

PEKING REVIEW

43

October 21, 1977

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報

The C.P.C. Central Committee Party School Opens

- Decision of C.P.C. Central Committee
On Running Well Party Schools at
Various Levels
- Speeches by Chairman Hua and
Vice-Chairman Yeh at Inauguration
Ceremony

The Party's Nationality Policy Shines Over Inner Mongolia

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Chairman Hua Meets F.R.G. and Thai Guests

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on October 14 met Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, his wife Mrs. Barbara Genscher and their party.

During the meeting, Chairman Hua said: There are broad prospects for exchanges between China and the Federal Republic of Germany in the fields of science and technology and in economy and trade. Your current visit will further deepen the mutual understanding between our two countries and promote friendly exchanges and co-operation in these fields. Our principle for national construction is independence and self-reliance. But this does not mean self-seclusion. We want to have exchanges with other countries in the fields of science and technology, economy and trade and to learn from their advanced experience. Our country has rich resources, but our present level of industrial and agricultural production is still low. We have set the target of modernizing our industry,

agriculture, science and technology and national defence before the end of this century. It will not do just to talk about it, but we must really work hard. We must first of all rely on our own efforts, and at the same time we should learn from the good and advanced experience of foreign countries.

Chairman Hua expressed his thanks to the old friends who 20 years ago helped promote non-governmental trade between China and the Federal Republic of Germany, and he extended his welcome to the new friends visiting China for the first time.

Vice-Chancellor Genscher conveyed to Chairman Hua the regards of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Chairman Hua asked the Vice-Chancellor to convey his best wishes to President Walter Scheel and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt upon his return to the Federal Republic of Germany.

* * *

On October 13, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng met former Prime Minister of Thailand Mom Rajwongse Kukrit Pramoj and highly praised his contributions to the development of friendly

relations between China and Thailand. Chairman Hua recalled that Mr. Kukrit visited China in the summer of 1975 as Prime Minister of Thailand and realized the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Thailand, thereby making positive contributions to the development of friendship between the two countries. Chairman Hua said that the Chinese people will never forget such far-sighted policy decision on the part of Mr. Kukrit. Sino-Thai friendship is the common aspiration of the two peoples and should be consolidated and developed.

Mr. Kukrit said that the entire Thai people wish that the established friendly relations between Thailand and China will be consolidated and developed. He said that he was convinced that these friendly relations will continue to develop.

Chairman Hua extended an invitation to Mr. Kukrit to visit China again at a time convenient to him.

Mr. Kukrit, as the guest of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Peking on October 11.

The C.P.C. Central Committee Party School Opens

THE Party School Under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China opened on October 9 and an inauguration ceremony was held that afternoon.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and concurrently president of the Central Party School; Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and concurrently first vice-president of the school, attended the ceremony.

Also present were other leaders of the Party and state, a leading member of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and leading members of departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee and the State Council and of the various departments of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing presided over the ceremony at which Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh made important speeches. (For full texts of their speeches see pp. 8 and 11.) Hu Yao-pang, Member of the Party Central Committee and vice-president

of the Central Party School, also spoke at the ceremony.

The reopening of the Central Party School is a major event in the political life of our Party.

The students enrolled for this term are from the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country. Among them are veteran cadres who followed Chairman Mao in fighting battles north and south, middle-aged cadres from various departments of the Party, government and army and other fronts who have practical experience in struggle, and young cadres who have come to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Some are of Mongolian, Uighur, Tibetan, Hui and other minority nationalities.

Vice-Chancellor Genscher Visits China

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, and his party arrived in Peking on October 12 for an official visit to China.

At the banquet he gave in honour of the Vice-Chancellor and the other distinguished

guests, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: Vice-Chancellor Genscher's visit coincides with the fifth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Federal Republic of Germany. He said there has been satisfactory development in the relations between the two countries over the past five years and expressed the belief that, with the advance of China's socialist construction, the relations would have still wider prospects of development.

Speaking of the current international situation, Vice-Premier Li pointed out that factors for war are increasing as the two superpowers step up their contention for world hegemony.

The Vice-Premier went on to say: "The continued contention between the superpowers will eventually lead to a conflagration, and it is impossible to avoid it. However, we are of the view that so long as we tell the people the true situation, point out the source and danger of war, believe in no such cliches as 'detente' and 'disarmaments,' heighten our vigilance and get prepared, unite with all forces that can be united to form the broadest possible united front against hegemonism and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, then it is possible to put off the outbreak of war and upset the superpowers' plans for war."

"The Chinese people," the Vice-Premier added, "always respect the German people's righteous aspirations for national unification, sympathize with them in their present situation, and firmly support their efforts to unite with the people of other European countries in the struggle to oppose hegemonism and safeguard national independence."

In his speech, Vice-Chancellor Genscher said: "The past five years have proved that the people of Germany and China have a lot to talk about and a lot to do in political get-together and cultural exchanges, that we can carry out mutually beneficial co-operation in trade and science and technology, and that we are shouldering, separately and increasingly jointly, greater and greater responsibilities for world progress and peace."

We are of the opinion, he said, that "the aspirations of all countries for self-determination and independence are the greatest force of our time."

He added: "No longer is there any future for big-nation policy, quest for hegemony and the attempt to ensure one's interests by a system of the dominating ruling over the dominated."

"Hence, the Federal Republic of Germany has regarded the respect for self-determination of all nations and equality as

the pillar of her foreign policy from the very outset."

The Vice-Chancellor pointed out that "there is only one German nation just as there is only one Chinese nation."

"We are convinced," he said, "that history will show that the aspirations of a nation for unification will stand the test."

The Vice-Chancellor added: "We are building our future in the European Community which has become a pillar of European and world stability."

"The People's Republic of China has established relations with the European Community and begun talks with it for signing a trade agreement. This confirms the sense of reality of the Chinese policy."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Foreign Minister Huang Hua exchanged views on a wide range of questions of common interest and bilateral relations with Vice-Chancellor Genscher. Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Fang Yi and Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang met Vice-Chancellor Genscher on separate occasions and had talks with him on promoting scientific and technical co-operation and trade between the two countries.

Vice-Chancellor Genscher and his party left Peking on October 15 for home via Shanghai.

Condolences on Chairman Al-Hamdi's Death

Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the State Council, sent a message on October 13 to Ahmed Hussein Al-Ghashmi, Chairman of the Command Council of the Yemen Arab Republic, expressing deep condolences on the passing of Chairman Ibrahim Mohammed Al-Hamdi.

The message said: "The late Chairman Al-Hamdi led the Yemeni people and made positive contributions to combating imperialism and colonialism, safeguarding the country's independence and sovereignty, and promoting national construction, and to developing the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Yemeni peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. I believe that the Yemeni Government and people will turn grief into strength, continue to advance along the road of independent development and constantly achieve fresh successes."

On October 14, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien called, at the Embassy of the Yemen Arab Republic in China to express his condolences on the death of Chairman Al-Hamdi. Premier Hua Kuo-feng, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defence and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee presented wreaths.

Decision of C.P.C. Central Committee

On Running Well Party Schools at Various Levels (Excerpts)

October 5, 1977

IN order to resolutely carry out the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party and meet the needs of the new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, and for the purpose of making in-depth criticism of the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist line, striving to clarify those questions of right and wrong concerning the line, ideology and theory which were turned upside down by the gang, and reviving and carrying forward our Party's fine tradition and style of work so as to thoroughly overcome the harmful effects caused by the gang on Party building, we must firmly respond to Chairman Hua's great call: Let the whole Party have a competition in the study of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and make earnest efforts to run the Party schools at various levels well.

In the final analysis, Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat means arming, on an extensive scale and in a deep-going way, the entire Party membership with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, particularly Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To study theory and unfold a rectification campaign are important means to this end. In this respect, the most constantly and widely used method should be to do these in connection with one's work.

Another important and indispensable method is to run well the Party schools at various levels and enroll cadres group after group in a planned way so that they can study in a more systematic way for a certain period there. Owing to interference and sabotage by

Lin Piao and the anti-Party "gang of four," some of the Party schools at various levels have been abolished and some suspended. This is a loss to our Party. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, Party schools at various levels in some places have reopened while preparations are being made to reopen them in other places. The Party Central Committee is of the opinion that Party schools at the level of province, municipality and autonomous region should reopen as soon as possible and leadership over these schools should be strengthened. Efforts should be made to restore or reorganize Party schools at the level of prefecture, city, autonomous prefecture and league at an early date. If conditions permit, Party schools at the level of county, town and banner may also be set up.

The "May 7" cadre school which has emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution is a new type of school for tempering and educating cadres in line with Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive and his directive that cadres should "go down to do manual labour." The Party Central Committee holds that the Party school and the "May 7" cadre school should have a different aim and role and different points of emphasis. Both should be run well on a long-term basis.

We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism," strive to raise political consciousness and improve the art of leadership, and heighten our capabilities of distinguishing genuine from sham Marxism. Because of its need to usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" wantonly and in an all-round way distorted and tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Some

of our cadres, who were for long years busy with practical work, paid little attention to the study of theory and read too few major Marxist works, and the basic principles of Marxism did not take root in their minds. So, when confronted with the deception and trickery of this bunch of swindlers, they were defeated and even taken captive. This is a profound lesson.

The Central Committee holds that the most important subject for Party schools at various levels is the systematic reading of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, the comprehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system, the diligent study of Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reading of the original works and self-study should be the main form of study. The style of study characterized by closely integrating theory with practice should be encouraged. This means encouraging the cadres to apply the basic ideas and theories of the original works acquired through their study to criticizing the various revisionist fallacies both inside the country and in the world, and use them to roundly criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" in terms of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, to analyse the major questions concerning the line, principles and policies in one's work, and to analyse one's own thoughts, raise one's political consciousness and remould one's world outlook.

To do a good job in the Party's theoretical work, the Central Committee holds that the Party committees at various levels must be determined to bring up, after a long period of hard work, a contingent of Marxist theorists who are both red and expert. As Chairman Mao taught us, members of this contingent "can, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, correctly interpret the practical problems arising in the course of history and revolution and give scientific explanations and theoretical elucidations of China's economic, political, military, cultural and other problems."

A major issue concerning Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important content for training cadres at the Central Party School and Party schools at the

lower levels is to adhere to the three basic principles "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," enhance proletarian Party spirit, maintain and carry forward our Party's fine tradition and style of work and resolutely struggle against bourgeois ideology and style of work.

