

PEKING REVIEW

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March 24, 1978

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報

National Science Conference

Developing Advanced Military
Science of Chinese Proletariat

Yeh Chien-ying

*Middle East: Israeli Incursions Into
Lebanon Strongly Condemned*

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National Science Conference

Immediately after the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fifth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference had ended their first sessions, another national conference began in the Great Hall of the People in Peking on March 18. This is the National Science Conference convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Chairman Hua's proposal. This conference is the first ever both in scale and in its importance in the history of Chinese science and technology. In the words of the *Renmin Ribao* editorial saluting the opening of this meeting, this conference "marks a major step taken by the Chinese people in their new Long March and another milestone in the development of science and technology in China." Three days before the conference, China conducted another successful nuclear test, adding lustre to the current "science and technology festival."

Chairman Hua who presided at the opening ceremony was flanked at the front row on the rostrum by Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping and Wang Tung-hsing and other Party and state leaders. After declaring the conference open, Chairman Hua asked Vice-Chairman Teng to speak.

Vice-Chairman Teng said that the crux to the realization of the four modernizations is the mastery of modern science and technology. The aim of the Party in calling this conference, he added, is to mobilize the whole Party and the whole country to attach importance to science and technology, draw up plans, commend the advanced units and individuals, and study ways and means to speed up the development of science and technology. He also dealt at length with three questions: science and technology being part of the productive forces, the building of a vast contingent of scientific and technical personnel who are both red and expert, and the adoption of the system of division of responsibilities with directors of research in-

stitutes taking charge under the leadership of Party committees.

His speech was followed by Vice-Premier Fang Yi's report on the Outline National Plan for the Development of Science and Technology 1978-85 (draft).

Among the nearly 6,000 representatives attending this unprecedented conference are outstanding scientists and technicians, talented innovators, model peasants engaged in scientific farming, and cadres devoted to the Party's scientific undertakings. Chairman Hua wrote an inscription which was a clarion call to the nation. It reads: "Foster lofty ideals, set high goals and march forward for the realization of modernization of science and technology."



加快步伐向科学技术现代化进军

Speed up modernization of science and technology. (Poster)

Vice-Premier Li Visits The Philippines

Manila was enshrouded in a festive mood on March 12. It was bedecked to look its best to welcome guests from Peking.

That day Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and his wife arrived for an official friendship visit at the invitation of President and Madame Marcos. Among those accompanying the Vice-Premier on his visit which lasted till March

16 were Foreign Minister Huang Hua and his wife.

That same evening President and Madame Marcos gave a grand banquet at the Philippine International Convention Centre in honour of the Chinese guests. It was, in the words of the President, "the biggest state banquet ever given by any state official of the Republic of the Philippines." Both President Marcos and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke at the banquet. Their warm and friendly speeches were punctuated by applause.

In many ways, the visit of Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien is a historic visit. For it is the first time that a great leader of such a great nation, the People's Republic of China, has stepped on Philippine soil. And our gratitude is doubled by the fact that this towering figure who represents the great Chinese people, we consider a friend not only of the entire Filipino nation but especially, perhaps, of our family. — **Ferdinand E. Marcos**

The greatest contribution that China has made to the peace of the world is her sincere and deep concern and interest in the welfare of small developing countries like the Philippines. It is sometimes difficult to decipher the policies of the great powers. But with China, it is clear that she is on the side of the small underdeveloped countries of the world. I am, therefore, confident that I express the sentiments of all these small and developing countries when we say to the leadership of the People's Republic of China — thank you, for it is with your faith and trust in our capability that we will be able to maintain peace in our world. — **Ferdinand E. Marcos**

In recent years, the Government of the Philippines, under the leadership of President Marcos, has persistently opposed hegemonism and power politics, actively developed a friendly and co-operative relationship with other third world countries and waged unremitting struggles to safeguard state sovereignty, defend its economic rights and interests and establish a new international economic order. Gratifying results have been achieved by the Filipino people in developing the economy and building their country, particularly in expanding agricultural production. We heartily rejoice at the achievements of your government and people. — **Li Hsien-nien**

Over the last few years, the ASEAN countries have strengthened their unity and made new progress in regional economic co-operation. They have actively developed friendly relations and co-operation with the other third world countries and peoples and strengthened their ties with the second world countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. These efforts by the ASEAN countries serve to block hegemonist infiltration and expansion and are in the interest of the Southeast Asian countries and peoples. . . . We support the just struggle waged by these countries to safeguard independence and sovereignty and combat superpower control and interference. We support the positive proposal of the ASEAN countries for the neutrality of Southeast Asia — a proposal which they have advocated for many years — as well as their efforts to protect their natural resources and defend their economic rights and interests. — **Li Hsien-nien**

March 13 was a busy day for the Chinese guests. Accompanied by Madame Marcos, they visited the International Rice Research Institute, the College of Agriculture of University of the Philippines and the Philippine Art Centre. In the evening, again accompanied by Madame Marcos, they watched a performance of the Philippine musical and dancing epic *Our History*. That same evening, Vice-Premier Li and his party were honoured at a banquet given by their old friend, the Philippine Foreign Secretary General Carlos P. Romulo.

Vice-Premier Li and President Marcos held talks on March 14 on the yacht *President* during their trip to Bataan Province. An agreement on scientific and technical co-operation between China and the Philippines was signed on the ship by Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Foreign Secretary Romulo on behalf of their governments.

On the eve of his departure for home, Vice-Premier Li gave

a farewell banquet in honour of President and Madame Marcos and the other high-ranking officials of the Philippines." In his toast, Vice-Premier Li expressed the hope that he would in the near future welcome and meet President and Madame Marcos again in Peking. The President accepted the invitation with pleasure and expressed the wish that the visit would take place as soon as possible.

Vice-Premier Teng Meets Guests

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiaping met on March 13 with the Somali Press Delegation led by Abdul Kassim Salad Hassan, Minister of Information and National Guidance. During the meeting, the Vice-Premier said to the guests that the people of China and Somalia are good friends and will always remain friendly to each other. He expressed the conviction that the Somali people, united as one under the leadership of President Mohamed Siad Barre, would surely triumph in their struggle against hegemonism.

While the delegation was in Peking, China and Somalia signed two agreements on radio, television and press co-operation.

* * *

On March 14 Vice-Premier Teng met with members of the Sixth Delegation of the Japanese Komei Party headed by Junya Yano, General Secretary of the Party. Earlier, Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and

President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, gave a banquet in honour of the delegation. In his toast Liao Cheng-chih said: We are willing to make common efforts with our friends of the Komei Party for the conclusion of a peace and friendship treaty between China and Japan at an early date. "This," he added, "is in complete accord with the basic interests of the people of our two countries and conforms to their common desire. On this issue, China's attitude is consistent and has not changed a bit."

General Secretary Junya Yano expressed his regret over the failure to conclude a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty on the basis of the Japan-China joint statement although five and a half years have elapsed since the normalization of the relations between Japan and China. "According to our own understanding," he said, "we strongly demand that the Japanese Government conclude the treaty at an early date, and we strongly urge Prime Minister Fukuda to make the decision."

20th Anniversary of the Academy of Military Science

Last Wednesday (March 15) was the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army's Academy of Military Science. That day, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the central authorities went to the academy to extend their greetings to its cadres, fighters and staff members.

The academy was founded on March 15, 1958 with the approval of Chairman Mao. Its trainees include battle-tested veteran Red Army men, fighters of the Eighth Route Army, combat heroes who have performed meritorious service, and researchers of the younger generation. From the day the academy was founded through 1972, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying was in charge of its work. Su Yu is now its first political commissar and Sung Shih-lun its president.

Postgraduates of Social Sciences

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has decided to enrol postgraduates from all over the country this year. The aim is to speed up the building of a contingent of social scientists.

With Hu Chiao-mu as its president, the academy is made up of institutes of philosophy, economics, world economics, literature, languages, history, archaeology, jurisprudence, world religion and nationalities.

More recently the academy has decided to set up an institute of journalism, which will enrol postgraduates for the study of Chairman Mao's theory on journalism and of writing news reports in English. New items of research have been added to the study of foreign literature and world history. They include English and American literature, German literature and French literature, and the history of Japan and ancient world history.

Developing Advanced Military Science Of Chinese Proletariat

—Marking the 20th anniversary of the Academy of
Military Science

Yeh Chien-ying

MARCH 15 this year is the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Academy of Military Science, set up with the approval of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao.

While leading China's revolutionary wars and army building, Chairman Mao always showed deep concern for the study of military science, which he considered highly important. Despite his heavy work in directing the battles throughout the years of incessant fighting, he put tremendous energy into research in military theory and wrote immortal military works. He frequently called the attention of the whole Party to the study of military questions and said: "Our study of military theory, of strategy and tactics and of army political work brooks not a moment's delay." After the founding of New China, he put forth the task of "modernization of our national defence," and then called on us again, basing ourselves primarily on our own experience, to sum up our army's experience and develop China's military science.

Military science deals with the study of war and of the laws for directing wars, with the theory of war and strategy being the basic framework. Military science comes from military practice and in turn plays a major, directing role in military practice. Engels said that in revolution modern military means and modern military learning would be pitted against modern military means and modern military learning. In order to build a modern national defence, it is very important for us to develop advanced military technique and improve our

arms and equipment. It is also extremely important and urgent to study military science and military theory. If we only master modern military means but lack correct military theory to guide us, we shall not be able to deal effectively with a modernized enemy or at least we shall have to take more and greater losses. Comrades working on the military science front together with commanders and fighters of the whole army must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and carry out his behest. They must regard stepping up our study of military science and developing China's proletarian military science as a pressing task under the heading of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well, of being prepared against war and of modernizing national defence. They must regard it as their great responsibility in carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future.

Marx and Engels predicted over 100 years ago that the liberation of the proletariat would also have its own manifestation in the military field and would lead to the creation of its own new, special way of fighting. It was our Chairman Mao who, inheriting and developing the military theory of Marxism-Leninism, shouldered this great historical mission.

Chairman Mao led our army and our people through decades of fighting, waging hundreds of major campaigns and tens of thousands of big battles, using inferior equipment to defeat much more powerful domestic and foreign enemies and creating miracles in the history of human warfare. Chairman Mao integrated the universal

truth of Marxism with the practice of Chinese revolutionary wars and mastered the art of applying materialist dialectics to the direction of wars, getting exactly the results desired. He creatively solved a series of fundamental questions concerning the people's army, the people's war and the strategy and tactics thereof, greatly developing Marxist military teachings and forming a comprehensive system of an entirely new, proletarian military science.

As a system of thought, China's proletarian military science founded by Chairman Mao is the most advanced of our times, something to which no bourgeois military science can compare. The military theories of the world's two rampant superpowers, and especially of social-imperialism, are fundamentally reactionary and decadent, with insurmountable weaknesses, although the superpowers have a few new-type weapons and are ahead for the time being in military technology. Only our Marxist-Leninist military science, Chairman Mao's military science, is an all-conquering weapon for the revolutionary people. We must treasure it, study it earnestly, do research in it and apply it, and should not fail to appreciate the treasure in our hands. We relied on it in triumphing over the enemy in the past; we are relying on it at present and we will continue to rely on it in the future. It will retain its youthful vigour throughout the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Peng Teh-huai, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" tried to belittle and pervert it and to replace it with bourgeois military thought, but their schemes came to nought.

Fundamental Marxist principles must never be violated. Marxism, however, must develop along with practice. It would lose its vitality if it came to a halt. This holds true both politically and militarily. The laws for directing war vary with the changing situation of war. In studying military science our comrades must focus their attention on the characteristics of contemporary war and on its development. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The ten major principles of military operation were set forth at the stage of the counter-offensive and were based on the experience of the ten-year civil war, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the initial period of the Liberation War. They

are the outcome of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of Chinese revolutionary wars. By applying the ten major principles we won victories in the Liberation War and in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea (of course there were other reasons). The ten major principles are still applicable at present, and many parts of them will continue to be so. But Marxism-Leninism is not stagnant, it develops. The ten major principles, likewise, will be supplemented and developed and some of them may be revised in accordance with the practical conditions in future wars." (For the ten major principles see box on p. 8. — Ed.) This instruction of Chairman Mao's is brilliant with materialist dialectics and must be followed resolutely in our research work in military science.

The fundamental tasks placed before research work in military science are: To hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, comprehensively and accurately to study and apply Chairman Mao's military thinking, and guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, to sum up our army's experience, carefully study the enemy, draw on selected and useful foreign military experience, explore the laws for directing people's warfare in contemporary conditions and serve the needs of national defence construction, army building and a future war against aggression.

Chairman Mao's works on military theory are gems of Marxist-Leninist military teachings. We should lay emphasis on the study of them. Likewise, the large number of instructions, orders, articles and telegrams he wrote on our army building and operations are a vivid embodiment of his great military thinking and practice. We should collect and compile them as quickly as possible and conscientiously study them. We should use Chairman Mao's military thinking to unify our ideas on army building and operations. We must step up the study and compilation of our army's annals of war, and systematically sort out and sum up our rich experience in army building and operations. It is wrong to underestimate our valuable experience for which we have paid in blood. Armed struggle constitutes an important part of the history of our Party. The compilation of the annals of war is very necessary and indispensable for compiling the Party's history. We should, through the annals of war, hand down the

historical experience and the fine traditions of our Party and our army from generation to generation.

The rapid development of modern science and technology and its wide application in the military field pose new problems for research in military theory. We must not stick to the beaten track. We must accept new things and study new problems. We must produce as quickly as possible books on the sciences of strategy, campaigns, tactics, military organization, and military geography and other writings on military science, which will give full expression to Chairman Mao's military thinking and reflect the characteristics of modern warfare. It is also necessary constantly to improve various military manuals and regulations and make timely revisions and additions as things develop. We

must also, based on Chairman Mao's instruction to "dig tunnels deep," devote special attention to studying people's air defence, a problem of strategic importance.

In the treasure-house of the Chinese nation's time-honoured culture is a very rich legacy of military classics and military writings. We must assimilate the cream of them and carry it forward in a critical way so as to add splendour to our proletarian military science. What Chairman Mao did in that respect for scores of years while leading and directing China's revolutionary wars is our best model.

An ancient saying goes: "All may be quiet, but it is dangerous to forget war." The present-day world is far from peaceful. The Soviet Union and the United States, the two hegemonic

The Ten Major Principles of Military Operation Are:

1. Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.

2. Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

3. Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

4. In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and also to attack one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we

shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

5. Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

6. Give full play to our style of fighting—courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

7. Strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.

8. With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. Seize at opportune moments all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them.

9. Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and materiel are at the front.

10. Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should in general not be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

powers, are fomenting a big war. As the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua gives the lead for a new Long March to build a modern, powerful socialist country, social-imperialism and imperialism are bound to seize every opportunity for sabotage. The most destructive form would be to launch a war. Therefore, we must take "It is necessary to consolidate the army" and "Be ready to fight in a war" as the key link and make use of every minute to do a good job in army building and national defence construction. We must also be fully prepared for the liberation of Taiwan. Over the past 20 years, our research in military science and the work of our military academy have both been fruitful. Nevertheless, the disruption and sabotage by Peng Teh-huai, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" cost us a lot of time. In the course of the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must mobilize all

the positive factors and, by combining the efforts of the leadership with those of the masses and the efforts of research institutions with those of the commanders and fighters, get the whole army to pitch into the work of establishing or improving military science research institutions and of training a military research contingent which is both politically sound and professionally competent. We must also give full play to academic democracy and work out military science research plans to promote a rapid development in this field. We must follow the spirit embodied in the Report on the Work of the Government made at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress by our wise leader Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, inherit Chairman Mao's military thinking, exert our utmost, energetically carry out military science research, and scale the heights of military science!

Speech at Opening Ceremony of National Science Conference

(March 18, 1978)

Teng Hsiao-ping

Comrades!

The successful convocation of the national science conference is a matter of great joy for us and for the people throughout the country. The very fact that today we are holding this grand gathering unparalleled in the history of science in China clearly indicates that the days are gone for ever when the gang of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan could wilfully sabotage the cause of science and persecute the intellectuals. Never before has work in science and technology received such attention and concern from the whole Party and the whole people. Vast numbers of scientists and technicians, the workers, the peasants and the armymen are actively participating in the movement for scientific ex-

periment. Enthusiasm for science and its study is becoming popular among the young people. The entire nation is embarking with tremendous enthusiasm on the march towards the modernization of science and technology. Splendid prospects lie before us.

Among those attending the present conference are outstanding scientists and technicians from various fronts, first-rate technical innovators, model labourers who excel in scientific farming and cadres devoted to the Party's scientific undertakings. You have worked diligently for the progress of science and technology in our socialist motherland and made outstanding contributions. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I thank you and pay you tribute.

March 24, 1978

Comrades,

Our people face the great historic mission of comprehensively modernizing agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within this century, making our country a modern, powerful socialist state. We have waged a sharp and bitter struggle against the "gang of four" on whether or not to accomplish the four modernizations. The "gang of four" made the absurd claim that "if the four modernizations are carried through, capitalist restoration will happen on the same day." Their wild sabotage brought our national economy for a time to the brink of collapse and was increasingly widening our distance from advanced world scientific and technological standards. Were they really opposed to the restoration of capitalism? Not at all. On the contrary, wherever their influence was most rampant, signs of capitalist restoration were most widespread. What they did serves as a negative example, making us appreciate more deeply that under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, if we do not modernize our country, raise our scientific and technological level, develop the social productive forces, strengthen our country and improve the material and cultural life of the people, our socialist political and economic system cannot be fully consolidated and there will be no sure guarantee for our country's security. By adhering to the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao, the more up-to-date our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, the greater our strength in the struggle against capitalism and all forces of restoration, and the more our people will support the socialist system. Only by making our country a modern, powerful socialist state can we more effectively prevent capitalist restoration, cope with aggression and subversion by social-imperialism and imperialism and be more certain of gradually creating the material conditions for the advance to the great ideal of communism.

The crux of the four modernizations is the mastery of modern science and technology. Without modern science and technology, it is impossible to build modern agriculture, modern industry or modern national defence. Without a high-speed development of science and technology, it is impossible to develop the na-

tional economy at high speed. On the proposal of Chairman Hua, the Central Committee of the Party has decided to call this national science conference to bring home to the whole Party and the whole country the importance of science, map out a programme, commend the advanced units and individuals and discuss measures for speeding up the development of science and technology. Today, I am going to give some opinions on pertinent questions.

The first question — the question of understanding that science is part of the productive forces. On this point, the "gang of four" raised a hue and cry confounding right and wrong and causing much confusion. Marxism has consistently held that science and technology are part of the productive forces. More than a century ago, Marx said: Wider use of machines in production calls for a conscious application of natural science. He also pointed out: "Science too [is] among these productive forces." The development of modern science and technology has bound science and production ever more tightly together. Science and technology as productive forces are manifesting their tremendous role ever more obviously.

Modern science and technology are undergoing a great revolution. The last three decades have not just seen advances in some aspects of scientific theory and production techniques, nor has this period been merely the general run of progress and reform. No, there have been profound changes and new leaps in almost all areas of science and technology. A whole series of new, rising sciences and technologies have emerged and are still doing so. Modern science has opened the way for the progress of production techniques and determined the direction of their development. Many new instruments of production and technological processes have come into being first in the laboratory. A series of newborn industries, including high polymer synthesis, atomic energy, electronic computers, semi-conductors, astronautics and laser, have been founded on the basis of newly emerged science and technology. Of course there are now and there will be many theoretical research topics with no practical application in plain sight for the time being. But a host of historical facts have proved that once a major breakthrough is scored in theoretical research, it

means tremendous progress for production and technology sooner or later. Contemporary natural science is being applied to production on an unprecedented scale and at a higher speed than ever before. This has given all fields of material production an entirely new look. In particular, the development of electronic computers, cybernetics and automation technology is rapidly raising the level of automation in production. With the same amount of manpower and in the same number of work hours, people can turn out scores or hundreds of times more products than before. How have the social productive forces made such tremendous advances and how has labour productivity increased by such a big margin? Mainly through the power of science, the power of technology.

Everyone knows that the basic factors in the productive forces are the means of production and manpower. What is the relationship of science and technology to the means of production and to manpower? Throughout history, the means of production have always been linked with science and technology of one kind or another, and likewise, manpower has always meant manpower armed with a certain knowledge of science and technology. We often say that man is the most active factor among the productive forces. "Man" here refers to people who possess a certain scientific knowledge, experience in production and skills in the use of tools to produce material wealth. There were great differences in the instruments of production man used, his mastery of scientific knowledge, and his production experience and skills in the stone, bronze and iron ages and in the 17th, the 18th and the 19th centuries. Today, the rapid progress of modern science and technology is accelerating the renewal of production equipment and the changes in technological processes. Many products are superseded by a new generation of products in a matter of a few years. Only by acquiring a higher level of scientific and general knowledge, rich experience in production and advanced skills, can a worker play a bigger role in modern production. In our society, the labourers, who have a high degree of political awareness, study consciously and assiduously to raise their scientific and general level and thus will surely be able

to achieve a higher labour productivity than that attained under capitalism.

The recognition that science and technology are productive forces brings the following question in its train: How should we regard the mental labour involved in scientific pursuits? Since science is becoming an increasingly important part of the productive forces, are people engaged in scientific and technological work to be considered workers or not?

There are various kinds of brain workers in societies under the rule of exploiting classes. Some are entirely in the service of the reactionary ruling classes and have thus set themselves against workers engaged in manual labour. But even in those cases, as Lenin said, there are many intellectuals engaged in scientific and technical work who themselves are not capitalists but scholars, although they are permeated with bourgeois prejudice. The fruits of their work are used by the exploiters, but, generally speaking, this is determined by the social system, and not by their own free choice. They are entirely different from politicians who rack their brains to advise the reactionary ruling classes directly. Marx pointed out that ordinary engineers and technicians join in the creation of surplus value. That is to say, they, too, are exploited by the capitalists.

In a socialist society, brain workers trained by the proletariat itself differ from intellectuals in any exploiting society in history. In the course of socialist transformation in China, Chairman Mao pointed out that intellectuals from the old society faced the question of what kind of "skin" they attached themselves to. Class contradictions and class struggle exist throughout the historical period of socialism, and the intellectuals face throughout the need to solve the question of what kind of "skin" to attach to and whether to keep to the proletarian stand. But, generally speaking, the overwhelming majority of them are part of the proletariat. The difference between them and the manual workers lies only in a different role in the social division of labour. Those who labour, whether by hand or by brain, are all working people in a socialist society. With the advancement of modern science and technology and progress towards the four modernizations, a great deal of heavy manual work will gradually be re-

placed by machines. Manual labour will steadily decrease for workers directly engaged in production and mental work will continuously increase. Moreover, there will be an increasing demand for more people in scientific research and for a larger force of scientists and technicians. The "gang of four" distorted the division of labour between mental and manual work in our socialist society today, calling it class antagonism. Their aim was to attack and persecute the intellectuals, undermine the alliance of the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, disrupt the social productive forces and sabotage our socialist revolution and construction.

Correctly understanding that science and technology belong to the productive forces and that brain workers who serve socialism are a part of the working people has a close bearing on the rapid development of our scientific undertakings. Since we accept these two premises, we must naturally put great effort into developing scientific research and science education and give full play to the revolutionary initiative of the scientific and technical workers and the educational workers in order to accomplish the four modernizations in the short space of 20-odd years and bring about a tremendous growth of our productive forces.

Our science and technology have progressed enormously since the founding of New China and played an important role in economic construction and national defence construction. In old China, this would have been unthinkable. There is no way for anyone to deny this great achievement. But we must see, with a clear head, that there is still a very big gap between our science and technology and advanced world levels and that our scientific and technical forces are still very weak, far from meeting the needs of modernization. We have lost a lot of time, in particular, as a result of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

How do things stand with the technical level of our production? Several hundred million people are busy producing food. We still have not really solved the grain problem. Average annual output of grain per farm worker is about 1,000 kilogrammes in China, whereas in the United States the figure is over 50,000 kilogrammes, a disparity of several dozen times. Labour productivity in our iron and steel in-

dustry, too, is only a small percentage of advanced levels abroad. The gap in the newly emerged industries is still wider. A lag in this field of only eight to ten years, or even three to five years, makes a big gap, let alone a lag of 10 to 20 years.

Chairman Mao often reminded us: "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity." In ancient times, China had brilliant achievements in science and technology; its four great inventions played a significant role in the advance of world culture. But our ancestors' achievements can serve only to confirm our confidence in catching up with and surpassing advanced world levels and not to console us on our backwardness today. Our contributions in science and technology at present are highly incommensurate with the position of a socialist country like ours.

Will factually pointing out this backwardness make people lose heart? There might be such people. They do not have half a whiff of Marxism about them. As for us proletarian revolutionaries, by stating the facts and making a serious analysis of the historical and the present causes of this situation, we can accurately draft our strategic plan, deploy our forces and strive for a rapid change in the situation. Only in this way, moreover, can we activate people to study modestly and speedily master the world's latest science and technology.

Backwardness must be perceived before it can be changed. A person must learn from the advanced before he can catch up and surpass them. Of course, to raise China's scientific and technological level we must rely on our own efforts, develop our own inventions, and adhere to the policy of independence and self-reliance. But independence does not mean shutting the door on the world, nor does self-reliance mean blind opposition to everything foreign. Science and technology are a kind of wealth created in common by all mankind. Any nation or country must learn from the strong points of other nations and countries, from their advanced science and technology. It is not just today, when we are scientifically and technically backward, that we need to learn from other countries; after we catch up with the advanced world levels in science and technology, we will still have to learn from the strong points of others.



Greeting the National
Science Conference.
(Poster)

China's revolution has attracted all the world's revolutionary people, who live and breathe with it. Our socialist modernization has won their interest and support and will do so on a widening scale. We must actively develop international academic exchanges and step up our friendly contacts with scientific circles of other countries. We express heartfelt thanks to all our friends abroad who have helped us in science and technology.

That is the first question on which I want to speak.

The second question is, the building of a mammoth force of scientific and technical personnel who are both red and expert.

For the modernization of science and technology, we must have a mighty scientific and technical force of the working class which is both red and expert, and a large number of scientists and experts in engineering and technology who are first rate by world standards. We have a heavy task before us to build such a force.

An important question here is that we must have a correct understanding of being both red

and expert, and set reasonable standards for it.

The "gang of four" made the absurd statement, "The more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." They said they "preferred labourers with no culture" and they boasted as a "model of being red and expert" an ignorant counter-revolutionary clown who handed in a blank examination paper. On the other hand, they vilified as being "white and expert" good comrades who studied diligently and contributed to the motherland's cause of science and technology. This reversal of right and wrong and of ourselves and the enemy seriously muddled people's minds for a time.

Chairman Mao advocated intellectuals becoming both red and expert, encouraging everyone to remould the bourgeois world outlook and acquire the proletarian world outlook. The basic question about the world outlook is whom to serve. If a person loves our socialist motherland and is serving socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers of his own free will and accord, it should be said that he has initially acquired a proletarian world outlook and, in terms of political standards, cannot be consid-

ered white but should be called red. Our scientific undertakings are an important part of our socialist cause. To devote oneself to our socialist science and contribute to it is an important manifestation of being red, the integration of being red with being expert.

Imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought, our scientists and technicians have made truly rapid progress in the last 28 years. The overwhelming majority of them love the Party and love socialism, strive to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, work wholeheartedly and fruitfully at their posts. Their faith in the Party and in socialism never wavered, no matter how Lin Piao and the "gang of four" persecuted and tormented intellectuals; they kept working on science and technology under extremely difficult conditions. Many showed a high level of political awareness in the 11th struggle between the two lines. The smashing of the gang unleashed in them great revolutionary enthusiasm. They wholeheartedly support the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and work still harder for the four modernizations. How invaluable are these scientists and technicians! They are worthy of the title "red and expert," fit to be called our working class' own scientific and technical force. Chairman Hua once stressed with great satisfaction that such a force is an important factor in our confidence that we will catch up and surpass advanced world standards. This is a realistic, scientific appraisal.

This appraisal naturally does not mean that these scientists and technicians all have a very high level of political and ideological consciousness or that there are no shortcomings and mistakes of one kind or another in their ideology, their work style or their specific work; it means that judged by the basic criterion of political stand, the overwhelming majority of them take the stand of the working class, and these revolutionary intellectuals constitute a force our Party can rely on. They should not be complacent or come to a halt, but should continue the effort, constantly seeking new progress both politically and in their specific fields. Their shortcomings and mistakes are a matter for education and assistance, something to be overcome through criticism and self-criticism. No one is free from shortcomings and mistakes.

