the U.N. Security Council.

representative and leader of the Delegation of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Samdech Sihanouk said in his speech that in the 1960s and 1970s, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat had never ceased to state, to assert, to reaffirm and even to write to Norodom Sihanouk, who was then Head of State of Cambodia, that "now as in the future and to the very end of time," their socialist Viet Nam, their revolutionary Viet Nam, their anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, anti-war Viet Nam believed it to be and would continue to believe it to be their sacred duty scrupulously and irreversibly to respect the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of "fraternal" Kampuchea.

But, right after the final victory in April 1975 — a victory over imperialism — and in the wake of the reunification of the two Viet Nams, north and south, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam decided, cold-bloodedly, to embark upon a very special "operation" against Kampuchea just as a starving boa-constrictor will spring upon some innocent prey.

Samdech Sihanouk said that Viet Nam has been greatly encouraged by its multifarious alliances — a de facto military alliance in particular with the U.S.S.R., one of the two world superpowers, and has drawn comfort from the total and unconditional support accorded it by the powers of the Warsaw Pact — with the ex-

ception of Romania. Viet Nam respected the "good" old traditions of shamelessly swallowing up small neighbours whenever the opportunity presented itself, and motivated also, Samdech Sihanouk pointed out, by a keen appetite that it had nurtured for many years, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam came to the point where it launched an all-out attack with all the power of its armed forces of a Hitlerian type for the conquest of Kampuchea.

The irresistible swarm of tanks and armoured cars, accompanied by a dozen infantry divisions supported by the most modern artillery, preceded and provided cover by innumerable aircraft of all types, including Mig-21s and some Mig-23s; that movement, a veritable German-style blitzkrieg, strongly reminiscence of the onrush of the Hitlerian armed forces to which so many European countries — France and Poland in particular — fell victims at the beginning of World War II.

All this shows how monstrous and dastardly is the conquest that has taken place of my poor little country by the big neighbour whose numerical superiority is compounded by a formidable military outfit armed as it is to the teeth by one of the two most formidable military powers in the world today.

Samdech Sihanouk pointed out that: Viet Nam has claimed that the present war being waged in Kampuchea is only a civil war without any Vietnamese involvement, the Kampuchean people, through me, have the honour of asserting vigorously that this war is purely a war of aggression, annexation, colonization and regional hegemonism unilaterally, arbitrarily and unjustly unleashed by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam against tiny Kampuchea.

The so-called Kampuchea national united front for national salvation and its "government" are, in fact, only a pitiful smokescreen designed to hide from the outside world the criminal and repugnant anti-Kampuchean undertaking of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

Sihanouk went on to describe the situation now prevailing in Democratic Kampuchea:

1. The Vietnamese enemy has occupied Phnom Penh, our capital, most of our cities, and part of our countryside.

2. The Government and army of Democratic Kampuchea, the only legitimate state of Kampuchea, are respectively administering and defending our country in the unoccupied zone, which contains a small number of towns near

the Kampuchea-Thai border, as well as part of the national territory.

The leaders of Democratic Kampuchea are still in our country; the seat of our government is in one of our mountains. Our government, our army, our people, are fighting and will fight to the death against the Vietnamese expansionist and colonialist invader.

We shall never surrender. We may lose everything, but we will never lose our national honour.

Speaking of the Soviet Union's representative who had declared his country's support to a handful of Kampuchean traitors, Samdech Sihanouk said: In reply to his (the Soviet representative) surprising assertion, permit me to recall that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has the bad habit of remaining in Phnom Penh with Kampuchean traitors. Between 1970 and 1975, instead of standing shoulder to shoulder with the Kampuchean patriots who were fighting against imperialism and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol, the Soviet Embassy made a particular point of collaborating and co-operating with the reactionary Lon Nol group, fascists and war criminals that they were.

Samdech Sihanouk said he sincerely hopes that the Security Council condemns the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; sees to it that there is no recognition of the so-called new state of Kampuchea; demands that Viet Nam put an immediate end to its aggression and withdraw all its armed forces; calls for a halt to and refusal to give any financial, economic, military, material or other aid to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its puppets in order to prevail upon Viet Nam to give up its brutal treatment of Kampuchea and its threatening of other countries of Southeast Asia and stability and peace in Asia and throughout the world. In the event that Viet Nam were to continue its totally unjustified aggression and maltreatment of Kampuchea, reconvene the Security Council in order to take new, appropriate measures to prevail upon Viet Nam to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peace of Kampuchea, in keeping with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter.

Chinese Representative Chen Ghu in his speech strongly condemned Viet Nam for its aggression against Kampuchea and expressed resolute support for what Samdech Sihanouk said at the meeting and his just demands.

Many representatives of other countries spoke at the meeting on January 12 and 13, condemning Viet Nam for its aggression against

Kampuchea and demanding that the Vietnamese forces withdraw from Kampuchea immediately and totally.

Social-Imperialist Strategy in Asia

The Soviet strategy in Asia is to put down a strategic cordon around the continent, stretching from the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and up to Haishenwei (Vladivostok), and using the "Cuba of Asia," Viet Nam, as its hatchetman, seize the whole of Indochina to dominate Southeast Asia and South Asia and so edge the United States out of the continent.

DEFLYING world public opinion, Hanoi hurled a dozen divisions of regular troops in its war of aggression against Kampuchea and occupied Phnom Penh, capital of Democratic Kampuchea. This naked aggression by the Vietnamese regional hegemonists against a weak sovereign neighbouring nation poses a serious threat to the peace and security of Southeast Asia and Asia as well as the rest of the world.

Hanoi's Aggression

The aggression against Kampuchea by Viet Nam, supported and instigated by Soviet social-imperialism, is an important part of the "global strategy" employed by Moscow in its bid for world hegemony. Indochina is midway between the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. With a foothold in Indochina, the Soviet Union could send its fleet through the Strait of Malacca into the Indian Ocean and on to the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa. Its ships could also have free access east into the Pacific and south into Oceania. Moscow will thus have control of the important oil routes to Western Europe, the United States and Japan, and also complete an arc of strategic encirclement. In the days of the old tsars Russia worked desperately to find an access to the Indian Ocean, but all they managed to do was to give their warships a short stopover in Cam Ranh Bay during the Russo-Japanese war. The new tsars are much more ambitious than the old tsars. Their threat to the peace in Asia, the Pacific region and the

whole world is many times greater than that of the old tsars.

Proceeding from its "global strategy," the Soviet Union is supporting Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, but its goal is not only Indochina. Is it conceivable that this ambitious superpower, bent on world hegemony, will stop with Kampuchea and its domination of the whole of Indochina? It has become increasingly clear to the governments and public of Southeast Asian nations and other Asian countries, that seizure of Indochina is only the Kremlin's first step in its expansionist pursuits in Southeast Asia. The peace and security of Southeast Asian countries and the whole of Asia will be gravely imperilled once Moscow and Hanoi, the major and minor hegemonists, have their way in the war of aggression against Kampuchea.

Disturbing Moves

Europe has been the focus of Soviet-U.S. rivalry. But, there, the two sides are essentially at a stalemate, so the Soviet Union started a large flanking move to encircle Western Europe with the main object of seizing sources of strategic materials vital to the West and controlling the major sea routes linking Western Europe and the United States and those linking the two with Africa and Asia. This would isolate Western Europe and the new tsars could then wait for their opportune moment to come. With this global strategy in mind, the Soviet Union is continuing to intensify its military threat against Western Europe and at the same time stepping up its aggression and expansion in Africa and the Middle East as well as West and Southeast Asia and the Pacific region.

Moscow's acts of aggression and expansionist intrigues in Asia last year are deeply disturbing.

- It engineered three coups d'etat in two months, killing the leaders of the three sovereign states.



Stage-managed.

Cartoon by Ding Cong

- Within weeks, it signed with lightning speed "friendship and co-operation" treaties with two Asian countries and one African country contiguous to Asia. These treaties are actually military or semi-military pacts, designed to draw these countries into its drive for world hegemony.

- It tried to consolidate its footholds in South and West Asia so as to encircle Pakistan and Iran. It provided the weapons for Baluchistan insurrectionists, tried to further dismember Pakistan and force it to obey its dictates. It exploited the internal turmoil in Iran to foster pro-Soviet forces, deployed troops along the border and tried to fish in troubled waters.