Our Party, which is highly conscious ideologically and imbued with a high sense of organization and discipline, is boundlessly loyal to the revolution and full of heroism and self-sacrificing spirit in the valiant struggle for the cause of people's liberation and the great cause of communism. It is good at learning in struggle and good at closely integrating theory with practice. Whatever it does, it proceeds from objective realities and works in the spirit of seeking truth from facts; it opposes idealism and metaphysics of all descriptions and subjectivism in work. Our Party is faithful and honest, open and aboveboard, and looks upon the interests of the revolution as its very life; it fears neither hardship nor death; whenever and wherever it may be, it upholds the truth and adheres to principles; it opposes factionalism, mountain-stronghold mentality and cliquism. Our Party serves the people wholeheartedly, its very being is intimately bound up with theirs and they share the same destiny; under all circumstances, it proceeds from the interests of the people and the supreme test of its words and deeds is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people; it firmly relies on the masses and has faith in their inexhaustible creative power. Our Party has the courage to do criticism and self-criticism and wages a resolute struggle against any ideas and actions harmful to the Party and to the people whenever and wherever they occur, and it is always ready to correct any erroneous ideas, views, opinions and methods that are against the interests of the Party and the people. All these fine traditions and style of work in our Party have enabled our Party to become an impregnable bastion and a vanguard force that is able to lead the people on the road of advance in vanquishing all enemies.

Party schools at various levels should do a good job in organizing the study of Party

(Continued on p. 14.)

Chairman Hua's Speech

Comrades:

The Central Party School opens today. On behalf of the Party Central Committee I extend to you all my warm congratulations.

Our Party schools were suspended for some time. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee has attached great importance to reopening the Central Party School and running it well, and has consolidated and strengthened the school. A short time ago it adopted a decision to run Party schools well at all levels. This is an important measure to strengthen Party building, the ideological and theoretical building of the Party in particular, in accordance with the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao.

Party schools are important for training cadres in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao always paid great attention to the training of cadres and the work of Party schools. In the early days of our Party, he set up institutes to train a backbone of leading personnel for the revolutionary peasant movement. After the Red Army arrived in northern Shensi at the end of the Long March, he founded the Red Army Academy and later the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. He gave lectures there and trained a large number of military and political cadres who played a leading role in the War of Resistance Against Japan. The Party Central Committee decided in 1942 to strengthen the Central Party School, and Chairman Mao was concurrently president of the school. A great number of leading Party cadres were assembled to study and take part in the rectification movement in the school. At the opening ceremony of the Party school, Chairman Mao delivered the report *Rectify the Party's Style of Work* and launched the first and historically significant rectification movement throughout the Party. This movement completely liquidated Wang Ming's erroneous line, educated the whole Party in Marxism-Leninism and laid the political and ideological foundation for our Party

to lead the new-democratic revolution to complete victory. After the founding of New China, Chairman Mao time and again stressed the need of educating the whole Party, especially leading Party cadres, in Marxism and the need for Party members and cadres to raise their political consciousness and art of leadership. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao our Party adhered to the Marxist line and won one victory after another in socialist revolution and construction.

Our country has now entered a new period of development in the socialist revolution and construction. The 11th National Congress of the Party, which is of great historical importance, has laid down the line for this new period, which is to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, continue the revolution and strive to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, after smashing the three anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the last in particular, our Party has become stronger and more united than before. The situation as a whole is excellent and our work is advancing in all respects. But we still have shortcomings and difficulties. With regard to Party building, the harm the "gang of four" did to our Party's ideology, style of work and organization is very serious. The Party Central Committee holds that an extremely important task now facing our whole Party is to carry out a new movement of education in Marxism throughout the Party, further reforming our study, completely eliminating the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and doing a thorough job in rectifying the Party's style of work. Our cause of socialism will take a big step forward when this is successfully achieved.

The basic task for building the Party ideologically is the study of Marxist theory. The Communist Party of China founded and

nurtured by Chairman Mao is one of the vanguard organizations most capable of learning among the contingents of the international proletariat after the time of Lenin. Chairman Mao devoted himself throughout his life to integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of contemporary revolutionary struggles and constantly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. Great Mao Tsetung Thought is the invincible ideological weapon of the people of our country. In our efforts to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, the basic and most essential thing is to study diligently and apply and defend this invincible weapon. In this respect, the Party school has a heavy responsibility. Most students in this school are leading Party comrades at various levels and when these comrades have done well in their studies, they will lead the whole Party forward to ensure that great Mao Tsetung Thought is handed down from generation to generation as a precious heirloom.

Marxism consists of several disciplines: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. We need to understand all these thoroughly. Chairman Mao made major contributions in developing all of them and advanced a series of new concepts and new conclusions of great importance. His most important and brilliant achievement was inheriting, defending and developing the ideas of Marx and Lenin and formulating systematically the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This theory points out for the countries in which the proletarian revolution has triumphed the fundamental way to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, guard against capitalist restoration and build socialism. This theory has a particularly important place in the history of the development of Marxism and is of tremendous significance for guiding practice in the



Chairman Hua greeting the students.

socialist revolution and construction. To make earnest efforts to study this theory well is the sure guarantee that we implement to the letter the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism.

The basic principles of Marxism are the theoretical basis for our Party in formulating its line, principles and policies. Experience over the years proves that the basic principles of Marxism must be studied by the vast number of new Party members and cadres and also re-studied by veteran comrades. While the study of concrete policies and work directives is naturally very important, it cannot substitute for the study of basic principles. One important reason why some of our comrades committed mistakes of one kind or another and even allowed themselves to be misled is that the basic principles of Marxism had not really taken root in their minds and were blown away by a gust of wind. We must follow Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, study Marxism painstakingly and cultivate the habit of reading. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is an extremely rich treasure house of theory, it is an integrated scientific system. In the course of studying, we should strive to grasp all facets of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung

Thought in their entirety and not in bits and pieces, grasp them as they are and not as one wants them to be, and grasp them concretely and not abstractly.

Chairman Mao taught us: **"Integration of theory with practice is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism."** Chairman Mao waged a life-long struggle against that bad style of work characterized by boastfulness and the divorce of theory from practice. Whenever this bad style of work prevailed, our revolutionary cause invariably was made to suffer or even severely damaged. Therefore this is no small matter. Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and the "gang of four," that bunch of anti-Marxist political swindlers, created confusion on many basic theoretical issues and, at the same time, wrecked the Party's fine style of study. We must make great efforts to correct this. I hope you comrades will pay particular attention in the course of your teaching and study to upholding and carrying forward the fine style of study characterized by integrating theory with practice.

During protracted struggles replete with difficulties and hardships, Chairman Mao fostered a comprehensive fine style of work in our Party. This fine style is another contribution by Chairman Mao in developing Marxism-Leninism, especially in developing the theory on the Party. It is precisely this fine style that has enabled our Party to maintain ties of flesh and blood with our people, be full of revolutionary vigour, and overwhelm all enemies and surmount all difficulties. In taking the decision to run Party schools well at all levels, the Party Central Committee notes that attention be paid to the gravity of the sabotage done by the "gang of four" to the Party's fine tradition and style and points out that a major criterion for judging whether a Party school is being run well or not is whether comrades studying there significantly improve their Party spirit and style of work.

On the question of rectifying the style of work, I think the following are the most important points:

Great efforts should be made to revive and carry forward our Party's style of seeking truth from facts. The bad tendencies of dealing sub-

jectively and arbitrarily with matters without investigation and study and of seeking honour through fraud and deception must be firmly opposed.

We should work hard to revive and carry forward our Party's style of following the mass line and firmly oppose the bad tendencies of distrusting the masses, turning a deaf ear to their voice, refusing to rely on collective wisdom, having blind faith in one's self and taking arbitrary decisions and actions.

We should work hard to revive and carry forward our Party's democratic style of work and uphold democratic centralism, and resolutely oppose the bad tendencies of tolerating no contrary opinions, of "what I say goes," of retaliating against comrades who make criticisms, of disregarding discipline and organization and seeking "independence" from the Party.

We should work hard to revive and carry forward the style of being modest and prudent and of plain living and hard struggle, and firmly oppose the bad tendencies of being arrogant and complacent, of sticking to the beaten path, of indulging in a life of pleasure and comfort, of seeking privileges and wasting state and collective property.

We should make energetic efforts to revive and carry forward our Party's style of serving the people wholeheartedly, and firmly oppose the bad tendencies of striving for fame and position, mountain-stronghold mentality and factionalism, taking on the airs of an official and lording it over the people, and using power to serve private interests.

To rectify our Party's working style well, we should follow Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and adopt the effective method of criticism and self-criticism. We Communists are thoroughgoing materialists, so we should dare to expose thoroughly all shortcomings, mistakes and bad tendencies vitiating the people's interests and resolutely correct them.

Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us: **"The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job. Our country has need of many people who whole-**

heartedly serve the masses and the cause of socialism and who are determined to bring about changes. We Communists should all be people of this kind."

Comrades, we must rectify the way of thinking and style of work in our Party in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teachings. If we do so, the people of the whole country will follow our example, the whole nation will be influenced and we will win one victory after another for our great cause of socialism.

I hope that the comrades in the Central Party School will conscientiously study Marx-

ism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four" in close connection with the realities, and that they will be in the van in study, and learn and apply well what they study. You comrades have responded to the call of the Party Central Committee by proposing to make the Party school a centre for studying, disseminating and defending Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and a model in reviving and carrying forward the Party's fine style of work. This is excellent. This goal will surely be reached, provided you all make such efforts.

I wish you all success!

Vice-Chairman Yeh's Speech

Comrades:

Chairman Hua has just made an important speech. He dealt with strengthening the building of our Party ideologically and theoretically, which is a question of fundamental importance facing the whole Party and concerns the destiny and future of our Party and state. I hope you will study it carefully. Now I want to make a few remarks.

FIRST, about a basic experience of our Party.

Our Party has traversed a long road over the past 56 years. During this period it has undergone 11 two-line struggles; it has won many great victories and also suffered a number of setbacks.

The reason why our Party has won victories is that, in essence, it had Chairman Mao's leadership and is armed with Mao Tsetung Thought which integrates the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of our revolution. All the victories of our Party are victories for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Conversely, the reason why our Party suffered setbacks was, in essence, the leadership of our Party was usurped by pseudo-Marxists or anti-Marxists who rejected or opposed Chairman Mao's leadership and interfered with and undermined his Marxist leadership.