Take people like us, our cadres doing political work and our veteran cadres who have been in the Party for decades; do we not also have shortcomings or errors of this kind or that? Why be especially exacting towards vocational cadres and technical experts! As for scientists and technicians with undesirable family backgrounds or who committed mistakes in the past or whose families and social contacts present problems, we should judge them mainly by their own basic political attitude, by the way they acquit themselves and by their contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

There is a section of scientists and technicians whose bourgeois world outlook has not fundamentally changed, or who are rather deeply influenced by bourgeois ideology. They often waver in the midst of sharp, fierce and complicated class struggle. As long as they are not against the Party and against socialism, we should, in line with the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals, bring out their specialized abilities, respect their labour and take an interest in their progress, giving them a warm helping hand. Chairman Mao consistently held that the more people in our revolutionary ranks the better, that we should respect those who have knowledge and specialized skills or have made contributions, and that our attitude towards any person who has made mistakes should be first to observe and second to give help and not to look down on him. We must earnestly implement these teachings of Chairman Mao's.

In our socialist society, everyone should remould himself. Not only those who have not changed their basic stand should remould, but everybody should study and constantly remould himself, study new problems, absorb what is new and consciously guard against corrosion by bourgeois ideology, so as better to shoulder the glorious and arduous task of building a modern, powerful socialist country.

To catch up and surpass advanced world levels within the century means that we should cover the distance in the next 22 years that took others 40 or 50 years or more. Scientists and technicians should concentrate their energy on scientific and technical work. When we say that at least five-sixths of their work time should be left free for their scientific and technical work, this is meant to be the minimum demand.

It is still better if even more time is available for this purpose. If some persons work seven days and seven evenings on end to meet the needs of science or production, that shows their lofty spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of socialism. We should learn from them, commend them and encourage them. Innumerable facts prove that only he can mount the pinnacles of science who devotes himself heart and soul, constantly strives for perfection, fears neither hardship nor disappointment. We cannot demand that scientists and technicians, or at any rate, the overwhelming majority of them, study a lot of political and theoretical books, participate in numerous social activities and attend many meetings not related to their work. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" frequently attacked scientists and technicians, accusing them of "being divorced from politics" and labelling people "white and expert" when they studied diligently to improve their knowledge and skills. "White" is a political concept. Only political reactionaries who are against the Party and against socialism can be called "white." How can you label as "white" a man who studies hard to improve his knowledge and skills? Scientists and technicians who have flaws of one kind or another in their ideology or their style of work should not be called "white," if they are not against the Party and socialism. How can our scientists and technicians be accused of being divorced from politics when they work diligently for socialist science? The cause of socialism calls for a division of labour. On condition that they keep to the socialist political stand, comrades of different trades and professions are not divorced from politics when they do their best at their posts; on the contrary, this is a concrete manifestation of their service to proletarian politics and of their socialist consciousness. A few years ago, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" made it quite difficult for the workers to do their jobs, for the peasants to till the land, for the army men to do their military training, and for the students to study or scientists and technicians to do research in their work. What heavy losses this meant for our socialist cause! Was that not a profound lesson?

While striving to raise the level of our present scientific and technical force, and making full use of their abilities, we must also

exert ourselves to train new personnel. Owing to sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," there is an age-gap in this force which makes the training of a younger generation of scientific and technical personnel all the more pressing.

We have a vast supply and a great potential in matters of selecting and training talented personnel. With the recent reform of the college enrolment system, we have discovered fine young people who are diligent, hard-working and talented. We are pleased to see their outstanding accomplishments. Though the "gang of four" ran wild for a time, they failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the youngsters for study, nor could they stifle the revolutionary zeal of the teachers to educate the next generation assiduously for the Party and the people. Today the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Hua is paying close attention to science and education and laying strong emphasis on training and selecting talented people. We can foresee the dawn of a new era, with a multitude of outstanding people like the stars in the sky. The future of science lies with the youth. The growth of the younger generation is the hope of our flourishing cause.

Education is basic for training scientific and technical personnel. We must comprehensively and correctly carry out the Party's policy on education, straighten out the orientation and make a good job of the educational revolution, to ensure a tremendous expansion and improvement. Education concerns not only the educational departments; Party committees at all levels must attend to it earnestly as a major issue. People of all trades and professions must support it and put great effort into running schools and colleges. People's teachers are gardeners tending the successors to the revolution. Their creative labour should be held in respect by the Party and the people. Their teaching time must be guaranteed and care and attention must be given to their political life, working conditions and professional studies. Teachers with outstanding contributions in pedagogy should be commended and awarded.

On the question of talented people, we must particularly stress the need to break with convention in the discovery, selection and training of those with outstanding talent. This was one

of the big issues muddled by the "gang of four." They vilified scientists, professors and engineers distinguished for their contributions as bourgeois academic authorities and, all outstanding young and middle-aged scientists and technicians trained by our Party and state as revisionist sprouts. We must thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the gang and take up the important task on the scientific and educational fronts of training in the shortest possible time a group of experts in science and technology who are first rate by world standards. In the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao said that our Party's fighting capacity would be much greater and our task of defeating Japanese imperialism would be more quickly accomplished if there were one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which was systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow. The revolutionary cause needs outstanding revolutionaries, and so does the scientific cause need outstanding scientists. Working-class persons with outstanding talent come from the people and serve the people. Only an extensive mass base can provide a continuous flow of talent, and outstanding talents will, in turn, help raise China's scientific and cultural standards as a whole.

The discovery or training of talented people by our scientists and teachers is in itself an achievement and a contribution to the state. The history of science shows what great results can be produced in the field of science from the discovery of a genuinely talented person! Some of the world's scientists have looked upon their discovery and training of new talent as the greatest achievement of a lifetime. There is much to be said for this view. A number of outstanding mathematicians in China today were discovered in their youth by older generation mathematicians who helped them mature. Some of the newcomers may have surpassed their teachers in scientific achievement, but the teachers' contributions are indelible, nonetheless.

The third question I want to discuss is how to make the system of division of responsibilities under the leadership of Party committees work in scientific and technical departments.

Rapid development of science and technology hinges on good Party leadership in these fields.

Our country has entered a new period of development in socialist revolution and construction. According to the Constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress and Chairman Hua's Report on the Work of the Government to the Congress, the general task in this new period is: to steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and transform China into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century. To accomplish this general task we must wage a great political and economic revolution and a great scientific and technical revolution. This is the new content for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the new period of development.

To meet the requirements of the new situation and the new task, there must be corresponding changes in the centre of gravity for Party work and in the Party's work style. During the unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our Party concentrated maximum efforts on the political revolution. Today, after victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," while continuing to eliminate their pernicious influence and deepen the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts, the whole Party must take firm hold of the work of modernization and carry out the great political and economic revolution and the great scientific and technical revolution, tasks which history has conferred on us.

The Party committees at various levels should learn from Taching and Tachai and make an earnest effort to grasp simultaneously the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Following the examples of Taching and Tachai, they should unfold mass movements for scientific experiment, with new technical progress and new production records every year. There are several hundred thousand enterprises and several hundred thousand production brigades in our country. Extensive application of advanced science and technology to

industry and agriculture and a greater, faster, better and more economical growth of production can come about only through large-scale technical transformation and scientific experiments in every enterprise and every production brigade. At the same time, we must work energetically for the success of specialized scientific research institutes. Professional scientists and technicians form the mainstay of the revolutionary movement for scientific experiment. Without a strong contingent of professional scientific researchers of high calibre, we could hardly scale the heights of modern science and technology and it would be difficult for the scientific experiment movement of the masses to advance wave upon wave in a sustained way. We must get the specialists integrated with the masses.

The Central Committee has stipulated that a system of individual responsibility for technical work be established in scientific research institutes and that the system of division of responsibilities among institute directors under the leadership of Party committees be set up. These are important organizational measures which help strengthen the leading role of the Party committees while bringing into full play the role of the specialists.

The basic task of scientific research institutes is to produce scientific results and train competent people. They must show more scientific and technical achievements of high quality and train scientific and technical personnel who are both red and expert. The main criterion for judging the work of the Party committee of a scientific research institute should be the successful fulfilment of this basic task. Only when this is well done has the Party committee really done its duty to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism. Otherwise, putting politics in command will remain mere empty talk.

A lot of work has to be done to fulfil this basic task. It is impossible for Party committees to handle and solve all these matters. We must honestly admit that in scientific and technical work, there are many things we do not know. Even should we know them, it would still be impossible for Party committees to do everything. There must be a division of responsibilities and a system of individual responsibility at each

post from top to bottom. This is the only way to make our work orderly and efficient and bring about high-speed development; and this is the only way to define the duties incumbent on each post and to mete out the proper awards and penalties, at the same time obviating procrastination or evasions of responsibility and avoiding getting in each other's way.

The leadership given by Party committees is primarily political leadership, that is, to ensure the correct political orientation and the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies and to bring out the initiative of all concerned. At the same time, leadership is exercised through the plan. Good plans must be drawn up for scientific research, personnel must be carefully appraised and placed where they can do the best work, and all forces must be well organized. In order to follow out the plans and push forward our scientific research, it is also necessary to guarantee the supporting services and supplies and to provide the necessary working conditions for scientific and technical personnel. This is also part of the work of the Party committees. I am willing to be the director of the logistics department at your service and to do this work well together with the leading comrades of Party committees at various levels.

We should give the director and the deputy directors of research institutes a free hand in the work of science and technology according to their division of labour. Party committees should back up the work of all Party and non-Party experts in administrative positions and try to bring out all their capacities so that they really have powers and responsibilities commensurate with their positions. These experts are also cadres of the Party and the state. We must never look askance at them. Party committees should get acquainted with their work and examine it but should not attempt to supplant them.

We must give full scope to democracy and follow the mass line, heeding opinions from scientific and technical personnel in such things as evaluating scientific papers, examining the competency of scientific and technical personnel, working out plans for scientific research and appraising research findings. As to divergent views on academic questions, we

must follow the principle of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and encourage free discussion. We must listen closely to experts' opinions and enable them to play their full role so that we can do better at scientific and technical work and reduce our errors as much as possible. This is an important aspect of the mass line for Party committees of scientific research institutes.

Do we mean to lighten the load of our political work or to lower its standards when we stress that scientific and technical personnel must concentrate on their specific work? No, we do not. This means a demand to raise the level of our political work, improve the method, do away with everything that smacks of formalism, eliminate the poisonous influence of the "gang of four" and conscientiously learn the fine traditions of Liberation Army political work. We must support whatever is conducive to the development of socialist science, and criticize and educate those who seek personal gain, hide their findings, refuse to work in co-ordination or even resort to monopoly and plagiarism and those who display other erroneous ideas and styles of work which are detrimental to the development of socialist science. As we are engaged in socialist modernization and are advancing towards the mastery of modern science and technology, the important task for our political work today is to make every scientist and technician understand how his work relates to the grand goal of the four modernizations, encourage and mobilize them to work together with one heart and co-ordinate their efforts in the spirit of revolution, so as to storm the citadels of science.

Although our Party has accumulated some experience in leading scientific and technological work over the past 20-odd years, we must admit that we confront a very large realm of necessity, an area we still do not know, with regard to how to effectively organize, manage and lead socialist science and technology. Until there is a change in this state of affairs, we can hardly have major achievements and the initiative will not be in our hands. Chairman Mao taught us time and again that persons in the dark cannot light the way for others. Leading Party cadres at

various levels must not be content to remain laymen. They must study their work and gradually learn the ropes. We must apply ourselves to the study of Marxism and raise our political level and we must also strive to acquire scientific knowledge, sum up experience, both positive and negative, study and grasp the objective laws governing scientific and technological work and implement the Party's principles and policies correctly and comprehensively. Our Party was able to lead the people to the overthrow of the system of exploitation and to the transformation of society, and it will certainly be able to grasp the laws governing scientific and technological work and lead our people to the heights of world science.

The rights and wrongs in regard to political line have been basically clarified; we have mapped out a programme with the measures for its execution; the masses are already on the move. The task now confronting our Party organizations at all levels is to inspire real drive in the masses, to find down-to-earth solutions to problems and to do good, solid work. In a word, we must put everything on a solid footing. We must stop all the manifestations of formalism, which go in for ostentation but disregard practical results, real efficiency, actual speed, quality or cost. Bad habits like empty talk, boasting and lying must be stamped out.

Comrades,

The 11th Party Congress, the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fifth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, coming one after the other, fully demonstrated the great unity of our whole Party and the great unity of the people throughout the country. This national science conference is likewise a gathering of unity. The unity of the Party and the unity of the people—these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause. Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, march forward, unswerving and victorious, moving valiantly towards the grand goal of a modern, powerful socialist country!

May science in China flourish and grow!
I wish the conference complete success!

Great Internationalist Fighter

— Premier Chou En-lai and the third world

PREMIER Chou En-lai was a great Marxist-Leninist and great internationalist fighter. His work in foreign affairs is a model of applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in practice.

After World War II, along with the victory of the Chinese revolution, the national-liberation movement rōse to a new high tide throughout the world. The nations and peoples of the third world have gradually become the main force against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. In his lifetime, Premier Chou did a great deal of work among the third world countries.

Giving Support to the National-Liberation Struggles

In 1950, when U.S. aggressor troops crossed the 38th Parallel and pressed towards the Yalu River, Premier Chou, in line with Chairman Mao's strategic decision, declared on behalf of the Chinese Government that the Chinese people would not "stand by idly." He organized the Chinese People's Volunteers to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea.

To guarantee supplies to the Volunteers at the front, Premier Chou personally arranged for the provinces and municipalities concerned to mobilize the people to roast rice and flour, a task which he and cadres of the supply department also took part in, thus extending the Party's solicitude right up to the frontline fighters.

When the Volunteers fought in snow-covered areas against the enemy, it was again Premier Chou who first thought of speeding up the production and transport of winter uniforms. Hearing that the Volunteers' cotton-padded

jackets were easily torn in combat in the forests and rough mountainous terrain, he immediately directed the departments concerned to add close rows of vertical stitches while sewing the jackets.

Taking into consideration that our air force at the time was still in its infancy and U.S. aircraft held supremacy in the air, Premier Chou directed that anti-air-raid sentries be posted all along the highways. This greatly cut down military transport losses and set up an indestructible transport line thousands of li long despite heavy bombing.