- It sabotaged Arab unity by stirring up and exacerbating ill will among Arab countries, wooing some of these countries to form "strategic alliances" with it, and created tension in this region.

- It upgraded its military might in the Far East and expanded its Pacific fleet. It repeatedly dispatched warships and planes to Japanese territorial waters and air space to intimidate Japan. At the same time, dangling "economic co-operation" as a bait spiced with diplomatic pressure, it tried to weaken Japan's relations with the United States and undermine friendship and co-operation between China and Japan.

Even more serious, the Soviet Union has made Viet Nam its "outpost" for expansion into Southeast Asia. Emboldened and backed by Moscow, the regional hegemonists in Hanoi

with their obsession for an "Indochina federation," have recklessly launched a large-scale aggressive war against Kampuchea. The Soviet Union is itself shamelessly intervening in the war against Kampuchea by providing Hanoi with money, arms and advisers. Hanoi has dispatched large numbers of troops to occupy Laos and put the country under its control. The Soviet Union is also using Viet Nam against China in a most truculent manner and employing it as a Trojan horse in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations with a view to bringing these nations into its sphere of influence.

Strategic Encirclement

Consequently, the Soviet Union's counter-revolutionary strategy in Asia today is to cordon the continent from the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean right up to Haishenwei (Vladivostok) and using Viet Nam as its hatchetman, "the Cuba of Asia," in its central thrust to seize the whole of Indochina and then dominate Southeast Asia and South Asia and edge the United States out of Asia. With Viet Nam as its base, the Soviet Pacific fleet would be advanced several thousand kilometres into the Pacific. If this Soviet strategy succeeds it would be disastrous to Southeast Asia and would also put the United States and Japan at a distinct disadvantage in the Pacific and pose a serious menace to Western Europe.

So the critical situation prevailing in the Asia-Pacific region is the result of big hegemonism ganging up with the small hegemonism and making trouble there. The latter would not have been so truculent without the former's backing, while without the services of the latter, it would not be easy for the former to stir up all this trouble. Having Viet Nam as its junior partner, the Soviet Union is able to make Asians fight Asians and quicken the pace of its expansion and aggression in Asia. The role played by Viet Nam in the service of the Kremlin's Asian strategy surpasses that of Cuba in Africa. Viet Nam has become the source of war in Southeast Asia and the Kremlin's main bridgehead for aggression and expansionist pursuits in the continent.

It is obvious that if the Soviet Union succeeds in getting more strategic places as footholds in Asia, these footholds will buttress from the other end the positions it has gained in Africa and thus link its line of advance in the Pacific with that in the Indian Ocean and pave the way for a push into Oceania and

the South Pacific. This will place it in a much stronger position in its bid for world domination.

Asian Collective Security Scheme

An important move in the Kremlin's Asian strategy is to knock together an "Asian collective security system." With Hanoi now at its command, it thinks the time has come to revive its project. By concluding with one Asian country after another treaties of "peace and friendship" or of "good-neighbourliness and co-operation," it hopes to build up a network of treaties and eventually bring these countries together into a "collective security system."

Consequently, in its expansion overseas, Moscow is striving to hook certain Asian and African nations up with the Warsaw Pact, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) and the "socialist community" under its thumb. Viet Nam's admission to the C.M.E.A., the Kremlin's pressure on member states of the

Warsaw Pact to increase their military spending and pledge "solidarity" with Viet Nam, and the use of military personnel of some Warsaw Pact countries in Soviet ventures in Africa — all shows that Moscow is contemplating the extension of its military bloc and economic grouping to cover Asia and Africa. This is a new development in the Kremlin's pursuit of its global strategy and is a reflection of the fact that its ability falls sadly short of its ambition. It, therefore, feels acutely the need for its partners in the "community" to share the burden in manpower and resources imposed on it by its worldwide expansionism.

The Soviet Union is noisily vilifying China as being guilty of "hegemonism" and "expansionism" and trying to poison China's relations with other Asian countries. At the same time, it is positioning its forces and rattling its sabre in the Asia-Pacific region. Some people point out that this is intended to encircle China. Of course, the Kremlin has China in mind in push-

Aggression on Kampuchea: Meticulously Planned

- The Soviet Union admitted Viet Nam into the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" on June 29 last year to shore up Hanoi economically and politically and confirmed Viet Nam as its "reliable outpost of socialism" in Southeast Asia.

- In mid-August, Moscow airlifted large quantities of arms including rockets to Viet Nam. Batch after batch of military "advisers" and personnel were sent to that country. Within a few months, the number of Soviet military "advisers" sent there exceeded 4,000. At the same time, the Soviet Union began to use the Cam Ranh base.

- Early last November, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong and other Vietnamese chieftains visited Moscow where they concluded with the Soviet Union a "treaty of friendship and co-operation" which has all the characteristics of a military alliance and openly proclaims that "military co-operation" exists between the two countries. Moscow provided Hanoi with Mig-23s and two 2,000-ton escort vessels.

- In late November, at the Moscow summit of Warsaw Pact countries, the

Soviet Union compelled these countries to increase their military expenditures and called for "joint support" for Viet Nam's aggression. This was an effort to extend the commitments of its military bloc in Eastern Europe to Indochina.

- On December 3, the Vietnamese authorities concocted a puppet organization "the Kampuchean national united front for national salvation" as their organizational preparation for their massive armed aggression. Immediately after the establishment of the "front," TASS relayed the news and other Soviet mass media clamoured that "real and revolutionary patriotic forces are rising in a resolute struggle for national salvation" in Kampuchea and that they would make "most important contributions" to the overthrow of the present regime in that country.

- On December 25, the Vietnamese aggressor troops began large-scale armed attacks from several directions against Kampuchea.

- On January 7, the aggressor troops occupied Phnom Penh. Democratic Kampuchea began to launch a nationwide people's war and the fight against Vietnamese and Soviet hegemonism entered a new stage.

ing expansionism in Asia. But its more important objective is to enlarge its sphere of influence and push out the influence of its arch rival, the United States, from Asia and threaten the peace and security of Japan and other Asian nations and that of the Southeast Asian nations in particular. It is short-sighted and dangerous to overlook this.

Doomed to Failure

The Soviet Union's Asian strategy is an important part of its global counter-revolutionary strategy. It thinks that it has scored a major gain in having Viet Nam as its stooge for the pursuit of hegemony in Asia. But, contrary to its wish, this actually serves to show up the atrocious features of the Soviet expansionists.

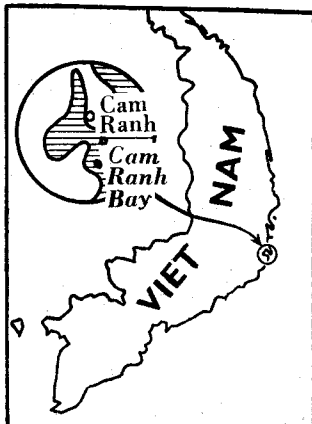
The Bear and Cam Ranh Bay

CAM Ranh Bay lies in the Central Viet Nam Province of Phu Khanh. It faces the South China Sea in the east and straddles the sea lane between the Bashi Chan (between Taiwan and the Philippines) and the Strait of Malacca.

A deep and broad harbour, Cam Ranh Bay is known as one of the world's best. It is also a fine naval-air base in Southeast Asia.

Reports say that with the Soviet Union and Viet Nam setting the seal on their alliance by a treaty, Cam Ranh Bay has become a scene of hustle and bustle with frequent calls by Soviet warships through the Tsushima Strait. This reminds one of a piece of a history in the early 20th century when a fleet of the Russian navy sailed from Europe to fight its decisive battle with the Japanese navy in the Tsushima Strait. Before moving north, the Russian warships called at Cam Ranh.

Since the end of the Viet Nam war, the



new tsars in the Kremlin, prompted by their strategy for Asian and world domination, have become obsessed with a desire to use the up-to-date naval-air base in Cam Ranh Bay that was built by the United States at a cost of up-

This also has opened the eyes of the people of Southeast Asia, the whole of Asia and the rest of the world and has thus promoted the growth of an international united front against hegemonism. Soviet social-imperialism is indulging in fantasies when it thinks that, with the weapons it has, and supported by a few hatchetmen, it can lord it over the world. Even if its acts of aggression succeed in one or two places, it cannot hope to check the historical trend against hegemonism. The Soviet Union tried to outflank Western Europe from Asia and Africa, but it led to mobilizing the countries and peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa, and Moscow has found itself besieged by the people of the world. The Soviet "Asian strategy" together with its global strategy cannot but fail.

wards of 200 million dollars in the 1960s. In the Kremlin's calculation, with this Vietnamese harbour at its disposal the Soviet forward naval position can be moved thousands of kilometres southward from Haishenwei (Vladivostok) to threaten at will the maritime routes between Southeast Asia and Japan as well as between Southeast Asia and the United States.