For the purpose of drawing lessons from negative examples, I wish to deal with this question in the light of our Party's three comparatively major setbacks in the 11 struggles between the two lines.

Our Party suffered the first comparatively major setback in its early days. The non-Marxist Chen Tu-hsiu was then in control of our Party's leadership. He rejected Chairman Mao's correct views and practised Right capitulationism. Though many comrades in our Party at that time had great revolutionary ardour and a firm fighting will, they were not well armed theoretically and thus failed to see that Chen Tu-hsiu who had usurped Party leadership was a non-Marxist. As a result, the Party was thrown into disarray and suffered heavily from the surprise attacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Our Party suffered its second comparatively major setback during the period of the Agrarian Revolution (1927-37). Wang Ming and company, who were pseudo-Marxist dogmatists, were then in control of our Party's leadership. They rejected Chairman Mao's leadership and pursued a "Left" opportunist line. At that time, quite a number of comrades in the Party were busy fighting the Kuomintang on the battlefield and paid little attention to the study of Marxist theory; so they failed to see that people like

Wang Ming were pseudo-Marxist swindlers. The Party again suffered heavily.

The third comparatively major setback took place immediately after we had settled accounts with Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. Our Party suffered from sabotage by a bunch of anti-Marxist swindlers — Lin Piao and the "gang of four." This resulted in the greatest damage and the most harmful influence in the history of our Party. Wielding that portion of power they had usurped, they wantonly tampered with Marxism, sabotaged the Great Cultural Revolution, and deceived many of our comrades. In view of this grave situation, Chairman Mao in 1971 pointed out to the whole Party that many of our comrades had been deceived by some swindlers for many years because they had not read works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This was a very serious lesson. Chairman Mao called on the comrades throughout the Party, first of all high- and middle-ranking cadres, to read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism. In the five years from the time Chairman Mao gave this instruction up to his death, however, there was no fundamental change in the situation and many comrades still attached little importance to the study of Marxism-Leninism. Capitalizing on this weakness of ours, the "gang of four" tampered with Marxism and Chairman Mao's instructions even more frenziedly. Many of our comrades were once again deceived by this gang of nefarious anti-Marxist swindlers and suffered severely.

Chairman Hua led our Party in smashing the "gang of four" and thus saved the revolution and the Party. Immediately after the crushing of the gang, Chairman Hua, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, called on the whole Party, the leading Party cadres in the first place, to conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. He also put forward the tasks of publishing Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, studying the history of our Party and consolidating and strengthening Party schools. Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee adopted these measures after summing up our Party's basic experience and lessons of the past 50 years and more, particularly those of the past decade.

Hence, our whole Party, particularly the leading cadres, must diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. We must act in accordance with Lenin's exhortation and make it a component part of our life to study Marxism assiduously.

SECOND, about maintaining and carrying forward the style of study advocated by Chairman Mao.

While inheriting, defending and developing Marxism, Chairman Mao set a fine style of study for our Party, namely, the style of linking theory closely with practice.

In my view, close integration of theory with practice has two fundamental aspects. First, we must grasp theory. Without theory, we would be like a sheet of blank paper, so how could we link with practice? Second, we must proceed from practice. If theory cannot be used as a guide to practice and be tested by it, what theory is that! Theory should never be founded with empty talk, boasting or lies.

We should be staunch Marxists. We have firm faith in Marxism, the most revolutionary and progressive science of mankind, founded by Marx and Engels through painstaking study of history, natural science and proletarian revolution. Marxism is the science for the emancipation of the proletariat, of all oppressed nations and mankind as a whole. Only after the birth of Marxism have the proletariat of the world and progressive mankind been really provided with an ideological weapon to know the world and transform it, and only then have they begun to be masters of their own destiny. With this weapon, revolutionary political parties and people in various parts of the world have overthrown part of the old world in the past century or so. In the process of criticizing the old world, the great teachers Lenin and Chairman Mao discovered a new world and constantly advanced Marxism. Hence the stirring situation: Revolutionary theory gives rise to great revolutionary movements, which in turn promotes the development of revolutionary theory. Marxism in our time, developed by Lenin and Chairman Mao, is fuller and richer than it was over a century ago. Viewed from this point alone, is there any doubt that the people will completely

overthrow the old world and create a new one? I think there is no doubt whatsoever.

Marxism is an integrated scientific system. But Lin Piao and the "gang of four" at one time separated Mao Tsetung Thought from Marxism and at another time set one principle of Marxism against another. Ignoring the historical conditions or the essential meaning of the original work, they often plucked out a phrase or two to hoodwink and bluff the people. They were the most vicious and most shameless enemies of Marxism.

At the time of Marx's death, Engels made a well-known remark, which is, without Marx, without Marxism, we would still have been groping in the dark. One cannot of course become a genuine Marxist simply by reading Marxist works. He must move on to practice, take part in it, get in touch with new things and study practical questions. Our great revolutionary teachers warned that if we should rest content with reading Marxist books while divorcing ourselves from reality and if we should use Marxist phrases as a cure-all panacea, we would be doing no more than "flying in the air" above actual life. Therefore, in studying Marxist theoretical works we must advocate this: Understand them thoroughly, link them with reality, seek truth from facts and delve into our study with a definite objective in mind. In other words, we must apply the principles of Marxism and the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in analysing, handling and solving all the problems we confront. It can be said that theory will become more incisive, more capable of winning over the masses and become a material force more readily if we link it with as many practical problems as possible and dare to do so, instead of steering clear of problems and being equivocal and ambiguous. Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee issued the call that we must revive and carry forward the style of seeking truth from facts and be dauntless and thoroughgoing materialists. I believe that if we do so we will surely be able to popularize this style of linking theory closely with reality, and push the cause of our Party forward.

All revolutionary comrades must learn from teachers by both positive and negative example.

It is imperative to read Marxist works conscientiously and systematically, grasp the basic principles of Marxism comprehensively and accurately and link them with reality. It is my conviction that, in response to the call of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, the cadres throughout the Party, primarily the high- and middle-ranking cadres, will foster the habit of studying the theory of Marxism in a down-to-earth way and make determined efforts to become Marxists in the true sense of the word.

THIRD, about a major task in carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future.

After Chairman Hua led our Party in smashing the "gang of four," I said on one occasion that a new situation had come into being in which we were carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. What does this mean?

Chairman Mao bequeathed us an inexhaustible ideological treasure house and led us in undertaking a great cause, the building of a base of the world revolution. When we say carrying forward the revolutionary cause, we mean that we must inherit Chairman Mao's ideological wealth in its entirety, be familiar with the entire history of our Party's struggles and its rich experience, and strive to consolidate and develop this great cause of ours.

For this purpose, we must study and compile our Party's history; this is a major task confronting us.

Our Party has led the revolution in a big country like ours with all its complexities and achieved great victories. We have accumulated rich experience over the past decades. Our Party has gained experience in domestic and international struggles, in the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and in armed struggle and other complex struggles. Since the advent of the period of socialism, we have gained experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We have had successes as well as failures in our protracted and arduous struggles. All these experiences are invaluable.

During his lifetime, when a revolutionary stage drew to a close or when a major task was completed, Chairman Mao invariably used the method "from the masses" to sum up the experience in good time and on this basis formulated new policies and methods and take them to the masses to be put into practice. Repeating this process again and again has helped us raise the level of our Marxist leadership from time to time. This is a Marxist method for educating cadres and raising their level. We must inherit from Chairman Mao this Marxist method of leadership without fail.

During his lifetime, Chairman Mao intended to have an important task completed, namely, compiling a history of our Party on the basis of summarizing its experience in struggle over the decades. At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao instructed us that it was imperative to have a history of the Party written; the Party could not do without one. There were many versions of the history of the Party but not a single authoritative one; a formal course in Party history ought to be given at Party schools. But before this task could be done, Chairman Mao departed from us, and it therefore became one of his behests.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee called on the whole Party to study the history of our Party. Like the editing and publishing of the selected and collected works of Chairman Mao, this is a strategic decision concerning the building of our Party ideologically and theoretically. Editing and publishing the selected and collected works of Chairman Mao and writing the history of our Party are, in my opinion, projects which complement each

other and it is possible and necessary to do both at the same time. The history of our Party is the history of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism integrating increasingly with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; it is also the history of the development and victory of Mao Tsetung Thought. Writing the history of our Party should be part and parcel of expounding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, expounding Mao Tsetung Thought as the development of Marxism-Leninism in our time and expounding Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are in fact one and the same thing and not two different things. In editing Chairman Mao's selected works and especially his collected works, we must also study and familiarize ourselves with the history of the Party.

I hope comrades working or studying at the Party school will make a careful study of the history of our Party, and especially of the ninth, tenth and eleventh two-line struggles. I also hope that many of our veteran comrades will make greater efforts in this aspect. Filled with wild ambitions, the "gang of four" not only tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought but also adulterated the history of our Party. They did a lot of false propaganda. We should rectify their distortions of history. I believe that so long as our veteran comrades and comrades specializing in studying Party history work in concert under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, they can certainly compile a good history of our Party in the not distant future.

These are a few remarks of mine. I wish you comrades fresh success in study.

(Continued from p. 7.)

building in the spirit of rectification. They should also conscientiously study Party's history and sum up its historical experience, particularly the experience of the ninth, tenth and eleventh struggles between the two lines. They should see to it that the graduates of each term make marked progress and improvement in

Party spirit and style of work when they return to their posts of work. Comrades in charge of the Party schools should do their best to turn the schools not only into strong positions for safeguarding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, but also models in carrying forward our Party's fine tradition and style of work.

The Party's Nationality Policy Shines Over Inner Mongolia

by Yu Tai-chung

THE establishment in 1947 of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the first of its kind to be set up for a minority nationality in China, represented a great example of Chairman Mao's application of Marxism-Leninism to solving the national question in our country, and was a historic victory for the Mongolian, Han and other peoples,

In the past 30 years, the people of various nationalities in the region, fighting shoulder to shoulder under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, won complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and on this basis went on to achieve great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The old Inner Mongolia that was poor, backward and disaster-ridden has now been turned into a socialist new Inner Mongolia with initial prosperity.