To support the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao peoples' wars to resist U.S. aggression and for national salvation, Premier Chou worked tirelessly day and night. In the days when U.S. imperialism was wildly bombing, Premier Chou personally gave the order for delivery of aid material right into the hands of the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos regardless of losses and sacrifices. When the Vietnamese comrades were in urgent need of laying oil pipelines Premier Chou immediately decided to slow down a pipeline project in China and to send the available pipes to Viet Nam. To make sure that aid material would reach the front line in south Viet Nam, he showed great concern over the means of transport and packing. Bearing in mind the condition of transport between north and south Viet Nam and the fact that the work of loading and unloading was then done mostly by women, he gave instructions that no package should be over 30 kilogrammes. He even sent leading comrades to make investigations along the transport routes and do everything in their power to ensure that the goods reached the front. He solemnly told them: "Don't come back to see me until the mission is fulfilled."



**Premier Chou with
Asian, African and
Latin American
friends.**

In 1968, the Soviet Union carried out an outright armed invasion of Czechoslovakia. The next day, speaking at a National Day reception at the Romanian Embassy, Premier Chou denounced the Soviet Union for degenerating into social-imperialism and social-fascism. He often drew on China's own experience to warn friends from third world countries that as they struggled against old-line colonialism, they must be vigilant against neocolonialism and guard against the tiger at the back door, while driving the wolf away from the front gate.

In a number of talks with Egyptian friends after the Middle East October War in 1973, Premier Chou voiced support for the Arab people in their struggle to break through the "no war, no peace" situation created by the two hegemonic powers in the Middle East and to resist Israeli aggression. He laid special stress on exposing the ignominious features of Soviet social-imperialism which had betrayed the liberation cause of the Arab people.

Enhancing the Unity of the Third World

The 1955 Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, was the first big international meeting of newly independent countries emerg-

ing from colonialist oppression. It could not but make the imperialists and colonialists extremely apprehensive. When they failed in their plot to prevent the conference, they tried to drag it into endless quarrels and lead it to failure by utilizing differences among Afro-Asian countries in social system and ideology and playing on estrangements arising from long years of colonialist rule.

Provocative voices under anti-communist slogans were raised against China when the conference got under way. But Premier Chou listened calmly to all the speeches until the full session was drawing to a close. Then he decided to have his original speech distributed in a written form, while he personally drafted a supplementary speech and delivered it on the spot.

The first thing he said was, "The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel." The atmosphere cleared at once in the meeting hall. Premier Chou went on: "The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create divergence. Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is

acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be very easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism."

The Bandung Conference was from the start a meeting at which Asian and African countries claimed their national rights. Several times, Premier Chou told leaders of other countries: "China, too, is not entirely independent. The United States still occupies our Taiwan by force and wilfully deprives us of our seat in the United Nations." Since this was the first gathering of Asian and African countries and there was not yet a common understanding on this issue, Premier Chou declared that China will not raise its demands at the conference but will fully support the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist demands of all countries. The aim was to avoid bogging the meeting down in debate.

Because Premier Chou carried out Chairman Mao's principle of seeking common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor points, the Bandung Conference steered clear of difficulties and dangers and adopted the Ten Principles of the Afro-Asian Conference. These Ten Principles grew out of the Five Principles set forth first by Premier Chou in 1954 and later that year confirmed in joint statements between the Premiers of China and India and of China and Burma.

The Second Afro-Asian Conference, scheduled for 1965, was not convened due to sabotage by the Soviet Union and the particular circumstances of the time. However, under the influence of the spirit of the Bandung Conference, the unity of third world countries extended from Asia and Africa to Latin America. As Premier Chou said at a Cairo press conference, so long as we pay attention to seeking common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor points, and resolutely do not allow imperialism to meddle, we can extend and consolidate the great unity of the third

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world countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

Appraising Premier Chou's contributions in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, a Pakistan paper wrote after his death: In fact, the emergence of the concept of the third world should first of all be ascribed to Chou En-lai. It could hardly have been established without the work he did in the 1950s and 1960s that resulted in the unity of Afro-Asian countries.

Promoting Economic Self-Reliance by Advocating Mutual Aid

During his tour of 14 Asian, African and European countries in 1964, Premier Chou advanced the eight principles guiding China's aid to other countries (See *Peking Review*, No. 48, 1977, p. 28). Under these eight principles, China and other third world countries, helping and learning from one another, set an example of sincere co-operation in economic dealings among nations. Premier Chou often told Chinese working personnel that Chinese aid is not a kind of unilateral alms but embodies mutual support; that if China should refuse to assist others who wish to make revolution, it would mean betraying the revolution; that the sole purpose of China's economic and technical co-operation with friendly countries is to help them stand on their own feet and develop their own inde-

**Receiving garlands and bouquets from
children while visiting Nepal (1957).**



pendent national economies; that if China should only look after itself, it would be national egotism, and that if China should boast of its aid to others it would be great-nation chauvinism.

While imposing a "blockade" and "embargo" on China in 1952, the United States forced down the price of rubber on the international market, so that Sri Lanka could neither export rubber nor import rice. Upon learning this, Premier Chou immediately decided that China would buy rubber from Sri Lanka and sell it rice at a price favourable to it, although there were still no diplomatic relations between the two countries. This was an example of third world countries engaging in mutual assistance and trade on an equal footing with mutual benefit.

After the death of Premier Chou, a paper in Sri Lanka wrote: "In many a moment of crisis he generously stretched out his hand of friendship to help Sri Lanka weather an impending crisis. . . . Their aid lines were given with conditions obviously intended to buffer an economy and help it on to self-sufficiency. This was a philosophy he believed in, not for his own country alone but to all friendly nations."

Premier Chou said to leaders of friendly countries on a number of occasions: We will study and follow closely the projects we provide for you, and every one of them should, from beginning to end, be beneficial and not a burden on you. Otherwise, our assistance would do no good. Following Premier Chou's directives, our country has helped friendly countries build factories and other enterprises to suit their concrete conditions and make the fullest possible use of their own materials, so that they can stand on their own feet. For instance, we help them build textile mills, sugar refineries, tea processing plants and cigarette factories, and also help them grow cotton, sugar cane, tea and tobacco. Sometimes, the products we help friendly countries produce are exactly the very commodities we traditionally exported to them. But so long as these friendly countries want and are able to produce them, China does not hesitate to help them achieve self-sufficiency in those products.

Premier Chou devoted much energy and thought to the Tanzania-Zambia Railway project, which took six years to build. As one African newspaper put it, the railway is one of many milestones in the sincere friendship Chou En-lai showed for Africa. The July 1976 meeting to celebrate the completion of the railway mourned Premier Chou, expressing the respect the people of Tanzania and Zambia have for the memory of the late Chinese Premier.

Unbridled fishing in Latin American waters by the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, provoked indignation in Latin American countries and forced them to claim rights over 200 nautical miles of water. Premier Chou many times gave instructions to give them energetic support in this just struggle. In December 1970, he told friends from Chile: The countries which upheld their 200-nautical-mile claim had defeated the two superpowers in the struggle for sea rights. You have won! Again in June 1971, he told Peruvian friends: We support you in your struggle to uphold 200 nautical miles. You were forced to put forward this claim. Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. We raise both hands in approval.

The slogan of economic independence Premier Chou raised at the Bandung Conference won a warm response from many countries. Developments in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism further testified that economic independence is a common aspiration of third world countries. This demand has grown into a gigantic movement for a new international economic order.

Abiding by the Principle of Equality For All Nations

In handling relations with third world countries, Premier Chou always observed the principle of equality among all states, large or small, and would brook no great-power chauvinism in any shape or form in China's diplomatic activities, regardless of time, place or circumstances. The press of many countries praised Premier Chou as a most esteemed personage and a model in putting into practice his own principles.

While visiting the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in November 1956, he made a special

trip to the Temple of Trung Trac and Trung Nhi, Vietnamese national heroines who led the resistance to aggression by a feudal Chinese dynasty 2,000 years ago, and placed flowers before their images. The Vietnamese people were deeply impressed by New China's firm opposition to chauvinism and strict adherence to internationalism. This hit hard at the sinister attempts of imperialists and reactionaries to divert against the people of New China the rightful indignation of the Vietnamese people at the feudal Chinese dynasties, to fan national hatred and disrupt the friendship between the people of the two countries.

When New China was founded in 1949, it confronted boundary questions left over from the past. Under Premier Chou's personal guidance and in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, of mutual understanding and accommodation and of mutual respect for each other's territorial sovereignty, China delineated boundary lines and concluded treaties on boundary questions with one neighbouring country after another.

On the question of overseas Chinese, Premier Chou and the Indonesian Prime Minister signed in 1955 a treaty concerning the question of dual nationality, solving a difficult and complicated problem inherited from the old days. He received local Chinese nationals, first in Bandung and then in Djakarta, explaining the treaty to them and urging those who retained Chinese citizenship to respect the sovereignty of the host country and its government's law, unite with its people in friendship and live with them in harmony.

Premier Chou showed great respect for the customs of the countries he visited, and urged all Chinese comrades to do the same.

Burma was celebrating its traditional *Thingyan* (water-splashing festival) while he was there on a visit one year. Though he had just



Celebrating *Thingyan* (water-splashing festival) with the people of Burma (1960).

been vaccinated, he and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in Burmese costumes, went among the local people and shared their joy in ushering in the New Year according to the Burmese calendar. The Burmese leader jokingly asked Premier Chou: "Who are the Chinese and who the Burmese?" "Chinese and Burmese are *paukphaws* (relatives) after all," he replied.

Premier Chou never let pass a trace of great-power chauvinism among Chinese personnel working in foreign affairs. Once he heard that a Chinese abroad had injured someone in a car accident. He immediately ordered leading members of departments concerned to re-examine their own work and to make a proper settlement of the accident. Later, he apologized in person to leaders of that country.

As early as in his *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*, Marx asked the working class "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations." And so it was Premier Chou, always our example in personal moral character, who ful-

filled Marx's expectations for proletarian diplomats in international relations.

Studying All Nations' Strong Points In Search of Knowledge

In China's foreign relations, Premier Chou held that all countries, large or small, have their good qualities and strong points. Wherever he went, he modestly learnt from others anything that might be useful to China's socialist construction. When he went on an 11-nation tour of Asia and Europe in 1956, he set the aim as: "Seek friendship, seek peace and seek knowledge."

In all his visits abroad, Premier Chou always found time to go and see industrial, agricultural, scientific, technical and cultural institutions of other countries. During a visit to Africa, when he heard that there were a number of advanced oil refineries, he went to see them despite the extreme heat and asked about production, management, equipment and techniques. Premier Chou also repeatedly instructed Chinese personnel abroad to fully introduce the achievements in construction of the countries they were stationed in. When he received members of study groups or delegations going abroad, he inevitably taught them to learn from

the good points of other countries. Premier Chou told the table tennis players who had won a number of world championships not to be dizzy with success, nor to get discouraged after a defeat or let success keep them from learning from others. The world-renowned principle of "friendship first, competition second" came from Premier Chou.

During the early 1960s, when the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonist struggles waged by the revolutionary peoples of the third world were spreading like a prairie fire, Premier Chou proposed the setting up of the Tungfang (Oriental) Song and Dance Ensemble as a means of learning the songs and dances of Asian, African and Latin American countries and learning the good points of their national art, in order to enrich our own art and serve the world revolution.

Premier Chou paid special attention to the Americas, where he had never been, and especially to Latin America. He often praised the ancient culture of the Latin American people and their heroic anti-imperialist struggles. In April 1973, Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez visited China, and Premier Chou accompanied him to Tachai, though he was already ill. They discussed the two countries' agricultural development and exchanged experience. Later, he sent a delegation to Mexico to study the cultivation of fine strains and other farming experience.

Another characteristic of Premier Chou's proletarian style of diplomacy was his warmth towards all labouring people.

Whenever he boarded a foreign plane, he would greet the crew, shake hands with them and take a picture together with them. Wherever he lived, whether it was a palace, a presidential mansion, a state guest house or an ordinary hotel, he would always thank the waiters, cooks, chauffeurs and others for their services. It was a rare experience for them, and some said with emotion: "He really is a people's premier."

Visiting a Sri Lanka village (1957).



On every visit abroad he would see all the foreign employees at the Chinese Embassies. There were a number of so-called "untouchables" among the Indian employees at the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi. Though they led a life of equality in the embassy they were surprised when Premier Chou stretched out his hand to them.

In early 1957 when Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Ho Lung visited Sri Lanka, they were invited to speak at a welcome rally in Colombo. Suddenly a tropical downpour came and the host at once held an umbrella over Premier Chou. Seeing that the masses had no umbrellas or raincoats, Premier Chou firmly declined the proffered umbrella and, standing in the rain, delivered a long address in support of the anti-colonialist struggle of the Sri Lankan people.

Defying All Hardships and Working Tirelessly

Whether in struggles at home or abroad, Premier Chou was heedless of his own safety.

On the eve of the Bandung Conference, the chartered airliner *Kashmir Princess* carrying an advance party of the Chinese Delegation was blown up in mid-air by a bomb planted by enemy agents and all on board were killed. It was clear that the enemy intended to assassinate the Premier and undermine the Afro-Asian Conference. Speculation was rife in many countries that Premier Chou would not appear at the conference in person, but he flew to attend the conference on schedule.

Premier Chou, who never gave a thought to his own safety, showed every care and consideration for the safety of others. In 1964, on the eve of his visit to Ghana during a tour of 14 countries, an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow President Kwame Nkrumah was reported. The



Visiting Somalia (1964).

host felt that he was not in a position to give full assurance of his guest's safety as the situation in the country was still more or less fluid. But Premier Chou on his part held that this was the moment to give support to an African country dedicated to anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. He decided to make the visit as scheduled and suggested that the host cancel all protocol arrangements at the airport and that the talks be held and banquets given in the castle where President Nkrumah lived. The Premier brought the President a message from Chairman Mao Tsetung which greatly heartened the people of Ghana.

Premier Chou was known as "a man who worked 18 hours a day." This was true whether he was at home or abroad. His tours of 11 countries in 1956 and of 14 countries in 1964 were particularly exhausting. Each covered more than 50,000 kilometres and lasted two or three months. Most younger members of his party found it taxing, but Premier Chou never appeared tired. His grasp of things never lapsed either at talks or on social occasions. When taking part in an international conference, Premier Chou often worked round the clock. In Geneva, his delegation's personnel all took the chance to go and see beautiful Lake Léman and the snow-capped Alps. But not our

Premier. For him, it was always work, work, work.