Thompson Scott, a former U.S. White House official and now a professor of the U.S. Taft University, quoting information from the U.S. Department of Defence, said that an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in 1976 with regard to Soviet use of Viet Nam's Cam Ranh Bay as a refuelling base for Soviet fleets. With an increasing presence of the Soviet naval squadrons in the Western Pacific, he said, there have been a considerable number of Soviet vessels visiting Cam Ranh Bay. Judging from the recent new developments of Viet Nam's joining the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the conclusion of the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty, the U.S. administration has predicted that within a year or two, Cam Ranh Bay will be available to the Soviet Union not only as a refuelling base but as a full-fledged naval base for maintenance, repairing, supply and other services. Japanese military analyst Iwano writes: "In accordance with the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty of friendship and co-operation, Moscow will naturally turn Cam Ranh Bay into a supply base for its fleets. By so doing, the Soviet navy can easily cut the oil route from the Middle East to Japan."

Emancipating the Mind

by Ren Zhongyi

Theory originates from practice and is tested by practice. The aim of "emancipating the mind" is to encourage people to use their heads and grasp the nature of things and the laws governing their development, so as to ponder over and solve problems.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Zedong were people whose minds were emancipated. They respected facts and bowed to the truth only, never indulging in blind faith or letting any conventions or rules which did not conform to science and objective reality shackle their minds and restrict their actions. It is precisely this which accounted for the birth of Marxism and its steady development over the last hundred years or so, and it is this that made the victory of the Chinese revolution possible. If a Party, a state or a nation proceeds only from books in doing anything and is, so to say, petrified ideologically, it will never make any progress but will eventually come to its end.

At present, the focus of work of the entire Party and the whole nation is shifted on to socialist modernization. This is a new task. The Party has called on its members and the people to emancipate their minds, study new things, adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and correctly solve any problems that may crop up in their march forward under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The following are excerpts of an article by Ren Zhongyi, First Secretary of the Liaoning Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which was published in "Hongqi," No. 12, 1978. It explains what is actually meant by "emancipating the mind" and what one must do towards this end. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

WE must further emancipate our minds, be bolder, devise more measures and quicken our steps." This is what Chairman Hua said when he called on the Chinese people to fulfil the general task of the new period during our

new Long March. Vice-Chairman Deng has also recently told us time and again that we should emancipate our minds, think more and independently, and seek truth from facts. These reflect the people's wishes and the demands of the times and point out the trend of history.

Precursor of Social Development

Historically speaking, every big leap forward in social development is preceded by a big movement of emancipating the mind. Frederick Engels described the Renaissance in the 15th century as "the greatest progressive revolution that mankind had so far experienced." (*Dialectics of Nature*.) In a certain sense, the Renaissance was a movement for liberating the minds. It shattered the restrictions of the church authorities and various feudal inhibitions which had for a long time shackled the people's minds and it freed them from the constraints of theology, thereby paving the way for the development of modern science and culture and the capitalist system.

The Russian October Revolution which ushered in a new epoch in human history and gave birth to the first socialist state in the world was preceded by the emergence and spread of Marxism which has thoroughly emancipated the minds of the proletariat and other labouring people. Without such scientific world outlook which makes no compromise with any superstitious beliefs, there can be no revolution of the proletariat.

In modern Chinese history, the May 4th Movement in 1919 was also a movement for emancipating the mind as well as a cultural revolution. Chairman Mao said: "The cultural revolution ushered in by the May 4th Movement was uncompromising in its opposition to feudal culture; there had never been such a great and thoroughgoing cultural revolution since the dawn of Chinese history." (*On New Democracy*.) The May 4th Movement opposed feudal culture, feudal morality and feudal

superstitions which shackled the people's minds, advocated science and democracy, and helped spread Marxism-Leninism in China. Both in ideology and with regard to the training of cadres, the movement paved the way for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, thereby completely changing the nature of the Chinese democratic revolution.

The historic Tian An Men Incident took place during the *Qing Ming* Festival in 1976. People flocked to Tian An Men Square to mourn the late Premier Zhou and denounce the "gang of four." In this heart-stirring struggle, the people smashed the spiritual shackles and defied the fascist terror imposed by the gang, boldly spoke out the truth and resolutely opposed the "gang of four," thus writing an immortal chapter. The incident, in a sense, touched off the process of emancipating the people's minds with the shattering of the spiritual fetters imposed on the people by the gang as its main content—a process which is still continuing. In October 1976, the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua carried out Chairman Mao's behests and led the whole Party in overthrowing the gang, ushering in a new historical period in China's socialist revolution and construction.

The great strength of every movement of mind emancipation in history lies in the fact that it has a solid class basis, is deep-rooted among the masses and has a firm material foundation. Moreover, it reflects an irresistible historical trend. The emergence and rise of an ideological movement can always be explained by the social practice at that time, and is the product of a certain level of development of the social productive forces. Without a certain level of development of the capitalist mode of production, there could be no Renaissance in Europe, and the May 4th Movement in China was inconceivable two centuries ago. This being the case, the Tian An Men Incident could only take place under the specific historical condition of China in 1976.

Historically speaking, it is the new-emerging advanced classes and forces that play the leading role in the movement for emancipating the mind, and it is the decadent and reactionary classes and forces that obstruct and oppose it. The proletariat is the only class that stands for liberating the whole of mankind and is therefore the only class advocating the thorough emancipation of the people's minds. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" put many things under taboo and practised an obscurantist policy. This

showed that they were merely remnant forces of the most reactionary feudal fascists. The overthrow of the gang has brought about a big emancipation in the people's minds and this victory heralds a new era of socialist modernization.

Seeking Truth From Facts

What is meant by emancipating the mind?

As early as 1958, Chairman Mao said that we must do away with blind faith and emancipate the mind. It was after years of practice that Chairman Mao linked emancipating the mind with doing away with blind faith. This is also inseparably linked with the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. However, there are diametrically opposed views with regard to the emancipation of the mind.

There is the view which holds that emancipating the mind means thinking boldly, without the least regard for the objective reality, facts or science.

Some even openly oppose science. For example, some followers of the "gang of four" wanted to invent a "perpetual motion machine." Science has already proved that the concept of a "perpetual motion machine" is against the law of conservation of energy and therefore is infeasible. These people despised knowledge and looked down upon specialists. To them, the more ignorant a person was, the prouder he should be, and that specialists were only good-for-nothing and conservative elements.

Some people are so conceited that they blindly oppose things foreign. Adopting an attitude of non-recognition of advanced science and technology abroad, they equated acknowledgement of and learning from advanced foreign technology with "worshipping and fawning on foreigners."

Some deem that so long as they dare to think and act, they can accomplish anything without taking into consideration the reality and the available conditions.

Practice has proved that such "emancipation of the mind" which contravenes the objective laws will bring great harm.

We must emancipate our minds in order to realize our socialist modernization. This means we should display the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the spirit of seeking truth from facts, dare to sweep away the ideological taboo set by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," discard outmoded ways of doing things and grasp



the true nature of things and objective laws. By emancipating the mind we do not mean "emancipating" man's thinking from science, but we mean making our thinking conform to science as much as possible.

Removing Obstacles

It is not easy to emancipate the mind; to do so risks are involved. Many historical figures like Copernicus, Bruno and Galileo were brutally persecuted by the reactionary forces of the church because they upheld the truth and defended science, and some were condemned or burnt at the stake by the Inquisition. Many forerunners of the proletarian revolution carried out arduous struggles and laid down their lives amidst the strains of *The Internationale*: "to free the spirit from its cell" "for justice thunders condemnation."

In our country, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could do what they wanted, many courageous revolutionary people were subjected to wanton persecution or lost their lives because they dared to speak out the truth. Now that Lin Biao and the gang have been toppled and the ideological fetters imposed by them shattered, we should be able to emancipate our minds. But some comrades still have misgivings. This is quite unnecessary. As a communist fighter, one should fear nothing, for our Party and state need people who are ready to fight heroically for the truth in defiance of any danger. With such people coming to the fore in large numbers, a bright future will be ensured for our Party, state and nation.