Guiding Principle in Handling The National Question

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, as the beacon lighting our path of triumphant advance, provides us with a guiding principle

The author is the First Secretary of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regional Committee of the Communist Party of China. Written on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the autonomous region, the article was published in *Hongqi*, No. 8, 1977. Our translation is part of the article dealing with the nationality policy. The heading and subheads are ours. — Ed.

in examining and handling the national question. According to Marxism, the formulation and resolution of such a question must be subordinated to the general task and the general line of the proletarian revolution. In the period of democratic revolution, the people of various nationalities in our country, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and achieved national equality and liberation. During the socialist period, they have grasped class struggle as the key link, taken the socialist road, promoted unity of the various nationalities and consolidated the unification of the motherland. They have endeavoured to speedily develop the economy and culture in national minority areas and worked to bring about the common prosperity and progress of all nationalities.

Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeoisie always places its national demands in the forefront, and does so in categorical fashion. With the proletariat, however, these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle." (*The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1914.) Chairman Mao enriched and developed this brilliant concept of Lenin. As is shown in *On the Ten Major Relationships* (1956), *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* (1957) and other works, Chairman Mao consistently regarded the correct handling of the national question as part of the general task of the continued revolution under the

dictatorship of the proletariat. He gave a scientific explanation of the relationship between the national question and the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus pointing out the direction for us to follow in correctly handling this question.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle."** (*Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism, 1963.*) Our experience tells us that class struggle, both domestic and international, is inevitably reflected in the national question. Overthrown aristocrats, feudal herd-owners, old and new bourgeois elements and their representatives in the Party, prompted by their reactionary nature, will invariably seize every opportunity to sow discord and create splits among the nationalities and disrupt their unity. In doing so they attempted to restore their reactionary regime of class and national oppression. Imperialism and social-imperialism will, by hook or by crook, incite national splittism among the nationalities in our country, engage in subversive activities and undermine the unification of our country. The influence of bourgeois national chauvinism that exists among some members of different nationalities cannot be eliminated in a short period of time. The victory of every revolutionary struggle in the autonomous region, from the socialist transformation to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was without exception due to the fact that the Mongolian, Han and other peoples persisted in

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and constantly waged struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between the Marxist-Leninist line and the revisionist line. Facts have fully proved that class struggle is the powerful motive force which pushes society forward and resolves the national question.

Chairman Mao pointed out that **"the question of the minority nationalities"** **"has both its generality and its particularity."** (*On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1954.*) Some minority nationalities have in the course of history evolved their own political and economic conditions which differ from those of the Han people. Therefore in our work we must take the political, economic and cultural features of the minority people into full consideration. This is of the utmost importance for carrying out the Party's line and grasping class struggle well in national minority areas.

In opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" either placed the national question above class struggle and obliterated its class essence or denied the special features of different nationalities, trampled on the Party's nationality policy and sabotaged the unity of various nationalities. Their criminal aim was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism and undermine the unification of the motherland. Historical experience tells us that only by resolutely grasping class

Herdsmen at a meeting to criticize the "gang of four."



In celebration of victory.

by Yen Hai



struggle and deepening the socialist revolution in both the economic base and the superstructure in the national minority areas can the national question there be correctly solved and construction be made a success. If we fail to grasp the key link of class struggle and depart from the Party's basic line we will go astray. And, if we want to make better use of the general law of class struggle in our work in the national minority areas, we must pay adequate attention to the characteristics of the minority nationalities. To overlook them or to deny the differences existing among various nationalities would be harmful to the socialist revolution and construction.

Strengthen Unity of All Nationalities

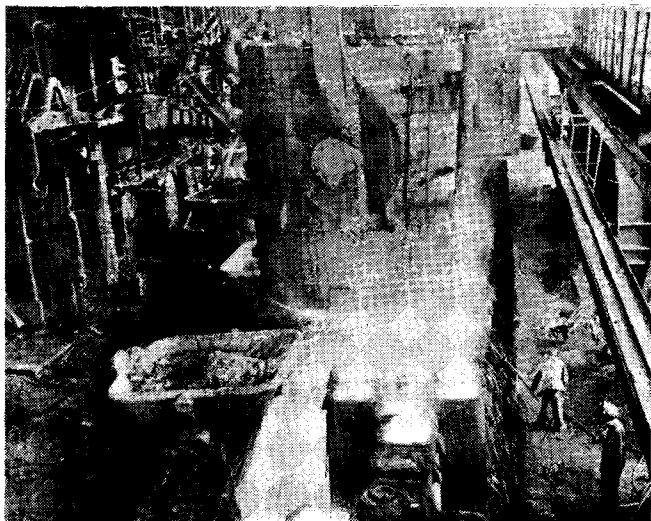
Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1957.) Our great revolutionary cause is the common cause of the people of all nationalities. Only when they fight in unity, with the lofty aim of jointly building socialism in the present and realizing communism in the future, can the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes be defeated and the triumphant advance of the revolutionary cause guaranteed. The reason why the great revolutionary unity of the people of various nationalities has such great power is because it is a unity led by the Party and formed by the workers, the poor and lower-middle

peasants (or herdsmen), the revolutionary intellectuals, the other labouring people and all patriotic personages on the basis of national equality, and because it is a militant unity based on Mao Tsetung Thought.

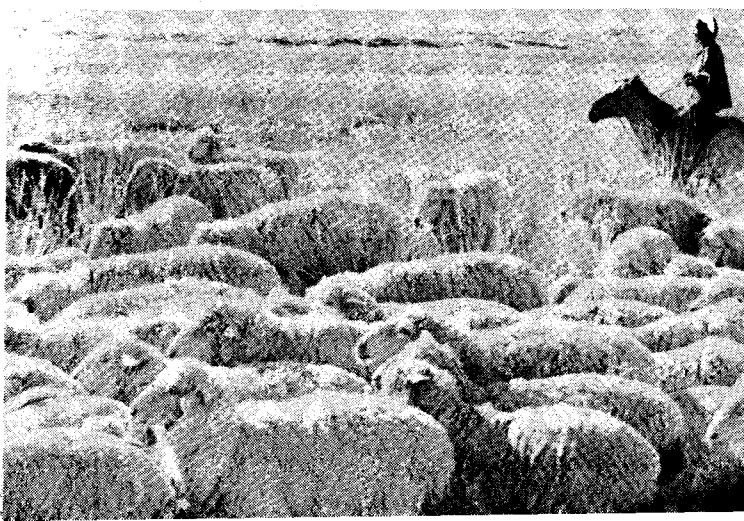
The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, where the Mongolians live in compact communities, is also inhabited by Han, Manchu, Hui and other peoples. As part of our motherland's northern border area, it occupies a very important strategic position. So building up our great motherland, combating and guarding against revisionism and safeguarding the unity of our country, all require revolutionary solidarity both among the various nationalities and within each minority nationality itself. Over the past 30 years, we have thwarted the class enemies' attempts at sabotage and other disturbances, surmounted many difficulties and made brilliant achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction. All these are victories won by the people of various nationalities fighting in unity under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

To strengthen unity among the nationalities, it is necessary to uphold the Marxist outlook on nations and oppose bourgeois national chauvinism. Both Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism are disruptive to such unity. These manifestations of reactionary exploiting-class ideas on the relations between nationalities are diametrically opposed to the proletarian outlook on nations. Thanks to persistent efforts by the Party organizations to educate the cadres and masses in the nationality

A workshop of the Paotow Iron and Steel Company.



Sheep of an improved breed in a production team.



policy and to criticisms of bourgeois national chauvinism made during various major political struggles, the unity of all nationalities has become increasingly strengthened and the influence of bourgeois national chauvinism has been diminished in the autonomous region since its establishment.

But the existence of classes and class struggle determines that the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois outlooks on nations will continue throughout the historical period of socialism and that the fight against bourgeois national chauvinism will be an arduous, long-term task. In the light of the specific conditions in our country, Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that in opposing the tendencies of the two national chauvinisms **"we put the emphasis on opposing Han chauvinism."** This is because **"all through the ages, the reactionary rulers, chiefly from the Han nationality, sowed feelings of estrangement among our various nationalities and bullied the minority peoples. Even among the working people it is not easy to eliminate the resultant influences in a short time."** (*On the Ten Major Relationships*, 1956.) If we do not pay attention to overcoming Han chauvinism, then in our work we will be apt to overlook the right of the minority nationalities to autonomy and their special demands, fail to show due respect for their customs and habits and even discriminate against them. That is why we stress that both cadres and masses of the Han nationality must guard against and try to eliminate the ideological influences of Han chauvinism, conscientiously implement the Party's nationality policy and sincerely respect and unite with the comrades of minority peoples.

Chairman Mao taught us: **"At the same time, efforts should also be made to overcome local-nationality chauvinism, wherever it exists among the minority nationalities."** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1957.) Following this instruction, we should, while opposing Han chauvinism, pay attention to educating the cadres and masses of the minority nationalities to guard against and overcome the ideological influence of local-

nationality chauvinism. Bourgeois national chauvinism, in respect to its class origin, is exploiting-class ideology. But as far as its manifestations among the people are concerned, they fall into the category of ideological understanding. They could be solved only by methods adopted in handling contradictions among the people, that is, by persuasion and education in accordance with the formula **"unity, criticism, unity."** They should never be dealt with in a simple, rude or hasty manner.

It was out of their counter-revolutionary need to usurp Party and state power that the "gang of four" did their utmost to sow discord among various nationalities in our country and sabotage their unity. The Soviet revisionists, who are bent on trying to subjugate us, also are plotting to create splits among our various nationalities in the vain hope of undermining the unity of our country. In accordance with Chairman Hua's instructions, we must expose and criticize the "gang of four's" crimes in splitting and disrupting the unity of various nationalities and thoroughly eliminate their evil effects and influence. We must constantly conduct extensive education in the proletarian nationality policy and strengthen the revolutionary unity of the people of various nationalities so as to build the autonomous region into a strong bastion in the struggle to combat and guard against revisionism.

Continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat demands the resolute implementation of the Party's policy of regional national autonomy in the national minority areas. In regions where national minority people live in compact communities, the establishment of national autonomy under the centralized and unified leadership of the Party and the state is a fundamental policy which Chairman Mao, by applying the universal principles of Marxism to the actual conditions in our country, set forth for the purpose of solving the national question in China. It embodies in full the principle of national equality and helps strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Inner Mongolian Auton-

omous Region's experience demonstrates that when the Party's policy of regional national autonomy is carried out, the labouring people of minority nationalities can be better organized to take part in government administration, and the socialist enthusiasm of the people of various nationalities can be more fully aroused and channelled into making socialist revolution and building a prosperous economy and culture. Moreover, a new relationship of unity and mutual support among various nationalities can be further developed, the unification of the country strengthened and the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated.