Fight to the Very End

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, both Lin Piao and the "gang of four" tried to sabotage China's foreign affairs in their conspiracy to work against Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and usurp Party and state power. They agitated for slogans like "Down with everything" and "All-round civil war" at home. Internationally, they hit out in all directions to antagonize everyone and even engineered the wrecking and burning of a foreign diplomatic mission in Peking.

But Premier Chou was a steeled fighter who had met and defeated fierce enemies at home and abroad. He swept aside endless disruption and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." He pointed out explicitly that what Lin Piao and the "gang of four" pursued was "Left" in form but Right opportunist in essence and intended to plunge New China founded by Chairman Mao into international isolation. Often he would meet with the personnel concerned several times a day, to reiterate policies and decide on measures to combat the antics of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and retrieve the grave situation they had created.

During the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao put forward the great theory of the differentiation of the three worlds. This strategic decision was put into practice by Premier Chou in an exemplary manner. As a result the international united front against hegemonism has been expanded and consolidated.

In line with a strategic decision of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou played a direct part in breaking the deadlock in Sino-American relations, in the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, and in the restoration to China of its rightful seat in the United Nations. Thanks to the Premier's efforts, China formed diplomatic ties with many countries and advanced significantly its contacts with the other third world countries.

Reporting on the warmth with which foreign diplomats greeted Premier Chou at the 1974 National Day reception, the last he hosted, a foreign news agency noted that "the foreign policy carried out by Premier Chou has resulted in 50 countries extending diplomatic recognition to China in the past four years."

Through hard struggle, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, which Premier Chou upheld and carried out so firmly, triumphed.

No one can fathom how much of his heart's blood poured into the battle against vicious enemies, both internal and external, during the Cultural Revolution, and how much of his energy went into uniting our people and uniting our friends internationally.

After 1972, when many foreign leaders visiting China sincerely invited the Premier to pay a visit to their countries, he would always smile and say: "I am old, maybe I will not have the chance." At that time Premier Chou suffered from both heart disease and cancer.

But in the first nine months of 1975, Premier Chou still managed to meet foreign guests in hospital 32 times, 28 meetings being with friends from the third world. Later his feet became so swollen that he could no longer wear leather shoes and had to put on a pair of specially made, loose cotton shoes. On July 5 that year, he used a Chinese brush for the last time to put down Chairman Mao's teaching: "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony." He had room in his heart at all times for the 800 million people of China and the 4,000 million people of the whole world and he himself was the only exception.

On January 8, 1976, our Premier's life battle drew to a close. With his last ounce of strength, the Premier sang *The Internationale* in a faint voice: "This is the final conflict, let each stand in his place; the Internationale shall be the human race!"

(A slightly abridged translation of an article written by the Foreign Ministry Theoretical Group)

Science and Scientists Revitalized

Since last September when the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the Circular on Holding National Science Conference, there have been increasing activities in China's scientific and technological field and scientific research work has been progressing at a faster pace. The following reports mirror this inspiring situation from different angles. — Ed.

Scientific Societies Restored

THE Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China and its affiliated societies for various disciplines of natural science have been restored. While consolidating themselves organizationally, they are now actively engaged in furthering their work.

Last August, the association organized three meetings for scientists and model workers to talk with youngsters in Peking. The young people were encouraged to study diligently in an effort to acquire as much cultural and scientific knowledge as possible, so that they can make a contribution to making China a modern and powerful socialist country. This has evoked strong repercussions among the young people throughout the country.

Later, towards the end of last September a forum was sponsored by the same association. It was devoted to discussing how the association and the specialized societies should function and do their work in the days ahead so as to keep pace with the rapid development of science and technology in China.

By the end of last year, the association held a joint symposium for China's scientific societies in the field of zoology, geography, metallurgy, aviation and forestry. It was attended by more than 500 old, middle-aged and young scientists, cadres and model workers. After reviewing what had been achieved and exchanging experiences, the symposium made a preliminary summing-up of the achievements in parasitology, geomorphology, forestry and crack mechanics.



A research institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences has successfully made optical fibres that transmit telephone messages, television images, sound and photos on beam of light.

A total of 483 treatises and reports were read out at the symposium.

Since last August the Chinese Society of Metals has held one academic report meeting a week to acquaint technicians and cadres in the metallurgical field with the world's advanced techniques.

The Chinese Society of Mechanical Engineering has called together a large number of scientists and technicians to write and compile a new work, *Handbook of Mechanics*.

At a symposium organized by the Chinese Automation Society, reports were made on the achievements in automatic control theory and system and their application in production and scientific research.

The Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China is a country-wide mass organization. Its affiliated societies of different disciplines undertake to pool the efforts of scientists, technicians and worker-peasant activists in science and technology who work in different units, trades and places but are engaged in the study of the same discipline. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in 1966, there were 53 national societies under the association and nearly 1,000

Peasant scientist Wu Chi-chang has worked out many new cotton-growing techniques which have greatly raised cotton yields.



Veteran mathematician Su Pu-ching with young technicians and workers.

local ones in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Under the leadership of the Party, these academic organizations played an important role in promoting academic exchanges and popularizing scientific knowledge, in carrying out scientific research and training competent personnel, in developing our science and technology and in uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals. But owing to interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" who maligned these societies and their academic activities as "providing the bourgeoisie with opportunities to spread poison," they were forced to suspend their activities.

In February this year, the association called an enlarged meeting of its presidium to sum up the work done by the various societies in the past year and discuss the tasks for the current year. Representatives from 45 societies (17 of science, 21 of engineering, three of agricultural science and four of medical science) attended the meeting and they expressed their determination to promote academic activities on a wider scale, do a good job in academic exchanges and popularizing scientific knowledge, pay constant attention to spotting talented and promising people and keep the departments concerned informed of whatever new discoveries and suggestions are made by scientists and the masses. They all pledged to make contributions

to the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

Commending the Advanced

THE Chinese Academy of Sciences recently called a meeting of its affiliates in the Peking area to cite and present awards to a number of advanced units and individuals for waging a resolute struggle against the "gang of four's" perverse actions, for persisting in their



After ten years of research work, Huang Tung-nien, a recently promoted engineer, has invented a new method which gives an instant computerized record of the integrate error of a gear in motion, shows localized errors of the gear and makes corrections easy by indicating the sources of the errors. This technique has caught up with and surpassed the level which other countries took 40 years to attain.

research work in spite of difficulties and, in particular, for striving to push forward China's science and technology and making outstanding achievements over the past year and more.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences, a comprehensive research centre of natural science, has now taken on a completely new look thanks to the series of important measures taken by

the Party Central Committee to develop science and technology. Scientists, technicians, cadres and workers there are in buoyant spirits and devoted to their work heart and soul. Rapid progress in scientific research last year led to the completion of over 100 major research projects, some of which were close to or up to advanced world levels.

All scientists and technicians now air their views fully and freely at lively academic discussions in the various institutes under the academy. This has promoted a situation in which a hundred schools of thought contend. Last year, the number of scientific papers produced by the Institute of Mathematics was three times the average figure for previous years and the number of contributions to the institute's three journals nearly doubled as compared with 1976. The Peking Observatory presented 18 papers and reports at the 1977 national forum on astrophysics as against none at a similar meeting in 1975.

In striking contrast to what the "gang of four" did in defaming and persecuting scientific and technical personnel, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua shows the utmost concern for them, has firm faith in them, and encourages them to invent and create. In its Circular on Holding National Science Conference, the Party Central Committee set, as one of the tasks of the conference, commending advanced elements, especially those scientists, technicians, workers, peasants and soldiers who have inventions or creations to their credit.

Since the circular was published, some provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and departments concerned under the State Council have held meetings to commend individuals and collectives for their outstanding contributions in science and technology. The press has given wide publicity to their exploits. The title of "Advanced Scientific and Technical Worker" was conferred on 931 scientists and technicians in Shanghai last month where more than 550 major scientific research projects and some 20,000 technical innovations were brought to fruition last year. To greet the convening of the national science conference, scientists, technicians and workers in this metropolis have completed 120 scientific research projects ahead

of schedule. The Chinese Academy of Sciences last year successfully carried out more than 100 research projects. To date several tens of thousands of important scientific and technical achievements have been recommended by various places and trades for review at the national science conference.

More Science Publications

THE Science Publishing House has planned to put out 50 per cent more books this year than in 1977, as quite a number of well-known scientists are now writing new works.

A dozen or so scientists have worked together on the *Introduction to Modern Science and Technology* running to more than 300,000 words. It will bring readers up to date on important scientific developments.

Geologist Chang Wen-yu is now working on a monograph entitled *Mechanical and Historical Analyses of Tectonics*. In their work *Application of the Theory of Numbers in Approximate Analysis*, mathematicians Hua Lo-keng and Wang Yuan advance a new computational method of value integral calculus. Studies of the world's biggest stone meteorite shower which occurred in Kirin Province, northeast China, in March 1976 have led to the compilation of the *Papers Presented at the Symposium on the Kirin Meteorite Shower* which deals with the scientific value of the shower as seen from more than 30 disciplines of natural science and sets forth original views on the subject.

Among the works already completed or being written at the moment are monographs on basic science, applied science and new techniques. Applying materialist dialectics, biologist Chen Shih-hsiang has made new analyses and generalizations of evolution and classification in his latest work *Evolution and Classification* which his colleagues in the field consider a breakthrough. Woman physicist Hsieh Hsi-teh will soon begin to write a monograph on surface physics, the first of its kind in Chinese scientific literature.

Many scientists, though now advanced in years, are redoubling their efforts to sum up



Chen Jen-fu (first from right), a worker who has become an assistant researcher in the Shanghai Institute of Computing Technology, and his colleagues have built a large electron computer.

the fruitful results of their studies. Jao Chinchih, a scholar in algae for 50 years, plans to write up his research findings into three volumes. Basing himself on clinical experience gained over the past 60 years and more, Cheng Huai-hsien, a specialist in orthopaedics, has completed a large, million-word volume. Eighty-three-year-old Professor Hsia Wei-ying is a specialist in checking and annotating ancient literary works, particularly in the field of agricultural science and farming techniques. Though he is now blind, he is revamping and proof-reading his works with the help of assistants.

Young scientists also have begun to write books. Chen Ching-jun, one of the world's most distinguished mathematicians in research on the theory of numbers, has completed the manuscript of *The Elementary Number Theory*, on top of a number of important papers written in recent years.

In addition, some of the scientists are taking an active part in writing popular science books and compiling reference books of science and technology.

Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

(Adopted on March 8, 1978 by the Fifth National Committee
of the C.P.P.C.C. at its First Session)

General Principles

THE Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.), a revolutionary united front organization led by the Communist Party of China, was founded by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, led and presided over by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Premier Chou En-lai, and uniting the people of all nationalities throughout the country, the masses of intellectuals and all patriotic forces, the C.P.P.C.C. has played an important role in helping members of the national bourgeoisie to accept socialist transformation, in implementing the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the Communist Party of China and the patriotic democratic parties, in carrying out the policies on nationalities, overseas Chinese affairs and religion, in consolidating and developing the revolutionary united front, in mobilizing all positive factors to serve the socialist cause, and in persisting in the fight against social-imperialism and imperialism and supporting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world.

In carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng led the people of all nationalities in the country in smashing the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. It was another great victory following the overthrow of

the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, and it marked the successful conclusion of China's first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a new period of development in its socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The general task facing our people in the new period is to firmly carry out the line of the 11th Party Congress, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and transform China into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century. With this general task in view, the C.P.P.C.C. should strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities in the country, develop the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and which unites the vast numbers of intellectuals and other labouring people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, compatriots in and from Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao as well as overseas Chinese, rally all the forces that can be united, mobilize all the positive factors and turn the negative factors as far as possible into positive ones, fight internal and external enemies, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and strive to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century. In the international struggle, following Chairman

Mao's great theory of the three worlds, the C.P.P.C.C. should bend its efforts to firmly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and opposing superpower hegemonism and war policy. All units and individuals participating in the C.P.P.C.C. must closely rally around the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, work in unison, fight in unity and shoulder the glorious tasks history has entrusted to us.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is the fundamental law which the people of all nationalities in our country must observe and it is the common programme which all units and individuals participating in the C.P.P.C.C. must follow. The six political criteria* put forward by Chairman Mao on the basis of the principles of our Constitution are the criteria in the Chinese people's political life for judging whether one's words and deeds are right or wrong, and they form the political basis for the long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the Communist Party and the various democratic parties and for the revolutionary united front in our country at the present stage.

The C.P.P.C.C. should, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, carry forward the fine tradition of democratic consultation fostered by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, apply in earnest the principles of "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not," and strive to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The Fifth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. has decided at its first plenary session on the following guiding rules to be observed by all units and individuals participating in it:

1. Support the leadership of the Communist Party of China and China's socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, support the Constitution of the People's Republic of

China and work wholeheartedly for its implementation.

2. Hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the basic line of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, guard against capitalist restoration and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. Abide by and propagate the principles and policies of the Communist Party of China and the state, maintain close ties with the masses, assist the state organs and mobilize the social forces to take an active part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

4. Taiwan Province has been China's sacred territory since ancient times. The compatriots in Taiwan are our own flesh and blood. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and make joint efforts for accomplishing the great cause of unifying our motherland.

5. Give play to our patriotism, heighten our revolutionary vigilance, enhance our sense of war preparedness and make positive contributions in combating subversion and aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism and in defending the motherland.

6. Implement China's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism, strengthen our friendly relations with the people of other countries, promote the development of the international united front against hegemonism and wage unremitting struggles against superpower hegemonism and war policy.

7. Study hard, on a voluntary basis, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and, in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, remould our world outlook step by step.

8. The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. We must, under

* See *Peking Review*, No. 11, 1978, p. 26.

the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, be frank and straightforward, pool ideas from various sources, be upright and selfless, be open and aboveboard, practise criticism and self-criticism, uphold the truth, correct mistakes and continually strengthen the unity inside the revolutionary united front.

Chapter One

General Organizational Principles

Article 1 The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference comprises, as its basis, representatives of the Communist Party of China, patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and people from all walks of life.