At present, there are still some muddle-headed ideas, backward habits and also shortcomings obstructing people from emancipating their minds.

One. Being bookish and confining oneself within certain "limits." This is an obnoxious result caused by Lin Biao and the gang who,

out of counter-revolutionary motives, pretended to "uphold" Mao Zedong Thought, deliberately deified the leader and turned Mao Zedong Thought into a religion. Some people even to this day do not know clearly what is really meant by upholding Mao Zedong Thought; they refuse to admit that practice is the only criterion for testing the truth and they stick instead to whatever is said in the "book," which they insist cannot be changed. They say, moreover, that one must not say anything more than what is said there. To them the only right thing to do is to repeat what has been said, irrespective of time, place or condition.

Two. Sticking to old habits and getting into a rut. This partly originates from the backward influence of small producers' mentality and partly from the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" whose pseudo-Left but actually Right fallacies had been widely publicized and put into practice for a decade and more and had become the method of thinking and the code of conduct for some people without their knowing it. Although Lin Biao and the gang have been toppled, some people are still unable to lift themselves out of the rut. So, when making arrangements for the people's livelihood, they would say: Our people who are used to being poor shouldn't get rich. And when workers and peasants have increased their income, they would be alarmed for fear that this would lead to capitalism. With regard to method of work, since they are used to the cumbersome way of doing things, they just won't tolerate any simplification. Even in the case of a very simple matter, they insist that it should be approved and signed by "officials on the top" and passed from one department to another. So there is no efficiency at all.

Three. Seeing little of the world and taken aback by anything that's novel. For instance, when they see that the costumes of people of

other countries are different from our own, they would scoff at them and say they are "unsavoury and queer." And they even regard the fine literary works acclaimed by the people of other nations as "scabrous" and therefore should be kept away from the public.

This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. Ignorance brings backwardness and when one's mind is not emancipated, it is sure to hinder the liberation of the productive forces. Things advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the feudalistic and handicraft way of thinking and viewpoints can never be of any help to socialist modernization. To emancipate people's minds, it is imperative to clear up the theoretical and ideological confusion and set things to rights.

To do so, the first and most important thing is to study and master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a comprehensive and accurate way and to understand and grasp the revolutionary spirit of Marxism and its essence of seeking truth from facts. Marxism does not recognize any idol, but Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wanted to idolize the teachers who had founded and developed this doctrine. Marxism does not believe in such things as the final truth, but Lin Biao and the gang wanted to describe Mao Zedong Thought as the final truth and the "acme" and as something that absolutely cannot be developed further. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought maintains that the truthfulness of man's knowledge can be verified only in practice, stressing the need to seek truth from facts and link theory with practice. But Lin Biao and the gang said that there was no need for certain conclusions or statements by the revolutionary teachers to undergo test in practice or be integrated with concrete practice but should be copied and followed to the letter as "the principles already laid down."

To shatter the ideological taboo laid down by Lin Biao and the gang, it is necessary to thoroughly criticize them for their distortion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, restore Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to what it actually is and grasp and master the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a comprehensive and accurate way. This is undoubtedly the fundamental way to emancipate people's minds.

To emancipate the mind, it is also necessary to pay attention at all times to practice and the masses. Practice is above theory and

is richer than theory. When we say practice, we mean social practice by millions upon millions of revolutionary people. So, to respect practice is to respect the masses. Only when one maintains close ties with the masses and is aware of what they think and familiar with their likes and dislikes, can he be broad-minded and unbiased.

To emancipate one's mind, it is necessary to broaden one's vision. People should see more, hear more, learn more and be well-informed about what is going on in the world. Chairman Mao taught us: "Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems." (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) These words are most profound. Indeed, even a learned man, a brilliant thinker, will lag behind if he is isolated from the outside world for a long time.

In his remarks about Feuerbach, a great German materialist philosopher, Engels noted that Feuerbach's materialism stopped short before the terra of social history and he failed to overcome common philosophical prejudices. Why so? This was, said Engels, because Feuerbach was leading an isolated life like a peasant in a remote place without social contacts and could not develop his thinking through contacts with his friends or foes who were his equals in talent and wisdom.

This tells us that extensive knowledge of the outside world and contacts with people are the prerequisites for the emancipation of the mind and progress. Chairman Hua has time and again said that leading comrades, whenever possible, should go and take a look at the outside world. This is a very good advice. Of course, only a few have the chance to go abroad and see things for themselves. Most people will have to learn more about the outside world indirectly through publications, films, television and other media.

There must also be democracy and a legal system to ensure that one can emancipate one's mind. One indispensable requirement for people to get rid of blind faith and emancipate their minds is to bring democracy into full play and create "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and

personal ease, of mind and liveliness." (*The Situation in the Summer of 1957*.) There should be a law which will define in unequivocal terms the line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy so that no one can wilfully brand others as counter-revolutionaries.

Socialism cannot do without democracy and a legal system, which are even more indispensable to the emancipation of the mind and to socialist modernization. Moreover, both

democracy and a legal system are indispensable. A legal system without democracy of course means totalitarianism, and so-called "democracy" without a legal system will likewise lead to fascism. Historical experience has proved that the socialist system can be further consolidated only when there is a sound socialist legal system and socialist democracy; only then can there be a guarantee for people's rights, including the right to emancipate their minds.

Reminiscences of Comrade Mao Zedong

Many memoirs have appeared in the Chinese press, commemorating the 85th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong. Below are some excerpts from them.—Ed.

Racing Against Time

by Wang Chonglun

IN marking the birth anniversary of Chairman Mao, I again recall my meeting with him. I was a workers' deputy to the First National People's Congress in September 1954 and a member of the presidium. I was 27 at that time.

The presidium meeting took place at Huairentang Hall in Zhongnanhai, Beijing. Chairman Mao personally checked off the names. When he read out my name, I leaped to my feet and saluted. He smiled and nodded to me to sit down.

At the opening session, I was only two seats away from him. During the break, he came up and shook hands with me. "You're from Anshan Steel, aren't you?" he asked. "Yes, Chairman Mao!" I replied, my heart throbbing. He began to question me animatedly about the uses of the "universal fixture."

This "universal fixture" was a device some comrades and I had invented for attaching to a shaper as an auxiliary tool. The year before, in 1953, our country had started its First Five-Year Plan. At that time I was with the General Machinery Works of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company. Our shop was asked to make the parts for rock drills. Our one slotting machine became a bottleneck holding up production, because it could not cope with the work being turned out by our lathes, milling machines and shapers. So we thought up an auxiliary tool to attach to shapers to do the work of a slotting

Chairman Mao with coach attendants (1961).



machine. This proved practical and raised efficiency seven to eight times.

I never thought that Chairman Mao would be interested in such an ordinary little gadget. I used my hands to help illustrate my answers. He listened attentively to what I said, and smiled heartily when I had finished, although I couldn't have made things very clear because I was choking with excitement.

A day or so later when I walked into the lounge, I saw Chairman Mao standing by the door. Smiling, he gave me his hand, which I gripped tightly. We sat down opposite each other. As we were talking, he suddenly caught sight of a leading comrade nearby. "This is Wang Chonglun, a model worker from Anshan Steel," he introduced me to that leading comrade, and went on to speak about what I had done. I was totally unprepared for the conversation turning to about my work and for a while I did not know what to do.

Chairman Mao has so many important state affairs on mind, yet he pays so much attention to a little gadget we had made. Why? It was some time before I realized that he was actually encouraging us to use our heads, find ways to solve problems met up with in industrializing our motherland, encouraging us to speed up the pace of socialist construction and catch up with and surpass the most advanced in the world.

It is more than 20 years since then, but every time when I recall my meeting with

Chairman Mao, I am inspired and feel my courage and strength renewed.

(Excerpts from "Chairman Mao Encourages Us to Race Against Time" by Wang Chonglun, Vice-President of All-China Federation of Trade Unions.)

A Strict Teacher and Comrade

by Xi Zhongxun

AFTER the Red Army reached northern Shaanxi at the end of its Long March in 1935, large numbers of Party cadres arrived too. Some of these cadres were assigned work in various parts of our base area to acquaint themselves with the situation as well as to help the local cadres. At the same time, Chairman Mao enrolled local cadres to study in various cadres' schools run by the Party Central Committee. I had been working for some time in northern Shaanxi so Chairman Mao told me to enrol for study at the Party School Under the Central Committee. I later worked at the grass-root level, in a Party school, in the army and leading organs. During these dozen or so years I frequently came into contact with the Chairman and benefited from his advice and help.