In implementing regional national autonomy, it is important to train and bring up cadres from among the minority peoples themselves. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national problem thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely."** The cadres of minority nationalities, who have close links with the people of their respective nationalities, know their customs and habits well, speak the same language and can work effectively in doing propaganda among the masses, organizing them and carrying out the Party's line, principle and policies among them. These cadres constitute the backbone force the Party relies on to carry out the socialist revolution and construction in the national minority areas. There is in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region today a great contingent of minority nationality cadres who have been trained and tempered in various revolutionary movements and in practical work. Among them there are veteran cadres who joined the revolution in the period of the democratic revolution, others who began to work during the socialist revolution and also new forces who came to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Many of them work as members of leading bodies of the Party and government organs at various levels in the region and have played an important part in the region's socialist revolution and construction.

While putting a great deal of effort into training cadres of minority nationalities, we also educate and encourage the Han cadres to serve the people of various nationalities wholeheartedly and help train minority nationality cadres enthusiastically. The Han cadres have sincerely implemented the Party's nationality policy, worked consciously to forge close unity with the cadres and masses of minority nationalities and made important contributions to socialist revolution and construction in the region.

One basic task of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to develop socialist economy and culture at high speed. Chairman Mao taught us: **"We must sincerely and actively help the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture."** (*On the Ten Major Relationships*, 1956.) Our minority peoples live in vast areas rich in natural resources where there are enormous potentialities for the development of industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and other forms of production. To help them develop economy and culture is of great importance for further rationalizing the distribution of our country's industry, preparing against aggression, and modernizing our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. This is also indispensable to success in the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and guarding against revisionism.

Not long ago Chairman Hua gave the instruction: "There are many minority nationalities in China and most of them live in the country's border regions; it is of paramount importance to make a success of the work concerning the minority peoples and all work in their regions should be done well." Since geographically the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region is located at the forefront of the anti-revisionist struggle, it is an important political task to develop its economy and culture at high speed and to do a good job in all other fields.

Background Information

Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region

ESTABLISHED on May 1, 1947, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region is the first of its kind for a minority nationality in China*.

The region stretches along the northern border over an area of more than 450,000 square kilometres, approximately 4.7 per cent of the country's total. It comprises four administrative leagues — the Ulan Chap League, the Silinghol League, the Ikh Chao League and the Bayan Naor League. Huhehot (meaning "green city"), the capital, was founded in 1581. The region's largest city, Paotow, had no more than 100,000 people before liberation, but now it has become an industrial base with a population of 800,000.

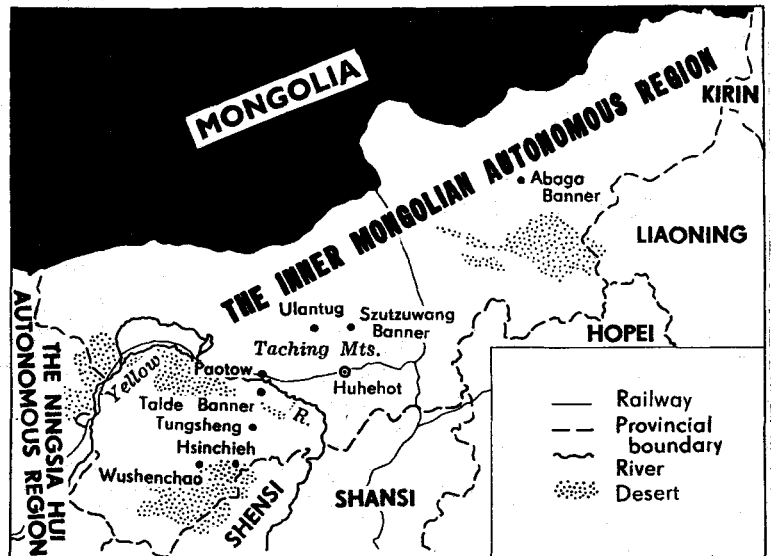
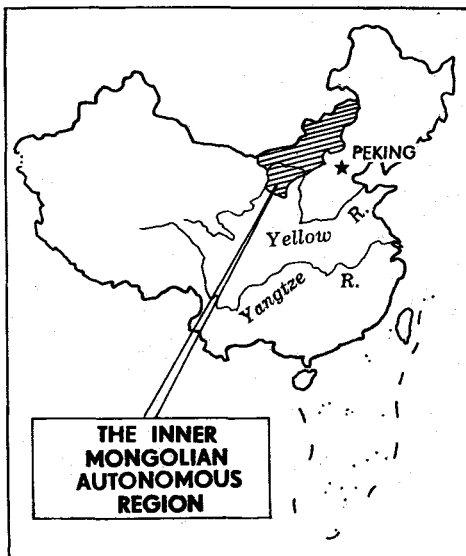
Situated on a flat plateau more than 1,000 metres above sea level, Inner Mongolia is famous for its grasslands which cover more than two-thirds of its area, with natural pasturelands stretching far and wide in its northern and eastern parts. It is one of China's major

*The four other autonomous regions (equivalent to a province) in China are the Sinkiang Uighur, Tibet, Kwangsi Chuang and Ningsia Hui Autonomous Regions.

centres of animal husbandry. The Yinshan Mountains rise in the middle and an 800-kilometre stretch of the Yellow River flows through. The Hotao Plain, with relatively fertile soil, grows large quantities of wheat and other kinds of grain. There are the Maowusu, Kubch and other deserts. The region has abundant mineral deposits including coal, iron, chromium, manganese, copper, aluminium, zinc, gold, silver, rare earth metals, mica, sulfur and asbestos.

The population, numbering 8 million, comprises Mongolians and a dozen or so other nationalities, such as the Hans, Huis, Manchus, Tahurs, Koreans and Owenkes.

The Mongolian people have rich revolutionary traditions. In close unity with the Hans, they waged a prolonged struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. After the Communist Party of China was founded in 1921, the revolutionary struggle of the Mongolian people entered a new stage under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao. As early as the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), our Party established its organizations among the Mongolian people and organized and unfolded a worker-peasant movement in the region. During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), the Party led the people of various nationalities in Inner Mongolia in establishing anti-Japanese bases in the Ikh Chao League and the Taching Mountains area. In co-



ordination with the P.L.A. in the War of Liberation (1946-49), the Mongolian cavalry contributed to liberating north China, northeast China and Inner Mongolia.

Chairman Mao's policy of regional national autonomy was first put into practice with the establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. This example provided our Party with successful experience for introducing regional autonomy for minority nationalities in other parts of the country and played an important part in promoting the unification and solidarity of the Chinese nation.

Tremendous changes have taken place in Inner Mongolia over the last 30 years. In the pastoral areas, democratic reforms were carried out to abolish feudal exploitation by the herd-owners together with their feudal privileges. This was followed by the co-operative movement and later the establishment of people's communes. The herdsmen have made great efforts to protect, conserve and make good use of natural pasturelands, build water conservancy works and other capital construction projects on grasslands, introduce machinery in raising livestock, improve cattle breeds and build houses. These measures are rapidly changing the old backward nomadic way of life of the herdsmen who were forced to make their homes wherever there were water and grass, as well as the methods of production which kept livestock breeding utterly at the mercy of nature. Now 74 per cent of the herdsmen have permanent dwellings. The total number of cattle is equal to 3.8 times that in the early period after liberation while the number of cattle of improved breeds has increased to 27.9 per cent of the total.

The peasants of various nationalities have enthusiastically launched a mass movement to learn from Tachai. Silted rivers have been cleared, damaged channels restored, wells sunk and water conservancy works built in hilly areas and farm tools improved. Now the region's total grain output is 2.66 times that in the early post-liberation days. Besides, great efforts have been put into cultivating industrial crops.

There were few modern transport lines in pre-liberation Inner Mongolia. With virtually no modern industry of any kind, it had to rely

on other areas for the most ordinary manufactured articles. However, for the past 30 years, a factory or an enterprise has been built and put into operation there on an average of every three and a half days. Today the autonomous region boasts a fairly comprehensive industrial system embracing iron and steel, coal, power, machine-building, chemical, electronics and light industries. The Paotow Iron and Steel Company combines a dozen or so large factories and mines, including ore-extracting, sintering, iron and steel making and steel rolling. Altogether there are 3,600 industrial enterprises. The region's gross industrial value at present is more than 100 times that in the early post-liberation days, accounting for 64 per cent of the aggregate total of its industry, agriculture and animal husbandry. A network of communications with railways as the backbone, including highways and civil aviation, has been built up in addition to a network of posts and telecommunications.

Culture, education, science and technology, medical care and work in all other fields have been flourishing. Before liberation, there was not an institute of higher learning in the region and the primary and middle school students made up only 2.6 per cent of the total population. As for the poor herdsmen, they were deprived even of the right to learn their own written language. Compared with the early days of liberation, there are now 130 times as many students enrolled in primary and middle schools. Publishing institutions for putting out books and textbooks in both Mongolian and Chinese (Han) languages have been set up. The Inner Mongolian People's Radio Station broadcasts programmes in Mongolian and Chinese (Han). The 54 scientific research institutes in the region specialize in the study of agriculture, livestock breeding, forestry, grasslands, farm and livestock raising machinery, metallurgy, electronics, the Mongolian language and various other subjects. Throughout the Inner Mongolian grasslands before liberation, epidemic diseases were rampant and the population was dwindling rapidly. Now the shortage of doctors, medicines and health care have been overcome and the people's health has been improving constantly, with the result that the Mongolian population is now 2.3 times as large as at the early post-liberation days.

"GANG OF FOUR" — THE NATION'S SCOURGE

Who Is Liang Hsiao?

IN the last few years, *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and other papers and periodicals carried many articles under the pen-name of Liang Hsiao, one of the pseudonyms of the "mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities." They also published some articles directly under the name of this mass criticism group.

This so-called "mass criticism group" of over 30 people was not only a mouthpiece of the "gang of four" but also a clandestine liaison station of the gang. In the three years from 1974 when it was set up to 1976 when the "gang of four" was overthrown, it churned out a large number of articles and perpetrated many evils, thus proving itself to be a counter-revolutionary task force of the "gang of four."

The Gang's Mouthpiece

Each counter-revolutionary scheme of the gang was preceded by the publication of articles by the "mass criticism group" to manipulate national public opinion. Most of its 180 or so articles were poisonous weeds in the service of the gang to usurp Party and state power.