Article 2 The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference establishes a National Committee and local committees.

Article 3 The relationship between the National Committee and the local committees and between a local committee and local committees at a lower level is one of the former giving guidance to the latter.

Article 4 All units and individuals participating in the National Committee or a local committee have the duty to observe and act according to the Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Article 5 The local committees have the duty to observe and carry out the resolutions adopted by the National Committee and its calls issued throughout the country.

Article 6 A resolution of the plenary session of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee or of its Standing Committee, and a resolution of the plenary session of a local committee or of its standing committee, can be adopted only with the concurrence of more than one half of the members of the plenum. All participating units and individuals must observe and carry out such a resolution. If and when there is any disagreement, they may declare their reservations and bring it up for discussion at the next meeting,

but they must carry out the resolution in accordance with the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority, and there should be no violations; any unit or individual disagreeing entirely with an important resolution is free to declare withdrawal from the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Article 7 When a member unit or individual of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee has gravely violated the C.P.P.C.C. Constitution or a National Committee resolution, the National Committee may, in accordance with the gravity of the offence, take the disciplinary measure of issuing a warning or disqualifying the membership of the unit or individual concerned.

When a member unit or individual of a local committee has gravely violated the C.P.P.C.C. Constitution or a resolution adopted by the National Committee or by a local committee, the local committee may, in accordance with the gravity of the offence, take the disciplinary measure of issuing a warning or disqualifying the membership of the unit or individual concerned.

If the unit or individual concerned disagrees with the disciplinary measure taken, the said unit or individual may ask for a review of the case; in the case of a unit or individual belonging to a local committee, appeals may be made to the committees at the higher levels.

Chapter Two

General Working Principles

Article 8 In accordance with the General Principles of the C.P.P.C.C. Constitution, the National Committee and local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference conduct democratic consultations and activities relating to major affairs in the country's political life and in the revolutionary united front.

Article 9 The National Committee and local committees encourage the patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and

people from all walks of life to take part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and to serve the people wholeheartedly.

Article 10 In accordance with the General Principles of the C.P.P.C.C. Constitution, the National Committee and local committees undertake mainly to do the following tasks:

1. Organize and encourage the patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and people from all walks of life to study hard, on a voluntary basis, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, current affairs and politics and, through various feasible ways and in connection with practice, learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, carry out criticism and self-criticism and remould their ideology.

2. Hold report meetings and forums, organize visits and tours for investigation and study so as to gather and supply information on the actual situation, give advisory opinions or suggestions, assist the state organs in publicizing and implementing policies and in improving their work.

3. Conduct activities in the political, economic, cultural, educational, scientific and technological fields in co-ordination with the departments concerned and extensively solicit the people's opinions and spot talented people for the benefit of national construction. Put into practice the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend so as to facilitate the thriving of socialist culture and the progress of science.

4. Collect, collate and edit materials for the writing of books on such subjects as modern Chinese history and history of the Chinese revolution.

5. Carry out work in connection with the liberation of Taiwan.

6. Study international affairs, propagate and implement the government's foreign policy and, in accordance with a unified arrangement, engage in activities for the development of the international united front.

7. Treat seriously the letters the people send in and the complaints they make when they call.

Article 11 The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference carries forward the

fine tradition of democratic consultation, adheres to the mass line, maintains close ties with the people of all walks of life, helps in the exchange of ideas, adjustment of relationships and co-ordination of action.

Chapter Three

The National Committee

Article 12 The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is made up of the representatives of the Communist Party of China, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages with no party affiliation, people's organizations and people of all walks of life as well as individuals by special invitation. The minority nationalities, compatriots in Hongkong and Macao and returned overseas Chinese should have an appropriate representation.

The participating units, the number and the choice of members of each National Committee are decided on by the Standing Committee of the previous National Committee through consultation.

When the National Committee deems it necessary to increase or change the participating units or the number and the choice of members during its term of office, its Standing Committee should make decisions through consultation.

Article 13 The C.P.P.C.C. National Committee is elected for a term of five years. When necessary, its term of office may be extended, or its succeeding National Committee may be convened before the due date.

Article 14 The C.P.P.C.C. National Committee has a Chairman, a number of Vice-Chairmen and a secretary-general.

Article 15 The C.P.P.C.C. National Committee sets up a Standing Committee to handle its affairs.

The Standing Committee is composed of the Chairman of the National Committee, the Vice-Chairmen, the secretary-general and a number of members.

Article 16 The C.P.P.C.C. National Committee holds a plenary session once every year, to be convened by the Standing Committee. When the Standing Committee deems it necessary, the plenary session may be convened before the due date or postponed.

Article 17 The following functions and powers of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee are exercised by the plenary session:

1. Revision of the C.P.P.C.C. Constitution;

2. Election of the Chairman, a number of Vice-Chairmen and the secretary-general of the National Committee and members of its Standing Committee;

3. Hearing and examining the report on the work of the Standing Committee.

Article 18 The C.P.P.C.C. National Committee has a number of assistant secretaries-general appointed by the Standing Committee to assist the secretary-general's work.

It sets up a secretariat which works under the secretary-general.

Article 19 The C.P.P.C.C. National Committee may set up a number of working organizations when necessary; this should be decided by the Standing Committee.

Chapter Four

The Local Committees

Article 20 Provincial committees, autonomous regional committees and municipal committees of the C.P.P.C.C. are established in the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government. When necessary, other localities may establish their own local committees.

Article 21 A local committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is made up of the representatives of the Communist Party of China, patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and people of all walks

of life in the locality as well as individuals by special invitation. The minority nationalities in the locality should have an appropriate representation.

The participating units, the number and the choice of members of each local committee are decided on through consultation by the standing committee of the previous local committee.

When a local committee deems it necessary to increase or change the participating units or the number and the choice of members during its term of office, its standing committee should make the decisions through consultation.

Article 22 The C.P.P.C.C. provincial committees, autonomous regional committees and committees of municipalities directly under the Central Government are elected for a term of five years.

Article 23 A C.P.P.C.C. local committee has a chairman, a number of vice-chairmen and a secretary-general.

Article 24 A C.P.P.C.C. local committee sets up a standing committee to handle its affairs.

The standing committee is composed of a chairman, a number of vice-chairmen, a secretary-general and a number of members.

Article 25 The plenary session of a C.P.P.C.C. local committee is to be convened at least once a year by its standing committee whenever necessary.

Article 26 The following functions and powers of a C.P.P.C.C. local committee are exercised by its plenary session:

1. Election of the local committee chairman, vice-chairmen, secretary-general and members of the standing committee;

2. Hearing and examining the report on the work of the standing committee.

Article 27 A C.P.P.C.C. local committee may, according to needs, have one or more assistant secretaries-general who are appointed by its standing committee.

A local committee may set up working bodies according to needs; this should be decided by its standing committee.

CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

Readers' Letters Column In "Renmin Ribao"

SOME months ago, in a move much appreciated by all, *Renmin Ribao* restored its Readers' Letters column. The department handling the letters is one of the busiest in this newspaper's office building. From last September to the end of January this daily received more than 130,000 letters, getting as many as 3,000 letters in one day from all over China.

The letters coming from people of all walks of life touch on a wide range of topics: political theory, literature, art, science, technology and so on. People send in criticisms, commendations and suggestions; some complain about the inferior quality of goods or services, some make suggestions for improving urban traffic. There are letters exposing misdemeanours and crimes. Many cite meritorious deeds and the people who performed them.

Renmin Ribao gives all letters from its readers close attention. The daily passes on letters to departments concerned after reading and noting down their content. Some letters it publishes in its pages. Sometimes, readers' letters appear in print along with a self-criticism from the department concerned. Several letters have already appeared prominently on the front page.

The newspaper now includes the bad along with the good in its reportage and the readers like this as it is both informative and instructive. This, readers say, restores the fine Party tradition of forging close links with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism. A leading comrade of the Readers' Letters department said: "When our daily was in the hands of the 'gang of four' at one time, very few readers wrote to us. And when they did, the letters were generally angry complaints about gross distortions of facts. That's all changed now. These

days lots of readers write to their Party paper offering their opinions and suggestions."

Publicly Criticizing Errors

ARTICLES publicly criticizing by name certain cadres and leading organs for serious errors and breach of Party and state discipline have appeared in *Renmin Ribao*.

County Party Committee Makes Self-Criticism

On the front page of *Renmin Ribao* on February 14 appeared a criticism of the Party committee of Sanho County, Hopei Province, for violating Party discipline.

This county was proclaimed an advanced county in 1975. Thereafter, the Party committee began to behave in a bureaucratic way. Its standing committee members seldom went down to the grass roots and rarely took part in physical labour.

Farming was affected and outputs fell as a result of an earthquake which hit the county in 1976. Instead of thinking of the welfare of the people, the Party committee members thought more about their own comfort. They took pride in ostentatious display, spent money freely and let the Party's fine tradition of cadres sharing weal and woe with the masses go hang.

When permission and funds were given by a higher authority to the county Party committee to repair its 850-seat auditorium which had been damaged during the earthquake, it rebuilt a larger and better hall instead, misappropriating funds for this purpose. As if this was not serious enough, it requisitioned building materials and got free labour from the people's communes. This had a bad effect not only on farming, but on the enthusiasm of the peasants for building socialism as well.

People had criticized this county Party committee for its gross violation of Party policy and state financial regulations, but the committee paid no heed. Last September someone wrote directly to the State Council about this and the case blew up.

When it came to the attention of Chairman Hua, his response was immediate. He issued a directive and the Party committee of Hopei Province sent people down to investigate. What investigators found corroborated the charges and in November the provincial Party committee convened a meeting of prefectural Party secretaries to discuss the case and sent a work team down to the county in question to help the Party committee there correct its errors. The standing committee members of the county Party committee in a public self-criticism broadcast throughout the county admitted and criticized their wrong-doing and expressed their determination to thoroughly correct their mistakes.

Offenders Punished

On February 20 *Renmin Ribao* carried a report about a county Party committee secretary of Hopei Province who had been punished for violating the regulations governing university enrolment.

This was Ma Lien-pao, Party secretary of the Kucheng County Party committee, who had resorted to all sorts of tricks to by-pass the enrolment system, from nomination and sitting for the exams, to preliminary selection for university entrance. By all state examination rules his daughter was ineligible. But Ma Lien-pao abused the power of his office and in cahoots with a leading cadre of the county education bureau and some other cadres, tried to get his daughter "qualified" for university entrance. Ma suborned several officials who were responsible for college enrolment in the county and his wife also conspired and engaged in unlawful activities to sneak their girl into university.

Ma's and the others' outrageous behaviour aroused the indignation of the examinees and investigators. Some protested on the spot. Some candidates wrote a criticism of it on their examination papers and many people wrote to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Education and the Party committees of the province and the prefecture investigated. Their findings established the guilt of Ma Lien-pao and a standing committee member of the county Party committee in charge of education; therefore the prefectural Party committee dismissed them

from all posts and expelled them from the Party. Others who had a hand in the misdemeanour were punished according to the seriousness of their case.

Suppression of Criticism Not Allowed

A leading cadre of a state farm in Heilungkiang Province in China's northeast has been removed from office for persecuting a young worker who had criticized him for misusing public funds to throw a lavish banquet for his colleagues. *Renmin Ribao* on February 28 published a report on this.

Last October the deputy secretary of the Party committee of the Keshan State Farm in Nunchiang Prefecture, Li Chun-shan, in defiance of state regulations strictly forbidding the use of public funds for private banquets or for bestowing gifts on individuals, invited 23 cadres of the state farm to a banquet on the pretext of seeing several leading cadres of the farm's starch factory off to their new posts.

When the young worker Wang Yu-shan heard of the proposed banquet he protested. On the day of the feast Wang went to the dining-room and tried to persuade Li Chun-shan to call it off. Li not only rejected Wang's suggestions, but accused him of being a "trouble-maker," suspended him and stopped his wages. The Party secretary of the state farm Ma Yun-hsing upheld this erroneous decision.

After the Party committee of Nunchiang Prefecture investigated the case, Li was dismissed from office and the Party secretary Ma, who supported him, was given a warning only, because he had been made to see the gravity of his error and had made a satisfactory self-criticism. Others involved were criticized. Wang Yu-shan was cited for his courageous stand against his superiors' misconduct.

Under the heading "Suppression of Criticism Not Allowed" *Renmin Ribao* in a short commentary said that Chairman Mao had instructed that those who suppress criticism, retaliate against their critics, and typical cases of bureaucratism, commandism and violations of law should be exposed in the newspapers and serious cases should be punished according to

law. If those concerned are members of the Party they should be disciplined by the Party.

The commentary also said: "One of the ways Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' tried to destroy our Party was through destroying our Party's fine traditions, trampling underfoot the system of democratic centralism, strangling democracy within the Party and holding Party and state laws in contempt, suppressing socialist democracy and even exercising a fascist dictatorship over cadres and people who stood up for the truth. Some comrades have been influenced by the above and will not allow anyone

to criticize them. A few have even become so arrogant that they retaliate against those who dare to make criticism."

"After the 'gang of four' was overthrown," the commentary went on, "Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee repeatedly stressed that the Party's fine traditions must be restored and developed and called on the country to strengthen the socialist legal system. What happened in the Keshan State Farm shows how necessary it is to thoroughly eradicate the harmful influence of the 'gang of four' and to strengthen the socialist legal system."

Middle East

Israeli Incursions Into Lebanon Strongly Condemned



AROUND the midnight of March 14, over 25,000 troops of Israeli ground, naval and air forces overran southern Lebanon, raiding the cities of Saida and Tyre, attacking Palestinian commando bases and slaughtering Lebanese and Palestinian inhabitants.

These acts of aggression committed by the Israeli Zionists enraged the Arab and Palestinian people. Lebanese and Palestinian fighters are putting up a stout resistance. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, cabled heads of governments of various Arab countries calling for a joint struggle against the Israeli invaders. Statements or communiques condemning the Zionists' new crime have already come sep-

arately from the Arab League, Algeria, Egypt, the Sudan, Tunisia, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Egged on and aided by the two superpowers, Israel has launched many wars of aggression against Arab countries and forcibly occupied large tracts of their land. This has compelled great numbers of Palestinians to leave their homes and brought about a prolonged tense situation in the Middle East. Since Begin came to power, he has donned the shoes of his predecessors and clung to the policies of aggression and expansion. In the latest large-scale aggression against Lebanon, the Israeli military command and military chiefs arrogantly announced that the Israeli "mopping up" operation along

Vice-Premier Keng Piao Denounces Israel's New Crime

THE recent flagrant invasion of southern Lebanon and the slaughter of local residents in an attempt to wipe out the Palestinian people's armed forces — acts committed by the Israeli Zionists with Menachem Begin as their ringleader — constitute glaring aggression against Lebanon's territory and sovereignty and another grave provocation against the Palestinian and all other Arab people.