In 1939, Chairman Mao wrote on a white cloth about 33 cm. by 16 cm. eight Chinese characters reading, "Give First Place to the Interests of the Party." "To Comrade Xi Zhongxun" he wrote and signed it. I have always carried this with me to inspire me to try harder in my work and in remoulding my world outlook.

In the spring of 1943, I was transferred by the Party to Suide, one of the biggest sub-regions in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area, where things were rather complicated. Before I left, Chairman Mao sent for me and said encouragingly: When one stays in one place too long, one is bound to become less sensitive. Moving is also a kind of training!

In the winter of 1945, after the war of resistance, the Party sent out a number of cadres from northern Shaanxi to establish new liberated areas. Before I left to work in the Northwest Bureau directly under the Party Central Committee I said apprehensively to Chairman Mao, "I've worked in local governments all the time. I've no work experience with higher leading organs. I'm afraid I won't do much of a job there." Chairman Mao allayed my fears.



With peasant representatives to the Third National Literary and Art Workers' Conference (1960).

"That's exactly why we're posting you to work at the higher level. You've been too long at the grass roots. In your new post, you'll have to use your head. You'll have to study and make investigations if you're to do your job well," said Chairman Mao affectionately. I felt more confident and decided to do my best.

Chairman Mao always allowed cadres a free hand and always offered helpful specific advice. In the summer of 1946, the Kuomintang hurled hundreds of thousands of troops against the various liberated areas and started an all-out civil war. At the end of June 1946, the Central China Liberation Army under the command of Li Xiannian and Wang Zhen and other comrades broke through the Kuomintang encirclement by 300,000 troops. Comrade Wang Zhen was leading a contingent for our Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area and Chairman Mao told me to send men to meet them. During that period Chairman Mao sent me many dispatches, sometimes one every other day, giving specific, detail instructions. He suggested that competent cadres familiar with the situation be sent to help and also told me to collect intelligence on enemy dispositions on the way. He advised me how to co-ordinate my actions with the establishment of new guerrilla war base areas and even pointed out the need to organize mass meetings to greet troops on arrival.

Chairman Mao also helped us to sum up and improve our work. One day towards the end of August 1946, he called for me and told me how the 18 regiments of the East China Liberation Army under Comrades Su Yu and Tan Zhenlin had fought and won seven battles in central Jiangsu to illustrate how to concentrate numerically superior forces to fight a war of annihilation. In the spring of 1947 before attacking eastern Gansu, our field army had worked out a plan of operations. It was endorsed by Chairman Mao in a letter accompanied by concrete instructions. We attacked. But it turned into a battle of attrition because we had not been accurately informed. I was very upset. Later, during a conversation, Chairman Mao spoke of that battle. He said: One can't help failing sometimes, but from which one can gain richer experience. He also said: Others' experience cannot be something one knows thoroughly unless one has experienced it personally.

One evening in December 1947, when Chairman Mao asked me over to his place to discuss work, he urged me to study theory seriously. He said: You people doing practical work

haven't had time to study. You don't have the time but you must try to find time to study. We are now active in the backwoods, but we will have to run cities in future. If you read a book this thin in one year, you'll have read two in two years! And three in three years' time! This way, you will have read more than a dozen books in a dozen years or so. Bit by bit, won't you then become well versed in Marxism-Leninism? He added: What one single individual knows through experience is limited, restricted by time, place and conditions. One must study to elevate experience to theory. Merely going by one's experience is not the way to fit oneself to changing circumstances. His words inspired and enlightened me.

I remember Chairman Mao as always an attentive leader, modest and sincere. He was our great teacher and also our dearest comrade.

(Excerpts from "The Red Sun Shines Over Shaanxi-Gansu Plateau" by Xi Zhongxun, First Secretary of the Guangdong provincial Party committee.)

A Hundred Schools of Thought Contend

by Zhou Gucheng

I REMEMBER Chairman Mao for two things: His care and concern for intellectuals and his policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend.

He once sent for me and I found him sitting under an awning by the swimming pool in Zhongnanhai. He invited me to swim, which we did, and when we again seated under the awning, he picked up a string-bound history book printed in big characters and showed me a passage about Zhao Chongguo, a Western Han Dynasty general who had tirelessly advocated stationing an army in the northwest for reclamation work. Chairman Mao said to me: "This man knew how to uphold truth. His proposal was sound and he stuck to it. At first, only one or two out of ten were in favour, and the rest were all against it. But later, his idea won more and more support. The pros reached eight or nine out of ten and the cons fell to one or two out of ten. There is a process before a truth becomes generally accepted. This was so in the past and still holds true now." I took the point. Chairman Mao meant that we should uphold truth in the contention among a hundred schools.



With members of the C.P.P.C.C. (from left) Fei Xiaotong, Hua Luogeng, Hu Yuzhi and Tong Dizhou (1956).

I have learnt much from the Chairman. There was the debate over formal logic and dialectics, for instance. I did not like some Soviet works on logic so I wrote an article "Formal Logic and Dialectics" for the magazine *Xinjianshe* (New Construction). There was an immediate furor. The publishers asked me what should be done when there were so many articles opposing my views. I said I'd argue as long as I was given space. Chairman Mao heard about it, and when he was in Shanghai, he asked for me. He had a copy of *Xinjianshe* in his hand. He said to me: "About logic, yours is the most explicit."

I said: "I've been bombarded by criticisms. I'm afraid I can't stand much more. It's been terrible."

The Chairman said: "What's so terrible? Go ahead and debate."

I said: "Very few agree with me. I feel very exposed."

The Chairman said: "You are not alone. There are also people who agree with you."

I said: "I'm afraid not. If there are, I'd feel much better."

"There is a journal put out by China People's University. I think it's called *Jiaoxue Yu Yanjiu*. Somebody has written an article there quoting your views," the Chairman said.

"I haven't seen it," I answered.

"I'll get someone to mail you a copy," Chairman Mao said.

Later, someone did send me a few copies of that journal. Someone had also marked the passages quoting me. I took new heart and continued with the debate. I remember when I was taking my leave how much good the Chairman had done me when he encouraged me to speak out fearlessly.

(An excerpt from "A Recollection of Chairman Mao's Teachings" by Zhou Gucheng, Professor of Department of History in Fudan University, Shanghai.)

Party Discipline, Not Patriarchy

by Xiao Ke

TALKING about inner-Party democracy at a meeting held in early April 1959, Chairman Mao said that he also had outdated ideas. "Once, for example," he said, "I was arguing with Comrade Mao Zetan, my younger brother, over something. He would not follow my reasoning. When I failed to convince him I wanted to hit him. 'You want to beat me?' cried my younger brother. Later he was heard complaining to others about this. 'What code operates inside our Communist Party, patriarchy or Party discipline? Is he entitled to beat me when I disagree with him? If it's patriarchy, then in the absence of our parents as my elder brother he has the right to beat me...'"

The Chairman's words reminded me of something which had happened in the autumn of 1932. I was then attending a meeting of the special Party committee of the Yongfeng-Jiantaihe area of Jiangxi Province, and Comrade Mao Zetan was the committee secretary. One evening after supper, when we were chatting, he told us about how he had quarrelled with his elder brother. It was exactly as what Chairman Mao told in 1959. I had taken Mao Zetan's story as just an anecdote and had soon forgotten it. Yet some 20 years later, during which time his younger brother had died a martyr's death in Jiangxi, Chairman Mao could still recall it so clearly that he could narrate it to caution himself and other comrades to guard against patriarchy in Party leadership.

Time and again Chairman Mao enjoined us to practise democratic centralism, not patriarchy, in the Party. He taught us not to crudely force comrades to agree. The only correct way, he said, was to convince our own people through patient reasoning and treat comrades as equals.

I had worked under Chairman Mao during the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains. In January and February 1929, when the Fourth Red Army left the Jinggang Mountains to build revolutionary base areas in southern Jiangxi and western Fujian, we had to do work among the masses as we marched and sometimes we had to fight, too. Even under such arduous circumstances Chairman Mao never failed to hold meetings of battalion cadres and up once every two or three days. Each meeting lasted generally an hour or two, and every one of us managed to turn up on time. If the meeting was at night, we took along a kerosene lantern. The Chairman would begin the meeting by saying: First, I want you to tell us how things are with you and, second, let's study our plan for action and work. This was a good way to hold meetings, he told us later. If we won a victory, then everyone had a share in it; if something went wrong, no one could grumble or try to blame others.