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974, the "gang of four," in the name of "criticizing Confucianists and evaluating Legalists," drew on the past to direct the spearhead of attack against Premier Chou and to glorify themselves. The "mass criticism group" fabricated historical facts to whitewash Chiang Ching, claiming that Empress Lu (wife of the Western Han Dynasty Emperor Liu Pang who reigned from 206 to 195 B.C.) was a "great stateswoman" who pushed a Legalist line. The sinister group also put out other articles such as "Wu Tse-tien, an Outstanding Stateswoman" (Wu Tse-tien, 660-740 A.D., a Tang Dynasty empress). All this glorified empresses in history

so as to mould public opinion for Chiang Ching usurping supreme leadership. On the pretext of criticizing Confucianists, the "gang of four" spearheaded an attack against Premier Chou. The "mass criticism group" immediately backed up by coming out with "Confucius — the Man" and other articles obliquely attacking our Premier Chou. Prior to the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress when the "gang of four" plotted to form a cabinet of their own, the "mass criticism group" rushed out an article entitled "Study the Historical Experience of the Struggle Between the Confucian and Legalist Schools" which implicitly lauded members of the "gang of four" as Legalists and openly advocated "the leading group of Legalists" "taking charge of the central authorities*."

After the Fourth National People's Congress, Chairman Mao issued an instruction for studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, cautioning the whole Party and the people of the whole country to combat and guard against revisionism. The gang opposed Chairman Mao's teaching that revisionism is the main danger at present, advocated that empiricism was the main current danger and labelled veteran cadres as "empiricists," thereby turning the spearhead at Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the central authorities.

* More than 2,000 years ago during the great upheaval accompanying the transition from the slave system to the feudal system in China, the Confucian and the Legalist schools appeared. At that time, the Legalists stood for the theory of the dictatorship of the rising landlord class and its administrative policies while the Confucianists advocated the theory of the dictatorship of the decadent slave-owning class and its administrative policies. The "gang of four," with ulterior motives, doctored historical facts to show that the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools was still going on and that the two-line struggle inside the Communist Party was the continuation of this struggle.

The "mass criticism group" once more quickly fell in with the gang's plot with another spate of articles.

Beginning from the last weeks of 1975, the gang had plans to put the educational, scientific and technical and public health work in a more chaotic condition and throw the whole country into confusion. This was complemented by another batch of articles by the "mass criticism group."

During the time when Chairman Mao was seriously ill, and after his death, the "gang of four's" sinister activities to usurp Party and state power reached a high point. The "mass criticism group" turned out as many as 25 articles in less than three months to fit in with the gang's scheme. The most insidious of them was a group of articles on "act according to the principles laid down" which was forged by the "gang of four" as Chairman Mao's last words. These were straight-out attacks against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, whom Chairman Mao had selected as his successor. (See "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in our issue No. 52, 1976.)

In all its articles, the "mass criticism group" employed the method of "waving red flags to oppose the red flag," used a profusion of Marxist-Leninist terms while actually emasculating Marxism-Leninism and tampering with Mao Tsetung Thought. The "mass criticism group" concocted rumours, forged historical facts and in the theoretical sphere spread the "gang of four's" idealist, metaphysical rubbish. Exploiting the power and position held by the gang at that time, this group bludgeoned and labelled people who would not sing the same tune as it did.

A Clandestine Liaison Station

The "mass criticism group" was also a secret liaison station of the "gang of four" for carrying on counter-revolutionary activities. The gang's closest followers used this setup to plot with henchmen and flunkies planted in some departments of the central authorities and carry on clandestine activities with the cohorts of the gang in Shanghai and its diehard follower in Liaoning Province.

When the "gang of four" set up a clamour for "ferreting out capitalist-roaders wearing red stars (meaning comrades in the People's Libera-

tion Army)," the "mass criticism group" sent people to some P.L.A. units to collect material so as to fabricate charges. The group also purposely distorted and quoted out of context the speeches of many central leading comrades, widely spread them, and thus fabricated accusations against these leading comrades. In the summer of 1976, behind the back of Chairman Mao and without Central Committee approval, the "gang of four" labelled as "three poisonous weeds" the article "On the General Programme for All Work of the Whole Party and Whole Country" (see our issue No. 33, p. 28.) and two other documents entitled "Several Questions Concerning the Scientific and Technical Work" and "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development." (See our last issue, p. 5.) The three were put out as pamphlets, each with a foreword and introductory note revised by Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan and some articles of criticism. The "mass criticism group" printed and distributed tens of millions of these pamphlets and the whole country was enjoined to criticize the article and the two documents. Thus the attack was directed against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the central authorities.

Every member of the "mass criticism group" had to pledge to be loyal personally to Chiang Ching. Resorting to the methods of receiving them, loading them gifts, having them photographed with her and offering them high posts, Chiang Ching bought them over to serve the "gang of four."

The "gang of four," Chiang Ching in particular, used the "mass criticism group" as an advisory, secretarial and intelligence setup. Some members of the group frequently went about on Chiang Ching's behalf expressing her "concern." Some served as Chiang Ching's special representatives to carry out secret missions. Others acted as her secret agents under the cover of making "investigations." Since Chiang Ching was an ignoramus, but made out she was a student of Marxism-Leninism and classical literature and liked poetry, members of the "mass criticism group" had to provide her with ready reference materials and explanations and underline important sentences for her so as to maintain her facade as a learned person.

Members of the group were ordered to keep all its activities a tight secret. A lapse brought severe penalties. Nobody was allowed to enter their offices without permission. Once two P.L.A. soldiers visiting friends in Peking University took the wrong path which brought them to where the "mass criticism group" was housed. They were held and questioned. This is another proof that what the group was engaged in could not stand the light of day.

What Was the Film "Spring Shoot" After?

UNDER cover of eulogizing the Great Cultural Revolution and socialist newborn things, the feature film *Spring Shoot* served as an instrument for the "gang of four" in its criminal plot to usurp Party and state power.

The film depicts the head of a rural commune clinic as a typical, unrepentant capitalist-roader who follows the revisionist line and does great disservice to the peasants. While on the one hand he persecutes the barefoot doctors who are victimized, on the other he puts undue trust in a counter-revolutionary lurking in the clinic as a doctor, placing him in an important position and conniving at his maltreatment of sick commune members. As a result, a peasant's little daughter dies because of lack of medical care and an old poor peasant suffering from lumbago cannot get proper treatment.

Describing the clinic head as a most dangerous person, the film clamours that there is someone at a higher level backing him. The heroine of the film, a barefoot doctor, draws this conclusion: "From top to bottom, they represent the revisionist line." She incites some of the clinic's doctors and commune members to fight this "capitalist-roader" and seizes power from him.

Here lies the nub of the film: The "gang of four" was trying to drive home its charge that capitalist-roaders were to be found at all levels and therefore they must be ferreted out at every level. If the gang's plot had succeeded, then Party organizations at various levels would have been paralysed and the gang would find

it easy to seize Party and state power. No wonder the gang extolled *Spring Shoot* to the skies when it was shown two years ago. As if the film were a feather in her cap, Chiang Ching praised it as "an important film" that "coordinates well with the current struggle."

It has now been brought to light that the "gang of four" had intervened in the making of the film. This helps people to see more clearly the gang's intrigues and conspiracies.

In the early 70s, several young script-writers in Shanghai wrote the scenario *A Barefoot Doctor* in praise of the new-type doctors serving the people wholeheartedly, as Chairman Mao had advocated.

The "gang of four" seized it to serve its own ends. Chang Chun-chiao was the first to declare that he was very much interested in this work. Later, a henchman of the gang raised the following objections: The main character of the film was only an outstanding doctor but not a "real heroine with a very high level of consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle"; the "theme of serving the people leaves much to be desired," and a "major operation" was needed to revise the film so as to "boldly depict the Great Cultural Revolution." More specifically, he added, "you should describe revisionism as a dead weight weighing down on the barefoot doctors" and "you should make people realize the importance of power and the necessity that we must take over." Time and again this henchman took part in revising the script. The clinic head who was portrayed as having committed only some ordinary mistakes was changed into a capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his way and the theme about barefoot doctors' efforts to improve medical service in the rural areas was changed into a struggle to seize power. Thus the film was changed beyond recognition in its theme, content and title. The henchman even intervened in the production of the film until it was finally made.

The "gang of four" once raised a hue and cry to create literary works on the struggle against capitalist-roaders. The film *Spring Shoot* convincingly shows this was only part of the gang's political plot. By advocating writing about the struggle against capitalist-roaders, the gang aimed at instigating people to attack lead-

ing cadres at various levels so as to facilitate its seizure of supreme Party and state leadership.

As the "gang of four" for a time controlled the mass media, the press only carried articles praising the film. Actually, the revolutionary masses' reaction to the film was negative, but their views were banned from the papers. One instance of this is Chao An-ting, a young peasant from Shantung Province who in 1975 was invited to come to Peking and write for *Renmin Ribao*. After seeing the film, he put up a big-character poster in the newspaper's office criticizing it as a big anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weed. A trustee of the gang

in the office immediately wrote a report to his bosses levelling false charges against Chao and, using various pretexts, forced him to leave. On June 25 this year, *Renmin Ribao* published Chao's big-character poster written 19 months ago.

Chairman Mao once called on us to "carefully distinguish between what is really a poisonous weed and what is really a fragrant flower." Acting on this teaching of Chairman Mao's, people of all walks of life in China are, in the current movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four," raising their ability to distinguish Marxism from revisionism and genuine Marxists from impostors.

"Polar Bear" Prowls in The Arctic

THE Soviet expansionist activities in the Arctic and its rivalry with the other superpower there are threatening the security of some countries.

Situated within the Arctic Circle at 66° 33' N. latitude, the Arctic occupies the uppermost part of the globe, looking like the top of a round hat. With its ocean and land covering more than 20 million square kilometres, it has a larger area than the Soviet Union. Parts of Asia, Europe and North America and many islands of the Arctic Ocean lie within the region, including territory of the Soviet Union, countries of Northern Europe, the United States and Canada. In addition to a permanent ice-free sea (the Barents Sea region), there are permafrost icecaps, numerous islands, icebergs and ice floes. The area abounds in coal, oil, phosphate, peat, gold and non-ferrous metals. The Arctic Ocean provides a rich haven for the polar bear, walrus, seal, whale, herring and cod. There are also valuable animals such as the Arctic hare and the fox. The superpower adjacent to the Arctic has all along cast a covetous eye at these treasures.