This statement was made by Vice-Premier Keng Piao on March 20 when he met with Tayeb Abdul Rahim Mahmoud, newly appointed chief of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking.

The Vice-Premier pointed out: This latest Israeli invasion of Lebanon once again shows Israel's obstinate stand in clinging to its policies of aggression and expansion and deliberately setting itself against the Palestinian and other Arab people. It is also a result of the superpowers' connivance and support. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn the crimes committed

by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian people, resolutely oppose Israel's aggression and expansion and the superpowers' contention in the Middle East, and firmly support the just struggle and just stand of the Palestinian, Lebanese and other Arab people. He reiterated that China does not recognize Israel or have any relations with it.

Vice-Premier Keng Piao said: The Palestinians are an unyielding people and the P.L.O. has won ever wider international recognition and support. The struggle waged by the Palestinian and other Arab people to restore their national rights and recover their lost territory is just and, therefore, is invincible. So long as they strengthen unity, persist in struggle and do away with superpower interference they will, with the solidarity and support of the people all over the world, surely realize their national objectives in the end.

During the meeting, Mission Head Tayeb gave Vice-Premier Keng Piao a written message from Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the P.L.O. Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces, to be forwarded to Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council.

the Lebanese border was designed to wipe out the Palestinian commando bases there. They went so far as to state, "We will continue to occupy the area as long as is necessary!"

This latest adventure once again lays bare the expansionist features of the Israeli authorities. At present, Israel's stubbornness in pushing its policies of aggression and expansion is manifested in two ways: refusing to recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, and refusing to withdraw from Arab lands which it has forcibly occupied but continuing to set up "settlements" there. The Arab countries and people have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Israel over the two questions.

Receiving repeated heavy attacks by the Palestinian guerrillas and falling into growing isolation, the Israeli aggressors at the end of their tether resorted to this rank invasion.

The Palestinian people are the direct victims of Israeli aggression. Their struggle for national rights is just and has won sympathy and support from the people of the Arab countries and the rest of the world. The Chinese people firmly stand by the side of the Palestinian and other Arab people and oppose Israel's policies of aggression and expansion. They are convinced that the Palestinian and other Arab people will win provided they strengthen their unity and persist in struggle.

Watch and See How Moscow Will Act

THE Somali Government which declared on March 9 that it would withdraw its armed forces from the Ogaden Region completed the deployment on March 14. During this period, it repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Horn of Africa and appealed for immediate negotiations for a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the conflict in this region. The Somali Government's decision and military pullout are acclaimed by public opinion all over the world. But there has been no sign of a Soviet withdrawal of its military personnel numbering more than 1,000 or of a Cuban pullout of its 12,000 troops or more, since Mogadishu carried out its declaration.

The dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogaden Region is a historical problem left over by the colonialists. As early as the 60s, armed conflicts on varying scales between the two countries repeatedly took place in Ogaden. But each conflict was eased or temporarily settled through the mediation of African countries and the joint efforts of the two countries themselves. No conflict became as serious as the latest one.

The recent armed conflict has been single-handedly fomented by the Soviet Union. Making use of the historical contradiction between the two countries, the Soviet Union first provided Somalia with a great quantity of various weapons, and then shipped quantities of sophisticated weapons to Ethiopia and dispatched a large number of Soviet military personnel and Cuban mercenaries there. Why is Moscow so interested in the Horn of Africa? V. Sofinsky, Head of the Press Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, gave the answer in a televised speech in Moscow on February 3. He declared: "The Horn of Africa is first and foremost of military, political and economic significance. The importance of the area lies in its location at the junction of the two continents of Asia and Africa. There are a lot of good sea-ports in the Persian Gulf and

the Indian Ocean. Moreover, there are sea-lanes which link oil-producing countries with America and Europe." This clearly shows the advantage the Soviet Union will gain from a foothold in this region. It will be able to extend infiltration in the whole of Africa, the Middle East, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and exert pressure on the West politically and economically in times of peace. During war, it may cut the West's strategic lines of communications, disrupt the supply of such strategic materials as oil and isolate Western Europe strategically by severing its links with the United States.

The Somali military pullout is not only conducive to peace in the Horn of Africa but eliminates the pretext for Soviet military involvement. The world focuses its attention on Moscow and demands that it stop its intervention and withdraw its military personnel and mercenaries from this region. However, the Soviet press is talking glibly about how the Soviet Union insisted on and is still insisting on abiding by a so-called principle of "love for peace" in dealing with the conflict in the Horn of Africa. It makes no mention of large-scale Soviet military intervention in this region, nor of what Moscow intends to do. People are closely watching how Moscow will act in this region.

Both Ethiopia and Somalia have good relations with China. China has always encouraged African countries to settle disputes between them by peaceful consultations. It has held that all countries should respect the African countries' sovereignty and it has opposed any intervention and aggression in Africa. Africa belongs to the African people. The disputes between African countries should and can only be settled by the African people themselves. So long as outside intervention is eliminated, it will not be difficult to find a peaceful solution to the problem in the Horn of Africa.

A Visit to the Sarajevo Energoinvest

by Chinese Journalist Group

THE Sarajevo Energy Investment Corporation (Energoinvest) is one of 200 major enterprises in Yugoslavia's national economy. They employ 45 per cent of the country's workers and staff and earn 61 per cent of the total income of the Federal Republic, although they make up only 3 per cent of the country's socially owned enterprises.

Course of Development

When it was set up in 1951 by a merger of several small plants, the corporation produced only small, simple power-generating equipment. Then it took in a succession of small plants and began production specialization and introduced technical innovations to boost these plants' capacity. In a little over a quarter of a century, the Sarajevo Energoinvest has grown into an enterprise with 32,000 workers and staff, able to design and produce complete sets of advanced power equipment.

The sets of equipment it turns out meet home needs and some are exported. The corporation has the task of helping to electrify the country. Power generation in Yugoslavia has increased 17 times since 1952. Yugoslavia has also helped the developing countries build power stations, substations and put up transmission lines. In all these, the corporation has done its share. In recent years it has developed faster. Its 1977 total output value is about 50 per cent higher than the 1975 level.

Self-Reliance and Introduction of New Techniques

The corporation has eight research institutes with 540 engineers. A leading cadre of its research centre told us when we visited it: "Our basic policy is to rely on our own resources

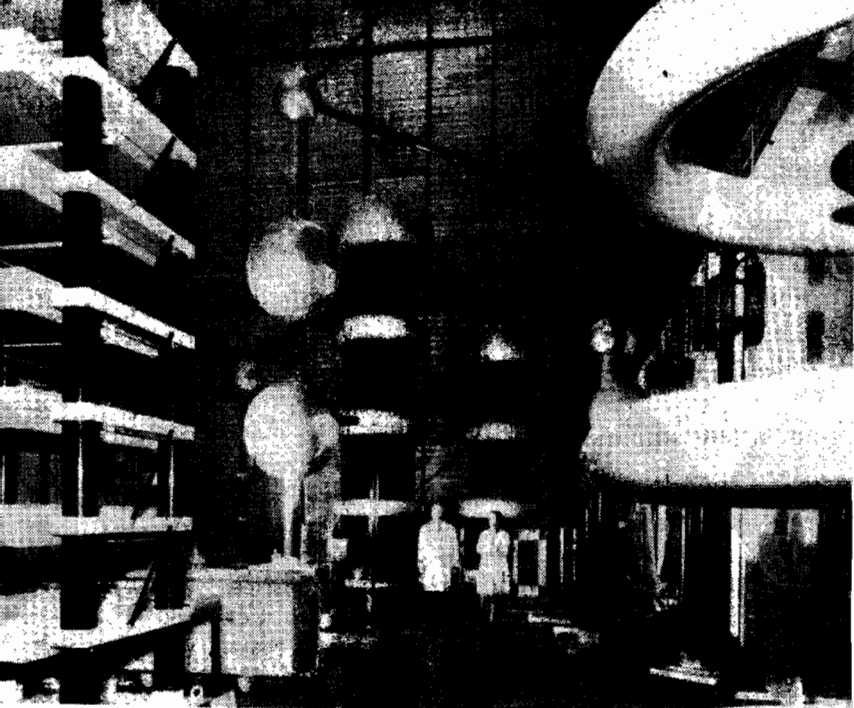
as much as we can to develop production. At the same time, we keep a sharp watch on technological advances in other countries. We buy whatever new technology which we think will speed up production and reduce costs. We always try to improve on the foreign patents we buy. In this way, the second generation of their products becomes our own."

As the research centre is only several dozen metres from the workshops, its staff has ready access to them. Seen as a component part of regular production, technical innovation helps to improve the quality of their products and increase labour efficiency. In recent years, the corporation has achieved some 100 items of innovations every year, including at least 20 major ones.

The Management System

At the reception room, we were told about the system of management and structure of the corporation.

Chairman of the Workers' Council Hasan Gluhic said: "The Energoinvest was one of the first enterprises in the country to form workers' councils and introduce the system of self-management. More than 20 years have elapsed since the adoption of this system. Today, this corporation has 150 'united labour cells' (equivalent to workshops) which in turn form 45 'united labour organizations' (equivalent to branch plants) under a compound organization of labour, (i.e., the corporation itself). These organizations at each level have their own organs of authority, the workers' councils. Elected by the workers, council members serve a term of two years and may be re-elected consecutively



A laboratory of the Sarajevo Energy Investment Corporation.

only once. This is to ensure the opportunity for more workers to take a direct part in running the corporation or its subsidiaries. The council's resolutions are carried out by an executive council which makes a report on its work to the workers' council every six months. In enterprises with less than 30 people, the congress of workers and staff, instead of an elected workers' council, acts as the organ of authority."

"Members of workers' councils and executive councils do not leave their production jobs," he continued. "At one stage, they held so many meetings during work hours that production fell, and so we promptly stopped this practice." "As far as possible we do not take up concurrent posts so that we may stay on our jobs in production," trade union chief Izet Hajdarasic put in.

Our hosts explained further that workers' councils decide on the distribution of the total income of an enterprise, draw up production plans, determine in which way the enterprise should develop and appoint or remove leading cadres of the enterprise. A managerial committee made up of the general manager and some specialists is empowered by the workers' councils to look after the routine. Members of the managerial committee serve a term of four

years and, if they show achievements, they might serve two or three or even more terms.

Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia Stane Dolanc told us later: "We want to build a social, political and economic system that will enable the workers to control the fruits of their labour themselves and manage culture and education." "We are now seeking the most proper form." It seems that the Energoinvest acts in this way.

League Organization's Role

Secretary of the League organization in the corporation Ivica Andrijanic briefed us on the organization's activities in the enterprise. He said: "There are over 6,000 League members among the 32,000 workers and staff members of this enterprise" and there is a League organization at every "united labour cell," "united labour organization" and compound organization of labour.

He stressed: "Our League abides by the principle of democratic centralism. Its programme is the programme of the Yugoslav working class, the labouring people. Every League member must do his share to implement the line and resolutions of the League. Wherever he is, he is to persuade non-League colleagues to accept the League's decisions by explaining his views and by reasoning. When we succeed in this kind of persuasion, we don't have to worry about the masses refusing to subscribe to the decisions of the League."

When we were leaving, assistant general manager of the corporation Sirce Ahmeda told us a story about a Western capitalist who asked when he visited the corporation: "You practise workers' self-management, will the workers sell the corporation"? Sirce Ahmeda answered: "The working class will not do that. Yugoslavia's socially owned plants do not belong to anyone but to the whole of society."

ROUND THE WORLD

HELSINKI FOLLOW-UP

A Mirror of False Detente

The Helsinki follow-up conference came to a perfunctory close on March 9 after nearly eight months of squabbles and recriminations. The only result of the meeting is the adoption of a "concluding document." As Reuter predicted on February 25, the "concluding document" would be nothing more than recording the conference having taken place.

The follow-up conference was convened in accordance with the provisions laid down at the 1975 Helsinki European security and co-operation conference. Its task was to review "implementations of the provisions" by the participating countries in the past two years and to "exchange views" "on the promotion of security and co-operation in Europe." Delegations from 33 European countries, the United States and Canada attended the conference.

The preparatory meeting which began on June 15, 1977 spent 50 days in deciding on the date and agenda of the follow-up conference. The conference, formally opened on October 4, was scheduled to end on December 20 the same year. But since no progress was made, it had to be recessed. Resumed on January 17, it dragged on and on, failing to end as scheduled in mid-February because of continuous wranglings.

The result of the Helsinki follow-up conference was even worse than that of the Hel-

sinki European security conference. Although the "final act" adopted at the 1975 Helsinki conference was larded with such high-sounding words as "security," "detente" and "co-operation," it, after all, came up to more than 120 pages. The "concluding document" of the Helsinki follow-up conference is only two or three paltry pages. When the Helsinki conference closed in 1975, many small and medium-sized participating countries had misgivings, but at least they were somewhat hopeful about the conference being able to help promote security and detente in Europe. Now the dissatisfaction and despair have completely replaced hope. Some delegates to the conference said bluntly that the Helsinki follow-up conference was a "flop," and "the outcome of the conference rigorously showed that we shouldn't have any illusions about detente." In 1975, after signing the document at the Helsinki conference, Brezhnev and the head of the U.S. Government made a show of clinking glasses filled with champagne, congratulating each other on the "success of the conference." Now, two years later, the clinking of glasses has been drowned by loud abuse Moscow and Washington are hurling at each other. Washington faulted the Kremlin for the Belgrade conference failing to adopt a "summarizing document reflecting fully the outcome of the Helsinki treaties." Moscow followed up with a

counter-charge, blasting the White House for being "hypocritical."

The so-called "European security conference" is actually a "European insecurity conference," a means by which the two superpowers contend for hegemony in Europe. The Soviet Union is using the Helsinki conference to lull the West into a false sense of security.

From the Helsinki conference to the recent follow-up conference in Belgrade, the good wishes of honest people for peace have come to naught, and they have been made to see more and more clearly what the detente advocated by the Soviet Union really is.