At that time we were under the leadership of the Party's Front Committee headed by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Chen Yi. At committee meetings, Chairman Mao always encouraged everyone to speak up. Problems were always fully thrashed out in the meetings. At the end of each meeting, he would use what each had offered to draw up conclusions. Chairman Mao was absolutely against the feudal tenet that the man in the highest post has the final say. "I may be right, but if the majority does not agree, then it must be as the majority has decided." I have heard him say that time and again.

(From "Herein Lies His Greatness." The author is President of the Military and Political University of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.)

Correcting Mistakes

by Wang Shoudao

THE work of examining each cadre's history carried out in 1943 by the Party achieved fruitful results, but there were cases of frame-

ups, wrong sentences and false charges due to interference by Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line.

When Comrade Mao Zedong discovered this, he set about correcting them. In August 1943 he drafted the "Decision on Examining the Cadres' Histories" and pointed out that in dealing with suspects, the mass line should be followed and investigation be meticulous, conducted in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Extorting confessions was strictly forbidden. Mistakes had to be redressed. Those wrongly accused be exonerated and those wrongly arrested set free.

Chairman Mao himself did ideological work to help correct mistakes. In a report he delivered at the Central Party School in early 1945, he spoke affirmatively of the investigation into cadres' histories, and at the same time made an all-round analysis of the mistakes that had occurred. He courageously took the blame. He said, "I am president of the Party school. Who is to be held responsible for the many mistakes that occurred in this school? Certainly, I am. Who is to be held responsible for the many mistakes that took place in Yanan? Again, I am." "However," he continued, "we must analyse the mistakes. A mistake is both a bad thing and a good thing. It is a bad thing because you have committed it. It is a good thing also, because you have committed it." His pithy witticism brought roars of laughter from his audience. Comrade Mao Zedong then urged his listeners to draw a lesson from these errors. Those who have labelled others, he said, will take more care in the future, and the victims themselves have also learnt something: In future they will take good care not to label others freely, because they themselves have been made to suffer from this. Raising a hand in a salute, he apologized to those wrongly labelled: "I now take off the labels put on you. I salute and apologize to you." Then he said humorously, "Suppose you return my salute? If you don't, I will not put my hand down." This brought down the house. Comrades were moved to tears by Comrade Mao Zedong's frankness and strength of character.

(From "Reminiscences of Comrade Mao Zedong's Teaching and Concern for Cadres in Yanan." The author is Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.)

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Resistance Continues

The Kampuchean armed forces and people are waging guerrilla warfare against the Vietnamese aggressors in northeast and southwest Kampuchea as their Prime Minister Pol Pot has called.

On January 5, the Prime Minister called on his people to unite to fight a people's war which calls for wiping out as many enemy effectives as possible while conserving their own fighting strength to win final victory. Since the fall of Phnom Penh, the Kampuchean armed forces and people have been engaged in a people's war against the Vietnamese invaders. *The Washington Post* on January 13 quoted one intelligence official as saying that some Kampuchean regular units and guerrilla forces are untouched and intact.

A UPI dispatch from Bangkok dated January 12 quoted intelligence sources as saying that the Kampuchean armed forces and people are fighting the Vietnamese aggressors in guerrilla bands in Ratanakiri Province in northeast Kampuchea. The following day, a Reuter dispatch also reported guerrilla warfare in the eastern part of the country.

Quoting reliable Western sources, AP reported from Bangkok on January 13 that a number of Kampuchean troops have entered the Cardamom and Elephant Mountain Ranges in southwest Kampuchea. A Reuter report disclosed the same day that Pol Pot's troops were turning these mountain ranges into their major bases.

Resistance against the Vietnamese aggressor troops is continuing in other parts of Kampuchea. *The New York Times* in an article on January 13 said: In a number of provinces between Phnom Penh and the border, fighting is now heavier than during the Vietnamese drive on the capital of Kampuchea. *The Daily Telegraph* of Britain in a January 13 report revealed that there is serious resistance by the Kampuchean army in areas including Kompong Cham. The Vietnamese invasion force simply bypassed some of these strong points. *The Washington Post* in an article quoting one intelligence official said the same day "resistance continues around the country."

SOUTH PACIFIC

National Independence Spreads

Following the independence of the Solomon Islands and Tuvalu, the Gilbert Island Group will become independent this coming July, the tenth sovereign state in the South Pacific. Other groups of islands in Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia are fighting for the same goal. The last U.S. trust territory of Micronesia has just held a U.N. supervised referendum to end U.S. trusteeship.

The burgeoning national-independence movement in the South Pacific area is giving the old colonialists and the new hegemonists a buffeting. For example, when a "science" ship of the Soviet social-imperialists reached an uninhabited island belonging to Papua New Guinea, the latter-day tsarists planted their national flag on the island, in the same way the

old tsarists did to seize some Antarctic islands. This was discovered and enraged Papua New Guineans quickly pulled down the Soviet flag and drove away the Soviet vessel. Papua New Guinea consequently announced a 200-mile fishing zone to keep out Soviet hegemonists.

The Soviet Union also tried to get a foothold in Tonga with an offer to set up a "fishing base" there, but the offer was firmly turned down.

Moscow tried to infiltrate Fiji by recruiting a handful of anti-government Fijians for training in subversion in the Soviet Union. Fijian Prime Minister Kamisese Mara, who was well aware of the subversive nature of the Soviet moves, refused to allow Moscow to set up a Soviet embassy in his country.

Vigorous efforts were made last year by South Pacific states to safeguard their fishing resources and territorial waters. New Zealand and Papua New Guinea in April announced the establishment of 200-mile exclusive economic zones. This was followed later by Fiji, Australia, Western Samoa, Tonga, and Nauru. As a result, nearly all 6 million square miles of South Pacific waters are now under the jurisdiction of the relevant sovereign South Pacific states, and a South Pacific forum has been organized to safeguard their national interests.

MANILA AND WASHINGTON

Military Base Amendment Signed

The Philippines and the United States on December 31, 1978 agreed on a six-point amendment to the agreement allowing the United States to use military bases in the Philip-

piners. The amendment was signed and notes exchanged to this effect on January 7 this year.

The new amendment includes formal recognition of Philippine sovereignty over the bases, designation of Filipino base commanders and assumption by Philippine armed forces of responsibility for perimeter security.

After the signing ceremony, President Marcos told newsmen that January 17 has been set as the date for a Filipino commander to take over Clark Air Base. The military bases at Clark Field, Subic Bay and other places will no longer be U.S. bases, but Philippine bases.

The President added that the amendment would prohibit the presence of U.S. troops in the country in case of civil strife. However, if an external aggressor tries to invade the Philippines, the government may ask for U.S. assistance.

ARGENTINA AND CHILE

Border Dispute Agreement

Argentina and Chile both agreed on January 8 to seek a

peaceful solution to the border dispute over their southern waters. The two sides agreed "not to use armed force," to "abstain from taking measures that may impair their harmony" and to "make a gradual return to the military situation at the beginning of 1977."

The Argentine-Chilean border dispute is a legacy of history and is over the ownership of the Lennox, Picton and Nueva Islands in the Beagle Channel at the tip of the South American continent. Under a 1881 treaty Chile was given jurisdiction over the three islands, but Argentina holds that as Chile is a Pacific country and as the three islands are on the Atlantic side of the Cape Horn meridian it should not make territorial claims in Atlantic waters. The Cape Horn meridian demarcates the Pacific and the Atlantic and the two countries' territorial waters. Chile, however, holds that the Argentine position is not contained in any treaty provisions. This is the question the two countries have been at loggerheads over for a long time.

The commission set up by the two countries to study the de-

marcation of their southern waters announced on November 2, after six months of work, its failure to reach unanimity on the question of demarcation. Relations between the two countries then became strained. The Presidents of the two countries held telephone talks which led to a meeting and the signing of a summary of the talks. It was decided to hold direct talks in three stages to settle the dispute through peaceful means. Some progress has been made in the course of the long on-again off-again negotiations.