The Arctic has both huge economic value and important strategic position. The Norwegian minister for foreign affairs once pointed out: From the strategic point of view the Arctic has long been extremely important. Here the distance between the two superpowers is the shortest geographically, leading both sides to set up huge early warning systems against air and missile attack. Furthermore, the area also can be used to set up bases for nuclear-powered guided missile submarines. Precisely because of the factors mentioned above, the Soviet Union has for long been expanding its influence in the Arctic.

Menacing North European Countries

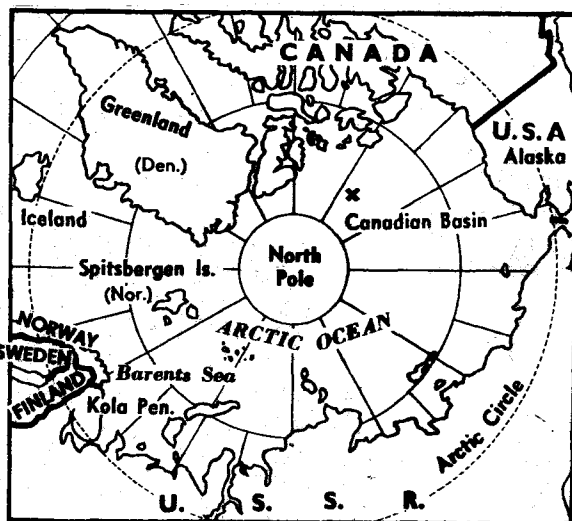
Soviet activities in the Arctic first of all gravely threaten the security of some North European countries. These moves have a close bearing on the focus of Soviet strategy—Europe—and are also a component part of the Soviet social-imperialist strategic disposition aimed at flanking Western Europe from the

north and south. The North European countries are well aware that the huge Soviet naval, ground and air bases with the Kola Peninsula as the centre are right under their noses. If war breaks out, the Soviet North Fleet can fan out from there and control the whole route across the northern part of the North Atlantic from Scotland and Iceland to Greenland. In addition, fallout from Soviet guided missile tests constantly descends on the offshore waters of the North European countries. Soviet fleets have made these countries the object of their frequently held military exercises in the Norwegian and the Barents Seas where Soviet nuclear submarines operate freely. The new tsars cast hostile glances at the Spitsbergen Islands over which Norway has sovereignty. The Norwegian minister for foreign affairs pointed out with concern that in the part of the Arctic including his country the primary characteristic of the security and political situation derives from the presence of Soviet armed forces massed on the Kola Peninsula. As public opinion in Northern Europe pointed out with resentment, not a week goes by that the countries and people of Northern Europe do not feel menaced by political pressure from Moscow. In these countries, the mere mention of the "polar bear" arouses anxiety and indignation.

Menacing Canada

The actions of the "polar bear" in the Arctic also threaten the security of Canada. It was reported that some 160 Soviet naval personnel and scientists are engaged in espionage activities on an iceberg which is under the jurisdiction of Canada. These activities have caused anxiety and concern in Canadian government and military circles.

The Soviet espionage activities in the Canadian sector of the Arctic have gone on for a long time. According to reports, the personnel engaged in espionage were led by Nikolai Dimitrievich Vinogradov of the Leningrad Institute of Arctic and Oceanic Research. They put up both a non-military and a military camp on an ice floe with more than a dozen Antonov-2 transport airplanes and five modern helicopters parked by a 1,000-foot runway. Many Soviet electronic instruments were installed on the ice-



*Some 160 Soviet personnel carrying out espionage activities on an iceberg, within the Canadian sector of the Arctic.

berg for use in the so-called scientific exploration of vital military significance.

Soviet espionage in the Canadian sector of the Arctic is prompted by a definite military aim and strategic plan. Information thus gathered is useful in helping a Soviet fleet of over 300 submarines to move under the ice.

The other superpower has followed Soviet activities in the Arctic with close attention. It was reported that the United States is engaged in its own espionage on the iceberg and has set up a highly sophisticated, comprehensive radar station there to detect Soviet guided missile tests. The two superpowers, in their contention for the whole globe, allow for no exception in the case of the Arctic.

The contention in the Arctic has caused concern among the countries and people there. A world meeting of representatives of the Eskimos held not long ago (Eskimos live in the Arctic of Alaska, Canada and Greenland) voiced its just opinions, demanding the thorough prohibition of military activities in the Arctic, dismantling of all military bases around the North Pole and stopping of weapon tests there. The Canadian defence minister said that Canada was keeping an eye on Soviet activities. Countries in Northern Europe like Norway, Denmark and Sweden are strengthening their defences against the menace of the "polar bear."

— by Wu Chun

Why Do the Soviet Revisionists Try to Reverse The Verdict on Bakunin?

FOR years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has tried to reverse the verdict on Mikhail A. Bakunin, a sworn enemy of Marxism and proletarian revolution on whom Marx and Engels had long ago passed judgment.

Bakunin joined the revolution at an early age, was imprisoned in Germany in 1849 and extradited to the tsarist government in 1851. Shortly after, he wrote Tsar Nicolas I a letter of "confession" in which he expressed his repentance, thus betraying the revolution. In 1857, he wrote several letters of repentance to Tsar Alexander II pleading for mercy. In 1861, with official blessing, he effected a "miraculous escape" to Western Europe. There, keeping his apostasy secret, he wormed his way into the workers' movement and the First International to act as an informer and spy for the tsar. He assiduously preached anarchism and opposed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels pointed out that Bakunin was a **"traitor to the European proletariat"** and that he and his lieutenants ought to receive **"the benevolence of the governments whom they have served so well in disorganizing the proletarian movement."** The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* which was published by the Soviet Union in the early 1950s clearly condemns Bakunin as "an ideologist of anarchism" and "a deadly enemy of Marxism." It points out that he was guilty of "betraying the fundamental interests of the revolutionary movement" and "in fact played a treacherous role with regard to the Russian revolutionaries — democrats."

Now, this wretch has suddenly emerged covered with glory in the eyes of the Soviet revisionist renegades who have gone so far as to openly challenge the judgment of Marx and Engels on him and lavish praise on him. In

Khrushchov's time, they already set about "rehabilitating" Bakunin. They acted in a more undisguised way after Brezhnev took over. The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (third edition), published in 1970, actually hails this shameless renegade as a "revolutionary." Whitewashing his apostasy, it asserts that his betrayal of the revolution and grovelling before the tsar for mercy were "tactics designed to get himself free at any price."

The book *Bakunin* published in the same period prettifies him as "truly representing a type of revolutionary leader of the heroic period of utopian socialism" and his confirmed apostasy as not "treachery" but a "tactical process." Reeking with renegade philosophy, the book *Bakunin* peddles such weird nonsense as "one should not confuse basic principled views with tactics at one moment or another" and "it would be strange" to "accuse Bakunin of departing from revolutionary principles" on the basis of his confession.

In its unscrupulous efforts to reverse the verdict on Bakunin, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique first and foremost hopes to justify its own treacherous acts today by glorifying yesterday's traitor to the proletariat and, secondly, to use this stinking corpse to make propaganda for aggression and expansion abroad and so directly serve the wild ambition of social-imperialism for world hegemony.

Bakunin, a notorious expansionist in his own right, sang the praise of the great-Russian chauvinism practised by the old tsars. During his exile in Siberia in the late 1850s and early 1860s, he showed himself a faithful servant of the tsar by applauding his policy of aggression against China. In a letter to A.I. Herzen in

(Continued on p. 32.)

ROUND THE WORLD

"THE FORGE" (CANADA)

The Three-World Theory: A Guide to Struggle

"The strategic concept of the three worlds, formulated by Chairman Mao in 1974, starts from the interests of the world proletariat and constitutes an indispensable guide for orienting our struggle in the complex world we live in." This was said in the article "The Three-World Theory: Powerful Weapon for the International Proletariat" carried on September 16 in the biweekly, *The Forge*, organ of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist).

The three-world theory maps out on a world level the strategy: to unite with all forces that can be united in the struggle against the principal enemy and to make use of the contradictions among the enemy to the advantage of the revolutionary struggle. The theory shows us that rifts exist between the two principal enemies and that there are contradictions between the first and second world countries. To refuse to make these distinctions "is to refuse to bring into play all the positive factors to advance our cause, since these conflicts contribute to weakening the superpowers." "Refusing to exploit the contradictions among our enemies to the ad-

vantage of the revolutionary struggle, not distinguishing the principal enemy from the secondary, this was always the attitude of Trotsky, firmly opposed by Lenin."

The article said that the United States and the Soviet Union are "the principal enemies of the world's peoples. The U.S.S.R. is the more dangerous of the two and represents the main source of war." "By concentrating our blows against the superpowers, we weaken the world imperialist system." The more isolated they are, the less their ability to block the development of the progressive forces.

The article emphatically pointed out: "The three-world theory is particularly detested by the Soviet revisionists. They say that this analysis denies the class point of view. But they really detest this theory because it is a powerful weapon in the hands of the international working class, a weapon that directs the principal blow at the two superpowers and particularly at Soviet revisionism itself."

JOINT STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST QUESTION

Product of U.S.-Soviet Rivalry

The United States and the Soviet Union on October 1 issued a joint statement in which

they pledged to make common efforts for the resumption of the Geneva conference on the Middle East question not later than December this year.

The statement says: "The United States and the Soviet Union believe that, within the framework of the comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, all specific questions of the settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question including ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; termination of the state of war and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence."

The statement refers to the "establishment of demilitarized zones" on the borders between Arab countries and Israel after the state of war between them ends, the "stationing in them of U.N. troops or observers" and "international guarantees" of such borders, and states that "the United States and the Soviet Union are ready to participate in these guarantees."

On this joint statement, many reporters commented on the policies and tactics of the United States and the Soviet Union. *The Washington Post* in its October 4 commentary said that the United States had reversed its policy of negotiating with Arab states without involving

the Soviets directly and supported the proposals for U.N. troops and observers with U.S. and Soviet participation and "international guarantees." Some newspapers hold that this policy of the United States is a result of Soviet pressure.

Some commentaries pointed out that though the Soviet Union took a hard-line posture and flaunted the signboard of firmly supporting the Arab people, it has had no scruples about changing its consistently-held positions in order to squeeze into the Geneva conference to contend with the United States for the Middle East. Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy recently pointed out that the Soviet Union had made three major concessions in the joint U.S.-Soviet statement:

One, making no reference to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Two, referring to the withdrawal of Israel from the land occupied in the 1967 war, it did not say withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories.

