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BEJING REVIEW

85th Anniversary of Birth of Chairman Mao • Message to Compatriots in Taiwan



BEIJING REVIEW



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CHRONICLE

Dec. 26, 1978

- The 85th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong (Mao Tsetung) is marked throughout the country.
- The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress adopts the decision to appoint Wang Renzhong Vice-Premier of the State Council, and Wang Fu and Li Shiying Deputy Chief Procurators of the Supreme People's Procuratorate
- The N.P.C. Standing Committee endorses the State Council's proposal to appoint Guo Weicheng Minister of Railways and Wang Zigang Minister of Posts and Telecommunications.

Dec. 27

- Chairman Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying) of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Premier Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) send a message to His Excellency Rabah Bitat, Interim President of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, expressing deep condolences on the death of President Boumedienne.
- Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiaoping) in his own name sends a message of condolences on the death of President Boumedienne.

Dec. 28

• A Chinese government delegation led by Vice-Premier Geng Bjao (Keng Piao) leaves Beijing for Algeria to attend the funeral of President Boumedianne.

Dec. 29

• A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a statement reiterating that the Nansha Islands have always been a part of China and that any incursion into and occupation of these islands, or attempt at development or the undertaking of any other activities in these areas by any foreign country constitute encroachments on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty and will not be permitted.

Dec. 30

• Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Ji Penglei returns to Beijing after friendly visits to Iraq, Niger, Benin, Togo, Sierra Leone and Gambia.

Jan. 1, 1979

- The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issues a New Year's message to compatriots in Taiwan
- China and the United States establish diplomatic relations.
- Minister of National Defence Xu Xiangqian (Hsu Hsiang-chien) orders shelling of Jinmen (Quemoy) and other islands to cease as from this day.



To Our Readers

Dear Friends:

Things are moving fast in China.

The aim of the Chinese Communist Party and the whole nation is to occomplish socialist modernization by the end of this century and turn China, a poor and backward country crushed under feudial autocratic rule for centuries, into an economically developed and fully democratic socialist country. This is not only for the good of the Chinese people but will be a contribution to humanity.

China's friends, we are well aware, are watching closely the changes in our country and are anxieus to know the progress of our socialist revolution and construction and how we tackle the difficulties confronting us. They also wish to know Chine's views and stand on major international questions. Beging Review (Peking Review) will try to be of help in these respects.

Starting from this year, the focus of the entire Party's work is shifted to the modernization of the country. Beging Review will do its best to report on its development. In order to be of better service to our readers we have decided to make the following changes:

• The first section of our weekly will be the standing column "Events and Trends." This will give brief and clear reports and explanations on important developments in China and her relations with foreign lands.

• For those friends who are interested in the study of China, we will continue to publish the full tests or excerpts of major Party and government documents, policy statements and important theoretical articles.

• We will jublish from time to time "Special Features," each of which will deal with a particular subject in which our readers may be interested. At a beginning, we shall carry in our next issue "China's Socialist legal System: Prospect and Retrospect."

• We will improve our regular columns "Round the World," "On the Home Front" and "Culture and Science" and introduce "Chronicle" and other columns to provide a greater variety of news in brief.

• There will be some changes in the cover design, make-up and illustrations.

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January 5, 1979

An Unusual New Year's Day: Three Salient Points

IN a speech he made on January I, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: New Year's Day 1979 is an unusual day. We say it's unusual because, unlike any previous New Year's Day, it is marked by three salient points.

First, it marks the shift of the focus of the nation's work on to the four modernizations;

Second, it marks the normalization of relations between China and the United States;

Third, the great cause of the return of Taiwan to the mother-land and of reunifying the country is now on the agenda.

For this reason, this New Year's Day is an occasion for special rejoicing. These three points reflect the considerable achievements we have made in domestic and international affairs since the smashing of the "gang of four."

Return of Taiwan to the Motherland

Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping of the Party Central Committee said this at a meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held to discuss the message of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to compatriots in Taiwan. (For its full text, see p. 16.) The meeting was attended by more than 200 people, including Members of the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee in Beijing, responsible members of the various democratic parties and other patriotic

personages. Deng Xiaoping is also Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, which is a united front organization.

He stressed in his speech that the message adopted by the N.P.C. Standing Committee embodies our major policy and basic stand and attitude on the return of Taiwan and the reunification of our motherland. He added that a great deal of work remains to be done.

1978 in Retrospect

Production in our country last year, he said, was much better than expected. The successes achieved were inseparably linked with the conscientious efforts made to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and eliminate their What pernicious influence merits special rejoicing is that, after the downfall of the gang, the situation has emerged in which there is ease of mind and unity throughout the nation. The political situation envisaged by Chairman Mao in 1957. a situation in which we have both centralism and democracy. both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. gradually came about last year. Such a situation found, in particular, concentrated expression in the recent central working conference and the Third Ple-Session of the Party Central Committee. This atmosphere and situation, to put it in a nutshell, can be described as a lively political one. We should carry it forward and develop it throughout the country, in the Party, in the government, in the army and among the people, and make it last. For this is the political foundation for the four modernizations; without such a political situation, it would be impossible to achieve the four modernizations. For a considerable length of time in the past, we had failed to handle properly the relationship between de-

Shelling of Jinmen And Other Islands Stopped

Xu Xiangoian (Hsu Hsiang-chien), Minister of National Defence, made an announcement on January 1 on stopping the shelling of the Dajinmen and Xiaojinmen (Greater and Lesser Quemoys). Dadan (Tatan), Erdan (Erhtan) and other islands.