The border dispute affects not only the two countries but also peace and security on the South American continent as a whole, and Soviet and Cuban infiltration into southern Africa has made Latin American countries quite uneasy. If armed conflict occurs between Latin American countries, it could present the Soviet social-imperialists with openings to exploit. So the agreement to settle the two countries' border issue through peaceful means is not only welcomed by the people of Argentina and Chile, it is also conducive to maintaining peace and security in this region.

(Continued from p. 7.)

students and faculty members taking part in the great debate.

The significance of these debates has apparently gone beyond the purview of the two works, for many basic theoretical questions of literature and art in this period are involved. Is it permissible, for instance, to write about the seamy side of our society? When a story describes how the gang undermined the Cultural Revolution, does it amount to "besmirching the Cultural Revolution"? Do

literary works with a tragic end inspire the readers or not?

The debates have, moreover, changed the atmosphere of stereotyped conformity in literary criticism that prevailed during the years when the "gang of four" who dominated the scene could pass whatever verdict on a literary work as they pleased, for they were the only "revolutionary" arbiters at that time. When they said something was "a fragrant flower," you must worship it as such; when they pronounced it to be a "poisonous weed," you must trample it underfoot. Zhang Chunqiao

pontificated: "Let a hundred schools of thought contend, but it's the school of Jiang Qing that has the final say!" Under these cultural tsars, literary themes became scandalously monotonous and a hundred flowers wilted.

The public are highly pleased with these debates. This, they say, is one way of bringing about the kind of political situation Chairman Mao advocated, namely, one with both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Such a situation is emerging once again in China.

● **Beijing's Cultural Palace**

The Beijing Working People's Palace of Culture on the eastern flank of the Tian An Men Gate is running 39 spare-time courses on basic science and technology as well as on electronics and laser for the capital's workers. There are frequent reports, forums and exhibitions, plus short-term English and Japanese classes. Several thousand workers are currently studying here.

Zhou Yongren, a worker in the Beijing Thumb Tack Factory, was recently made an engineer. He had used what he had learnt at the Palace of Culture to successfully design an automation line producing tacks with a plastic head. Production of tacks has gone up considerably as a result.

The Palace of Culture is also a hive of amateur cultural activities. There are classes on music, dancing, writing and fine arts. The worker-graduates are their work places' cultural activists. Many workers are at present learning to write music and lyrics, practising with music groups and group singing for the traditional Spring Festival which falls this year on January 28.

There are also various sports activities. Many workers' teams train here and large numbers of men and women meet daily for traditional *wushu* and *taijiquan* (two kinds of Chinese boxing) exercises.

The Palace of Culture set up after liberation was the imperial ancestral temple of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties. Today, a cinema, an open-air theatre, a library and a sports ground have been added.

● **Big Copper Ore Discovered**

One of the world's largest copper deposits has been discovered in Dexing County in south China's Jiangxi Province. Verified reserves: 8 million tons.

It will become one of the nine major non-ferrous metal bases to be built before 1985.

The ore seam is ideal for strip mining, being thick and close to the surface. The ore also contains gold, silver, molybdenum, rhenium and sulphur.

Copper deposits within the range of 500,000 tons are considered large and anything over 3 million tons is exceptionally large.

● **Port Construction**

Ten berths for 10,000-ton freighters and three for 5,000-ton vessels were built and put into service last year in the port cities of Shanghai, Tianjin, Nanjing, Huangpu and Zhanjiang. Among them are special docks for handling oil, coal, iron and steel and bulk cargo. This has

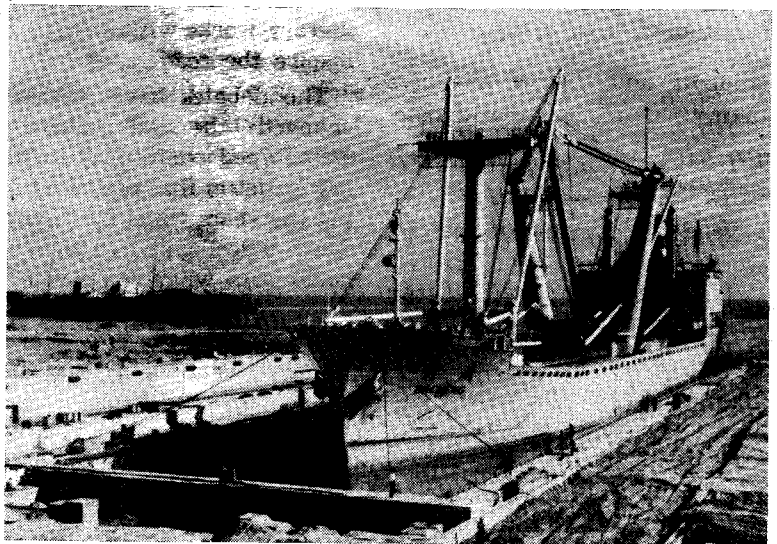
added 13 million tons to the country's annual cargo handling capacity.

To cope with the rapidly growing volume of foreign trade, the Ministry of Communications plans to vastly improve coastal facilities this year. More container terminals are to be built and navigational computer monitoring systems installed to improve navigation and shorten the turn-around time of ships.

New facilities for repairing vessels will be added and existing ones improved. The Shanhaiguan Shipyard on Bohai Bay which was commissioned early last year has a drydock capable of handling 50,000-ton freighters.

● **Factory Stripped of Honour Title**

Despicable deliberate misrepresentation and hyperbolicism and even telling outright lies which were rampant when the "gang of four" was around are now not much in evidence.



Drydock in Shanhaiguan Shipyard.

These non-proletarian practices are being ruthlessly stamped out, as dishonest people and organizations have found out.

The Metal Welding Plant in Taiyuan has been stripped of the honourable title of "Daqing-type enterprise" and its director removed from his post by the Shanxi provincial authorities for falsifying production figures and performance. Daqing is the national pace-setter in industry.

The head of the welding plant resorted to low cunning. He was responsible for doctoring the plant's production figures.

Furthermore, some leading personnel of the factory had misused state funds, and had spent 5,000 yuan on lavish banquets between January 1977 and May 1978.

The municipal leadership of Taiyuan also made a public self-criticism for not discovering this deception and abuses earlier.

● **A Letter From America**

Last year, a branch post office in Hangzhou, east China, had a letter with a vague address from the United States.

The address was "Messrs. Qian, Huanghu Bridge," but there was no such a place in Hangzhou. Postman Fang Jingshan, with 30 years experience behind him, did not immediately put it into the dead-letter shelf. He began enquiries in places around Henghe Bridge, which approximated the pronunciation with the address.

He asked over 30 elderly people who had lived in Hangzhou all their lives without getting anything definite. A septuagenarian lady, however, told him that there were two

brothers of that surname but they had moved sometime before 1945 to a place called Jinji Peak.

Fang went and asked people there, but was unable to find a trace of the brothers. After many more twists and turns, he finally found Yu Jinmei, the 90-year-old mother of the Qian brothers who no longer lived in the city, and delivered the letter.

The letter from the United States was from her daughter and son-in-law. "We are in our sixties," said the letter, "our memory is failing and we cannot remember clearly our home's address. But, we were told that the motherland's postal service is very efficient, so we are writing, despite the vagueness of the address, in the hope of getting in touch with our dear ones. . . ."

The mother and daughter were separated 40 years ago at the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan and had not seen or heard from each other all these years. At that time the family was living in a small hut near Henghe Bridge.

● **Social Welfare**

Last year, the state civil affairs department allocated 400 million yuan in relief funds to help peasants in drought-hit provinces in south China.

Apart from those affected by natural calamities, China's social relief fund is mainly allocated to providing a living for the aged, orphans, the disabled, handicapped, blind, deaf, mute, mentally retarded and mental patients and helping large families in financial difficulties with few able-bodied members.

The social welfare policy is one of encouraging self-help through production and mutual

aid among the masses and giving state grants only when necessary. Self-help means, with government aid, the rural people's communes and urban neighbourhood committees organizing the handicapped and disabled to do work within their capabilities so as to support themselves step by step.

At present, the civil affairs departments at all levels run about 800 welfare factories employing 120,000 workers and staff, half of whom are blind or deaf and mute. The handicapped have veteran workers to teach them and help take care of them.

These factories turn out several thousand varieties of products ranging from carpets, meters and instruments to electrical appliances. The factories are not required to pay taxes and their profits go mainly to expanding production and their own collective or social welfare facilities.