Three, the question of "normalizing" Arab-Israeli relations on the basis of international contractual documents is contrary to the right of every nation to her sovereign right over her political actions, to deal or not to deal with any country, and to open or not to open her borders with a certain country.

Fahmy added that the Soviet Union made these concessions

at the expense of the Arab countries' interests.

Due to the important strategic position of the Middle East, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union will slacken their rivalry for control over the region. On the contrary, they are locked in rivalry, frequently changing their tactics, each trying to get the better of the other. In short, this struggle will go on for a long time. Just as correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* Joseph C. Harsch said in an October 6 article, publication of the joint U.S.-Soviet statement does not mean that a Middle East settlement is just around the corner.

SPANISH WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION

First National Congress

The Spanish Workers' Revolutionary Organization held its First National Congress in Madrid from August 13 to 20. The congress adopted the organization's constitution and elected its first Central Committee. Jose Sanroma Aldea was re-elected General Secretary.

In his report at the congress, Sanroma reviewed the experience of 40 years in the antifascist struggle, analysed the current situation and defined the tasks ahead. The congress also heard a report on the organization's ideological principles and one on the international situation.

Covering the congress and the reports in its recent issue, *En*

Lucha, organ of the organization, expounds the policy on international affairs laid down at the congress. The journal says: "Today, the correct strategy is to strengthen solidarity with the socialist countries, with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world, and with the third world countries and to unite with all countries subjected to aggression, intervention, domination and bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism, so as to form the broadest united front against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States." It stresses: "These conclusions are drawn from Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct thesis on the existence of three worlds." Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds "provides the correct strategy and tactics for the international proletariat of the present era and defines the class line in the international struggle," the journal adds.

BERLIN

"Russians Out!"

A clash between youth and police occurred at the Alexanderplatz in Berlin on the evening of October 7, the National Day of the German Democratic Republic. A number of youth were detained, according to an ADN report.

DPA quoted eyewitnesses as saying that about a thousand youth clashed with the police. They shouted: "Russians out!"

ON THE HOME FRONT

Army Theatrical Festival

SOME 5,600 professional and amateur literary and art workers from the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army took part in a theatrical festival held in Peking from mid-July to the end of September. It attracted large audiences totalling 1.3 million in all.

The grand festival presented 53 performances with a repertoire of more than 600 items including music, plays, operas and dances. They reflected the exuberance of literary and art work in the army that emerged after the defeat of the "gang of four."

During the festival, over a dozen performances were being played in urban and suburban theatres of Peking every day.

A large number of moving items praised Chairman Mao, founder of China's proletarian

cause. In different forms of stage presentations they portrayed his revolutionary activities during more than half a century. With profound feelings, performers from all parts of the country extolled Chairman Mao whose thought is the beacon guiding our advance for ever, and expressed the Chinese people's determination to hold high the banner of Chairman Mao and carry through to the end the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Many items expressed the love and support for Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, worthy successor to Chairman Mao, of the hundreds of millions of army-men and civilians throughout the country. They include scenes in which Uighur dancers offer him sweet milk tea, Tibetan peasants, singing his praises, offer him barley wine at harvest time, army-men pledge to be his good fighters and youngsters embroider a silk

banner to demonstrate their goodwill to the new leader.

With great enthusiasm, the literary and art workers recaptured in their performances memories of eminent revolutionaries of the older generation cherished by the people. They sang the praises of Premier Chou whose heroic name will always be remembered. Some items recounted episodes of army commander Chu Teh and his shoulder-pole in the 1920s. In order to smash the enemy's encirclement and suppression, he carried grain with a shoulder-pole, setting a good example of hard work and unity between officers and men.

Others depicted the story of how the late Vice-Premier Ho Lung started his revolutionary career of armed struggle with two kitchen knives which he used to kill local tyrants and reactionary soldiers and capture guns. A chorus praised the late Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi who, as Commander of the Eastern China Field Army in the 1940s, led a victorious battle against a crack division of the Kuomintang and wiped it out completely.

Restaged during this festival were a group of outstanding plays and operas extolling heroic persons, which had been banned by Chiang Ching and her sworn followers.

Among them were the play *Lei Feng* and an opera *Sister Chiang*. The former depicts a P.L.A. fighter who died in 1962, whose activities during his 23-year-long life fully bore out his words: "To devote my whole life to the boundless service of the people."



Cavalry dance.



A scene from *Our Satellite Comes Back*.

The latter eulogizes Sister Chiang, a fine Communist and an underground worker who engaged in revolutionary activities in southwest China's Szechuan Province in the 1940s. The opera attains a fairly high ideological and artistic level. In one of its melodious arias, long popular among the people, the heroine's perseverance is compared to red plum blossoms on a crag.

The festival highlighted the revolutionary and militant traditions of the army's literary and art work and its outstanding role in educating the people and attacking the enemy during the years of war and construction.

There were modern dramas depicting the acute struggles waged by the Party and the people against the "gang of four" in the army companies, in building oilfields on the sea and in digging underground tunnels against air raids.

The festival was held to mark the 50th anniversary of the

founding of the People's Liberation Army. Some large and small items praised the brilliant course it has traversed in the last 50 years and the army's steady growth in strength guided by Chairman Mao's military thinking and line.

Many items take the army's military training and militant life as their themes. They include dances about fighters of the ground force practising hard in the evening or engineering

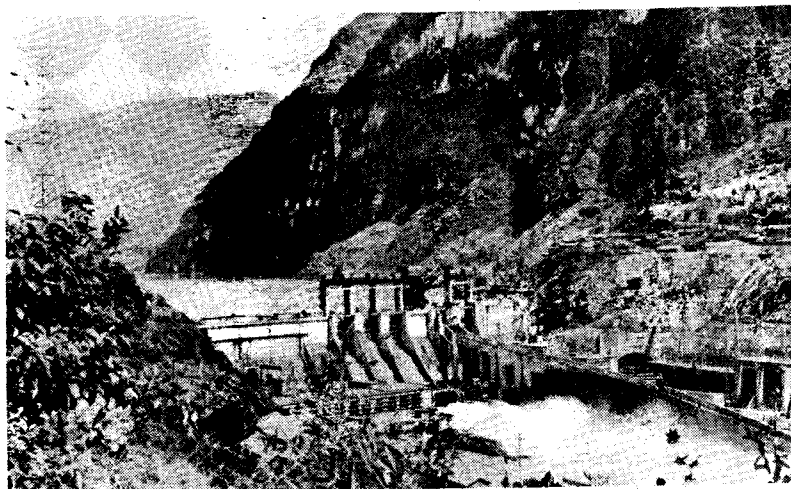
corps fighters laying mines in snow fields; modern dramas showing how the air force in its early years defeated the U.S. invading aircraft in Korea and how a submarine crew persisted in preparing against war; a dance *Our Satellite Comes Back* presented by literary and art workers of the P.L.A. scientific research departments; and songs, dances and marches lauding the advanced Hard-Boned 6th Company. All these have effectively shown the great efforts made by the commanders and fighters of the various services and arms in revolutionizing and modernizing our army.

This festival augurs a new upswing in the army's literary and art work.

Two New Hydropower Stations

TWO big hydro-electric power stations have been completed, one in southwest, and the other in northwest China.

The Kungtsui Hydropower Station built on the Tatu



The Kungtsui Hydropower Station.

River in Szechuan Province is the biggest in southwest China. Set up mainly for generating electricity, it also serves other purposes such as flood-prevention and provides good conditions for navigation, irrigation and raising aquatic products.

Since the first set of generator was commissioned on December 26, 1971, five other sets have been installed and the seventh is under construction.

The project and all its equipment were designed, manufactured and installed by Chinese workers and technicians. The quality of its engineering work and generators has been tested through many flood peaks and proved to be up to the designed requirements.

The station contributes to developing Szechuan's industry and agriculture.

The Pikou Hydropower Station on the Pailung River in Kansu Province, a tributary of Chialing River, was also built mainly for generating power while serving other purposes as well. The station, which began to generate electricity in March 1976, withstood last year's strong earthquake and this year's flood peaks and proved to be of high quality.

(Continued from p. 27.)

1860, he brazenly acclaimed tsarist Russia's aggression against China and lauded to the skies Nikolai Muraviev, then Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Siberia. Under his pen, this inveterate buccaneer of great-Russian chauvinism and expansionism who seized from China large tracts of territory south of the Outer Khingan Mountains, became "a fine man" and "redeemer of Russia." He even hailed tsarist Russia's piratic act of occupying Chinese territory as "a great patriotic cause."

While in exile in Western Europe, he vociferously advocated pan-Slavism in the interests of the tsar's expansionist policy in Europe. In a paper submitted to the tsar, he even urged him to "lead" the pan-Slav crusade "firmly and boldly" so as to "bring good and glory to Russia." For this Bakunin was sharply denounced by Marx and Engels. In their work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Workingmen's Association* (1873), Marx and Engels wrote: "That is the man [meaning Bakunin] who has styled himself as an internationalist since 1868, and in 1862 preached a racial war in the interests of the Russian Government. Pan-Slavism is an invention of the St. Petersburg cabinet and has no other aim than to extend the European frontiers of Russia to the west and to the south." They pointed out that "the pan-Slavism of Nicolas to the pan-Slavism of Bakunin . . . pursue the one

and the same goal and all of them are in essence perfectly at one with each other."

Today, the new tsars in the Kremlin have more inflated ambitions than their forerunners and are going farther in the pursuit of the policies of aggression and expansion and great-Russian chauvinism. While clinging to the Chinese territories annexed by the old tsars, they hanker after more and try to lay their hands on land which the old tsars failed to seize. While their predecessors dreamt of dominating Europe and exercising suzerainty over the East European Slav peoples, the new tsars not only want to conquer Europe but are frenziedly engaged in expansionism in Asia, Africa and Latin America in a bid for world domination.

In the past decade or more, the Soviet revisionists have not scrupled to distort history to justify tsarist Russia's aggression against China, which, they alleged, was to counter the "colonial expansion" of other imperialist powers. Their attempt to reverse the verdict on Bakunin is intended to invoke Bakunin's spectre to bolster their social-imperialist cause of expansion abroad.

History admits of no falsification and in reality no one has ever succeeded in tampering with it. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's attempt to reverse the verdict on Bakunin is completely futile. It will only serve to expose the true colours of Brezhnev and company as renegades and social-imperialists.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)