NICARAGUA

Suppression of the Masses Protested

The struggle by the Nicaraguan people protesting the assassination on January 10 of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a leader of the Democratic Liberation Union, is still being carried on. On February 27 and March 1, inhabitants of Managua and Masaya held strikes and demonstrations to protest the armed suppression by the authorities.

These strikes and demonstrations against the suppression of the masses are the largest in 40 years, involving some 300,000 workers. The Nicaraguan people have changed their fighting slogan from the demand for punishment of the assassins of Chamorro to one of democracy and freedom. People from all walks of life are now explicitly calling for the resignation of President Somoza.

Friendship Notes

Toronto Symphony

In Peking, a joint rehearsal and an exchange of conductors with China's Central Philharmonic Society; in Shanghai, visiting the Shanghai School of Dance and meeting Chinese dancers who had toured Canada last year; and in subtropical Kwangchow, arriving on the eve of the lunar new year to join in the general festivities, seeing the spring flower show which has a history of over 100 years. . . .

These are among many happy memories members of the Canadian Toronto Symphony have of their recent China tour. Both friendship and art have been enriched through this visit.

The symphony brought to an appreciative Chinese public a rich and varied repertoire, including music Chinese audiences are familiar with—Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5 in C Minor*, Berlioz's *Overture, the Roman Carnival*, Brahms' *Variations on a Theme of Haydn* and Tchaikovsky's *Symphony No. 4 in F. Minor* as well as a contemporary Canadian composition Chinese audiences heard for the first time.

The robust *Boreal* of Morel, with its changing timbre and manifold rhythm, was strongly evocative of the outdoors, while the unembellished, vivid *Two Sketches* based on French-Canadian airs by MacMillan is remarkably graphical and life-like.

The young conductor Andrew Davis' talent and attainment were fully discernible as he took the orchestra through these works of varying styles. His style was lively and precise. Guest pianist Louis Lortie, 19 years old, impressed listeners with his tonal command and the graceful sweep of his rendering of Liszt's charming *Piano Concerto No. 1 in E Flat Major*.

Guest contralto Maureen Forrester enchanted audiences with six of the songs from *Youth's Magic Horn (Lieder aus "des Knaben Wunderhorn")* by Mahler, an Austrian composer. *Earthly Life (Das Irdische Leben)* portrays a peasant child starving to death before his mother could harvest wheat to make bread; *Antonius of Padua's Fish Sermon (Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt)* is a biting condemnation of a religion which cannot change, however little, the greedy nature of exploiters. Each piece was rendered with delicacy, a subtle eloquence and attention to the thought-content of the songs.

The day the Toronto group made its debut in Peking coincided with the day Dr. Norman Bethune, the great internationalist, arrived in China 40 years ago. He had contributed his life to linking the hearts of the people of China and Canada together. Had he lived to see the Canadian artists' last performance in Peking before

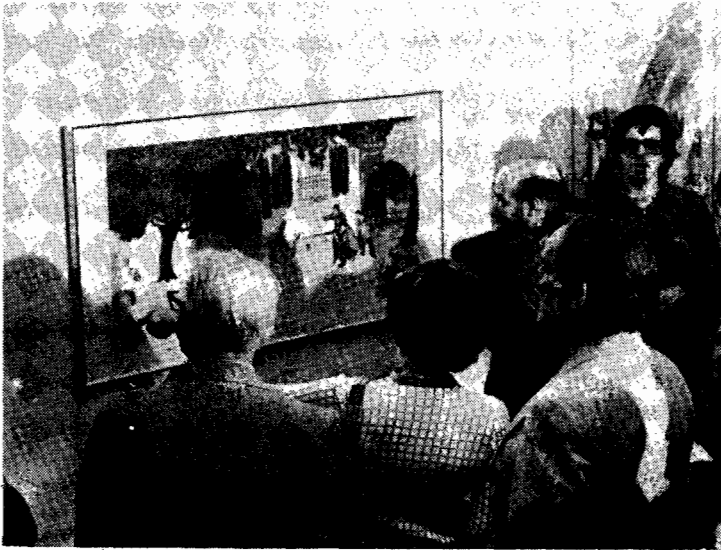
18,000 people, how happy he would have been!

Chinese Exhibition in Peru

China for the first time was represented at the 10th Pacific International Fair in Lima last November. Nearly half a million Peruvians visited the Chinese pavilion during the 12 days of the exhibition.

The interest shown the Chinese pavilion by the visitors was quite moving. A visitor from a central coastal city said: For years I have wanted to visit China. My presence here today partly fulfills my hopes. An old overseas Chinese who went to the Chinese hall together with his daughter and daughter-in-law told Chinese staff members that he had come expressly to Lima from another city to visit this pavilion. He said he was 80 years old, and had left the old China of suffering and misery when he was 14 and hadn't been back since. "It's a little like returning home, visiting your pavilion," he said. A man in an invalid's chair was also among the thousands of visitors. Before he left the pavilion he said to a Chinese staff member: "I saw in these exhibits the advance China had made. The impression I now have is better than what I had from hearing others. I congratulate you." A countrywoman who was given a packet of Chinese rice seeds said: These seeds are symbolic of the friendship between us. They'll be sown on Incan soil; they will flourish and bear fruit.

People gazed in wonder at the arts and crafts display.



Hubsien peasant painting exhibition in New York.

They admired the 27 concentric balls carved from one piece of ivory, and the carved jade flowers and birds. "I see you have kept China's fine traditional handicrafts and also developed them," said a visitor.

The model of the Tachai Brigade, microcosm of the great changes which have taken place in China's rural areas, attracted general attention. It was presented to the Peruvian Agricultural Ministry at the close of the fair and is being displayed in various villages of Peru to show the Tachai peasants' spirit of self-reliance.

Amity Boy

Two exchange students saved a drowning Chinese child of 6 recently. This happened in Shaoshan, birthplace of Chairman Mao.* The boy is named Chen Kai, but people are now calling him the "Amity Boy."

One February afternoon, it was two below zero. A group

of nine exchange students, after visiting Chairman Mao's home village, were about to return to Changsha when they suddenly heard shouts for help. Somali student Sufi Nur Yusuf ran to where the shouting was and saw a boy struggling in the water of a pond. He threw off his padded coat and jumped into the freezing water. Syrian student Kamal Fadla Nowr was right behind him and together they saved the boy.

Sufi and Kamal were purple with cold. Other foreign students and Chinese were moved by their internationalist spirit. They were quickly given dry clothing, hot ginger drinks and stimulants.

When the boy's mother came to express her thanks, Sufi said: "We have only done what we should. A Chinese named Lo Sheng-chiao saved a Korean boy from drowning. I'm just following his example."

Before the foreign students left Changsha for other prov-

inces, Chen Kai and his parents went from Shaoshan to the Changsha Railway Station to see them off. The little boy, clasping Sufi's hand, said: "Thank you for saving me, Uncle Sufi!"

Briefs

- In January, an exhibition depicting the Chinese people's self-reliance and rural development opened in Kingston. It was jointly sponsored by the Jamaica-China Friendship Association and the Kingston Library. A number of Chinese films were shown and talks were given by Jamaicans who had visited China.

- *La Chine, Aujourd'hui*, a bimonthly, was founded in Brussels recently by the Belgium-China Association to help Belgian people understand more about China. The first issue carried articles on China's foreign policy and economic situation.

- A Chinese peasant painting exhibition, sponsored jointly by the Danish Cultural Ministry, the Denmark-China Friendship Association and various museums, was held from last May to January this year in the Danish cities of Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense, Esbjerg and Skive. Some 70,000 people visited the exhibition.

- An exhibition on art and culture in the People's Republic of China was recently held in the Brooklyn Public Library, New York. It was co-sponsored by the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, Books New China, China Books and Periodicals, and the Liberator Bookstore.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Arts and Crafts Exhibition

A NATIONAL arts and crafts exhibition has recently opened in Peking. There are 10,000 items from all over the country, including:

- carvings in jade, ivory, stone and wood;
- embroidery, drawn work, velvet embroidery and brocade;
- woven articles of bamboo, rattan, grass, palm and osier, rugs and tapestries;
- art ceramics and glassware;
- lacquerware and metalware, including gold and silver jewelry and cloisonne;
- furniture of dark red Chinese hardwood, bamboo and rattan;
- palace lanterns and paper cuts;
- pictures made with shells, feathers and bark;
- firecrackers, fireworks, kites, national traditional Chinese musical instruments and toys;

Porcelain figurine.



— brushes for traditional Chinese calligraphy and painting, ink slabs and ink blocks; and

— clay sculptures, flour-dough figurines and batik cotton with designs printed by process of wax-dyeing.

Themes include new ones on socialist revolution and construction and traditional favourites like Chinese mountains and rivers, legendary figures, flora and fauna. Many exhibits movingly express the praises of Chairman Mao, Chairman Hua, Premier Chou and Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Chu Teh as well as other older-generation revolutionaries.

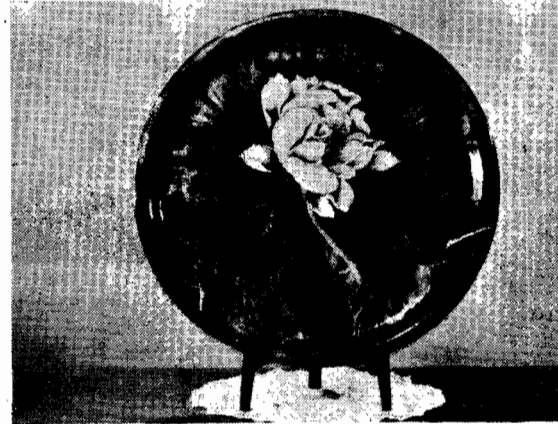
The wide range of themes, the variety of articles and fine workmanship shown at the exhibition embody the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom."

One embroidery done with hair and silk thread which attracts many viewers, shows Comrade Teng Ying-chao (wife of Premier Chou) and a nurse mending a garment for the late Premier Chou.

A 14-inch statuette of the legendary national heroine of the Sung Dynasty, Mu Kueiyin, is the fruit of collective efforts by silversmiths and jade and ivory carvers. The face is of ivory; the costume, jewelry and armour are woven with hair-breadth silver threads; and with 284 other parts are carved in jade and stone.

Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, the famous Renaissance painting, is reproduced in traditional velvet embroidery.

These works, exhibited at the National Art Gallery, attracts over ten thousand visitors a day.



Lacquer plate with lotus flower.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng attended the preview with other Party and state leaders. He wrote an inscription for the exhibition: "Develop our country's arts and crafts."

But the "gang of four" once smeared these works based on traditional themes as "restoration," and exporting arts and crafts as "selling out socialism." This seriously dampened the enthusiasm of the arts and crafts workers. Now, these traditional arts are again developing vigorously.

The current exhibition is sponsored by the Ministries of Light Industry, Foreign Trade and Commerce. By exchanging experience and seeking opinions, it will encourage these arts to weed through the old to bring forth the new and go on developing rapidly.

8 Million Snail-Fever Patients Have Recovered

FOUR-FIFTHS of the 10 million people afflicted with snail fever in areas south of the Yangtze River have recovered after treatment. Snails, the intermediate host for transmitting snail fever (schistosomiasis), have by and large been eradicated on 9,000 million square metres spread over 11 provinces, one municipality and one autonomous region, or more than 70 per cent of the total area afflicted with the disease-carrying snails.

Snail fever has been endemic in China for a long time and had affected as much as a half of the country by the time of liberation in 1949. Thanks to the enormous efforts expanded over the last 20 years or so, both the areas involved and the incidence of the disease have been gradually reduced. Now about 90 per cent of the places still having snails are located along rivers or around lakes.

Through the combined efforts of medical workers and the masses China has won tremendous successes in curing snail-fever patients.

Take Kunshan County in east China as an example. About 310,000 of its 500,000 population had incurred this disease. The local medical workers could treat only 12,000 patients a year, and it would have taken more than 20 years to treat all the patients. Since 1970, the treatment has progressed at a fast pace with the setting up of a contingent of barefoot doctors who form the main body and medical workers. Over the last seven years, the county has car-

ried out 12 general checkups and treated all the patients, of whom 93 per cent have recovered.

At a work conference on snail-fever prevention in south China held in Shanghai at the end of last year, the goal was set to basically eradicate snail fever in south China by the end of 1985.

From Spinner to Vice-Minister

HAO Chien-hsiu, a nationally known model spinner, was appointed Vice-Minister of the Textile Industry at the end of last year.

As soon as she took up her new post, Hao visited all the departments and bureaus under the ministry to acquaint herself with actual conditions. She talked with many staff members and was particularly impressed by the experienced veteran cadres. "I mustn't leave the rank and file even though I've been promoted to this leading post," she declared.

The 43-year-old Vice-Minister said excitedly: "I never dreamt that I, a poor girl who nearly starved to death in the old society, would be able to take part in running state affairs today!"

Hao's father was a cart driver before liberation and could not earn enough to feed his eight-member family. To lighten her father's burden, little Chien-hsiu, only nine years old, tried to find a job as a labourer at more than half a dozen cotton mills. But her efforts ended in failure.

In 1949 when the port city of Tsingtao was liberated, Hao went to work at the No. 6 State Cotton Mill. Within two years,

she had successfully developed an advanced work method for cutting down waste in cotton spinning to about one-fifth of the then normal rate. The method was popularized throughout the country. She was elected a model Communist Youth League member and national model worker, and received by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou on many occasions.

The mill's Party organization sent her to study in middle school in 1953, later at a textile institute. After graduating in 1962, she returned to the mill as a technician. Three years later she became deputy director of the No. 8 State Cotton Mill, and in this capacity often went to the shops to work side by side with the spinners. She led the workers in carrying out the mass movement to learn from the Taching Oilfield, China's pace-setter in industry.

With the co-operation of the workers and after repeated experiments, Hao Chien-hsiu succeeded in finding a substitute (a by-product from seaweed farms) for the grain starch used in sizing. This has saved a great deal of grain.

During the Cultural Revolution, Hao Chien-hsiu was persecuted by the "gang of four," but she never yielded to them. She was elected a member of the C.P.C. Central Committee at the 11th Party Congress last year.

Her husband is a medical doctor. Both their children are studying hard at school; their ten-year-old daughter is interested in dancing and her brother who is two years younger, likes drawing.

中國民航



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