Those aged and disabled living alone in cities or in the countryside who have no one to support them, the state provides for them from a special fund or the people's communes set aside money from their public welfare fund to guarantee them a decent standard of living.

The country today has more than 700 welfare centres in the cities caring for 60,000 of the aged, orphans, disabled and handicapped, blind, deaf and mute.





SPORTS

Hale and Hearty

A tennis doubles tournament for Beijing's elderly people ended on New Year's Day. It was won by a high-ranking naval officer and a university don. Average age of competitors in this two-week tournament was

62 years and six months. For a pair to qualify, their combined age had to be above 110. The youngest competitor was 52 and the doyen was 74.

Prior to this, there was a "New Long March Sports Meet for Elderly People" in the capital. The 220 men and women taking part came from factories and offices, from laboratories, hospitals and schools. Not a few were living in retirement. They competed in the 5,000-metre race and other events such as traditional *taijiquan* (Chinese boxing) and sword-play.

Participants were not concerned about records or placings. They were out to show that physical exercises could keep people fit.

Lu Changqing (78), a retired worker, was the oldest in the 5,000 metres. He finished last but he got the biggest cheer when he crossed the finishing line. He had been semi-paralysed by a stroke five years ago, but he learnt to walk again with crutches and then throwing these away he did daily jogging. "I'll live to see a modernized motherland!" he said with a smile to his well-wishers.

There are many like him. More and more elderly people today are regularly doing exercises to improve their body and mind with the same aim. Deputy Chief of the Head Office of the Bureau of Tourism Zhuang Yanlin (57) is repre-

sentative. He has been doing long-distance running since he was 40. A few weeks ago there was a good fall of snow during the night. At noon the next day he was seen swimming in a suburban canal with 30 others. Passers-by stood staring in admiration as he and a 79-year-old doctor of traditional Chinese medicine frolicked in the water. He ended his swim with several dives from the bank. What many people did not know was that Zhuang Yanlin had a 91-year-old father who rubs himself down every morning with cold water. The father is Zhuang Xiquan, a Member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who is very active in his public duties.

"Eighty is not old. We'll be around still working when we're 90!" is what more and more elderly people in China are saying and they are doing physical exercises and work commensurate with their age and health to accomplish this.

When 105-year-old Ran Dagu, a healthy peasant woman from the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, came to Beijing last year for the Fifth National People's Congress, someone asked this People's Deputy what was her secret for long life and good health. "The secret," she replied quickly with a chuckle, "is to do some physical labour every day and to take plenty of nature's tonic comprising of sunshine, wind and rain."



The race begins.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Affiliated Colleges Set Up

Some 290,000 new college students were enrolled in October 1978. Enrolment in the previous academical year was 278,000. The 1978 figure is stupendous compared to the days when the "gang of four" was on the rampage.

The number still falls far short of the requirements of a country with more than 800 million people. A lot more scientists, engineers and other specialists are needed if China is to become a modernized, prosperous country soon. And it is with this goal in mind that institutes of higher learning have been revived and more set up.

Tianjin, an industrial port city of north China, was the first to start affiliated colleges to enrol more students. After four months of intensive preparatory work, eight institutes of higher learning, including Nankai University and Tianjin University, enrolled an additional 6,600.

The affiliated day colleges are housed in primary or middle schools whose pupils have been reallocated to other schools. Laboratories and new equipment were added. Students attend TV lectures, and have teachers to help. They are bussed to and from their places of study.

When the Tianjin municipal Party committee last year suggested setting up affiliated colleges, the idea was enthusi-

astically received. Universities and colleges concerned quickly seconded qualified staff members, and unstinting support came in from all walks of life.

Colleges and universities in China are state run and the students are enrolled and graduates assigned work according to national economic plans. The new, affiliated colleges in Tianjin, however, are financed by the municipal bureau of education, so their graduates will be employed by the municipality.

Tianjin's example was followed by Beijing, Shanghai,

Guangzhou and many other cities.

The Ministry of Education has now decided that in areas where fairly good results in the recent college entrance examinations have been gained, affiliated colleges should be set up and other ways found to enrol more students than the state had planned. As a result, 110,000 more students will be enrolled this year.

REVOLUTIONARY RELICS

Zhou Enlai's Two Autographs

Two autographs written in 1917 by Comrade Zhou Enlai speak eloquently of the high ideals he held even in his youth. One (see photo 1) reads: "Foster ideals and work for them," and the other (see photo 2), "May we meet again in a great and prosperous China."

He wrote these in Shenyang, northeast China, for one of his schoolmates. At that time imperialists were plundering the country and feudal warlords were fighting each other for spheres of influence. In his quest to save his country and people, the 19-year-old Zhou Enlai left for Japan to continue his studies after graduating from the Nankai Middle School in Tianjin. Before he went overseas he paid a brief visit to Shenyang where he had spent four of his primary school years.

The two autographs were written then and are now kept in a building which was formerly the late Premier's school.

志在四方

1

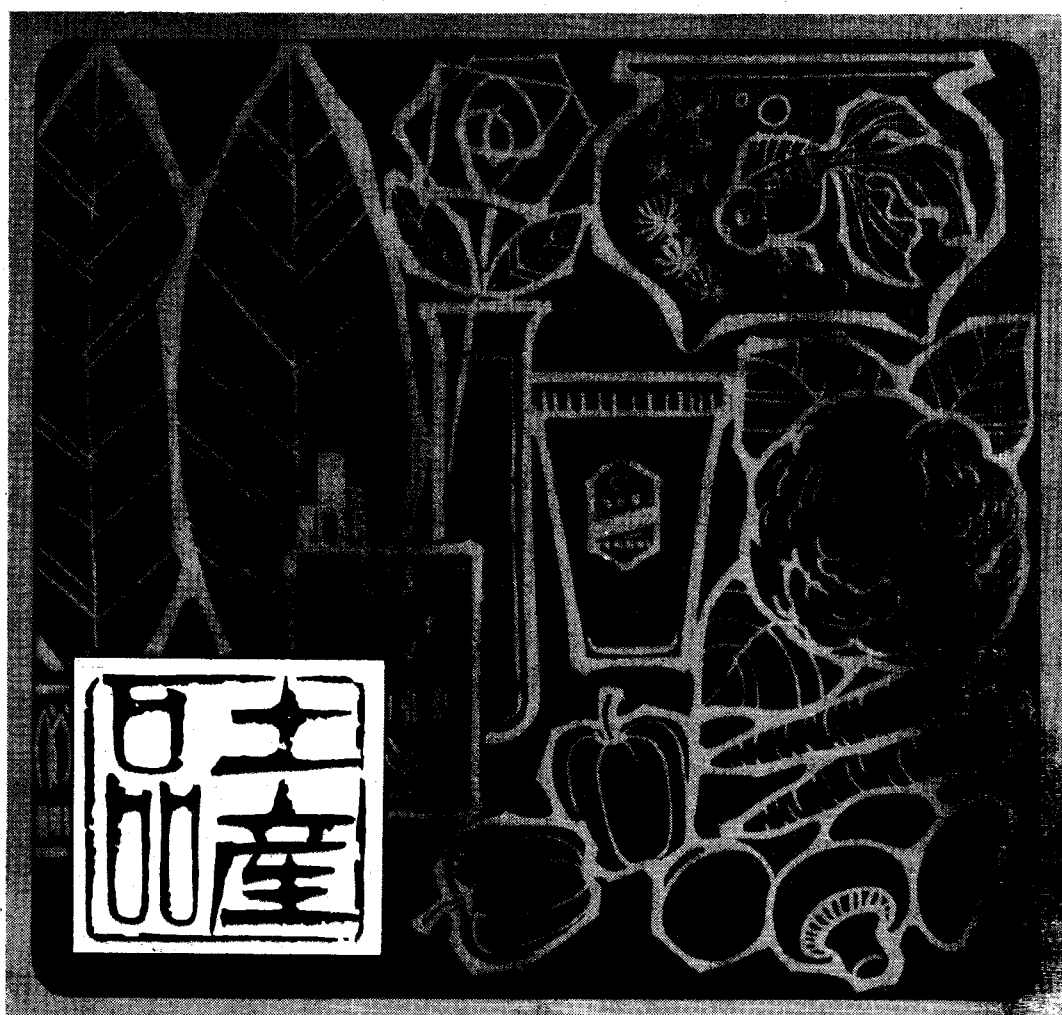
願相會於中

2

翔宇贈

華僑飛世界時

周總理手書



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