The announcement said:
"The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States will contribute to peace and stability in Asia and the world as a whole and create favourable conditions for Taiwan's return to the motherland and the reunification of the country."

The announcement added: "I have ordered the troops on the Fujian (Fukien) front to stop shelling Dajinmen, Xiaojinmen, Dadan, Erdan and other islands in order to give convenience to civilians and armymen on Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu (Matsu) Islands who wish to visit their relatives and friends and make tours on the mainland and to facilitate shipping, production and other activities in the Taiwan Straits."

mocracy and centralism; there was less democracy. We, therefore, must pay greater attention to bringing democracy into play.

Speaking of the international situation, Deng Xiaoping said: We have achieved many important successes in international affairs which found concentrated expression in the conclusion of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship and the normalization of relations between China and the United States. It is our important achievements internally and internationally that make it possible for us to put on the agenda the return of Taiwan to the 'motherland and the reunification of the country.

On this unusual day, however, we must be fully aware that these three major happy events have brought us very heavy burdens as well. the situation at home for instance. We are shifting the emphasis of our work on to the four modernizations, but to accomplish this is not a matter of eight or ten years; we will have to work for it right to the end of this century. Besides, many things need to be done before it can be achieved. Favourable conditions both at home and abroad are conducive to its realization. So the prospects are bright. But we must also realize that our tasks are herculean. There are still many things which we don't know and in we lack experience; we must learn seriously and redouble our efforts. We must also bear in mind that there is bound to be mistakes in some matters and there will still be difficulties in some aspects. But, as long as the people of the whole country are united as

one and good at learning, work to consolidate and develop the situation of stability and unity, and uphold democratic centralism, our cause will surely forge ahead with vigour.

Deng Xiaoping added that. the basic policy we followed in handling international affairs last year was mapped out by Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, who died before they had time to put it into effect. We have carried out part of their behests. The signing of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship and the normalization of Sino-American relations are favourable to world peace and stability and to the development of the international cause against hegemonism. The threat to peace comes from the north, the source of instability and war in the world lies in the north, and if there were any foreign aggression against China, it would also come from the north. Both big hegemonism hegemonism and small making trouble for us every day, sometimes compelling us to take steps we would not be willing to take. There are many problems confronting us and we must continue to do our best. In international affairs, we must continue to consolidate develop the excellent situation we have obtained thus far.

Participants in the meeting unanimously maintained that the message to compatriots in Taiwan gave expression to the aspirations of the people of all nationalities in the country. They pledged to work together with all the people in the country, including compatriots in Taiwan, for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the fulfilment of the great

cause of reunifying the motherland.

Mao Zedong Lives in the Hearts of the People

Early on the morning of 1978. December 26, people throughout China heard over the radio a firm and familiar voice: The Chinese people have now stood up! It was a rebroadcast recorded of а speech by Chairman Mao on the eve of the founding of New China in 1949.

December 26 last year was the 85th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong (Mao Tsetung). Meetings and other activities honouring the memory of the great leader and paying tribute to his immortal contributions were held throughout the land.

On the evening of December 25, the five-act play Thunder in Autumn was staged in Beijing It was attended by (Peking). Chairman Hua and other Party and state leaders. The play shows Mao Zedong leading the peasants in staging the Autumn Harvest Uprising and build-Peasants' ing China's Workers' Red Army after the defeat of the great revolution in 1927. He integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and pioneered the way of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing state power by armed struggle. This is a great contribution in the annals of proletarian revolution. The play has vividly imparted to the Chinese people the truth that if it were not for the revolutionary road charted by Chairman Mao,



Chairman Mao.

Oil painling by Zhan Jianjun

the Chinese people would still be struggling in the dark and that had it not been for Mao Zedong, there would be no New China.

On December 26, the nation's newspapers published an important article by Chairman Mao entitled Uninterrupted Revolution which was written in 1958 (see p. 11). Chairman Mao stressed in the article that the focus of the Party's work should be on the economy and technical revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong's decision made 20 years ago is now being put into practice when the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held last month called for shifting the emphasis of our work to socialist modernization.

The journal Zhongguo Funu (Women of China) printed the text of On Conducting Rural Surveys (see p. 12), which was a talk given by Chairman Mao in 1941 in Yanan to a group of women cadres. Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out: "We should not turn a blind eye to practical problems. We should throw out purveyors of bombast and should think things out for ourselves and integrate theory with practice." "We should try through practice to identify the law of the movement of things and create new theories."

This important speech was at the time directed at Wang Ming's opportunist line. Today, it is an incisive ideological weapon for repudiating the revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The opportunists represented by Wang Ming took Marxism-Leninism as a dogma. Without investigating the actual situation in China, they mechanically applied Marxist-Leninist prin-

ciples to the Chinese revolution, and the result was they nearly brought it to complete destruction. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on their part distorted Mao Zedong Thought, turned it into religious dogma and caused great confusion in people's minds and in theoretical and day-to-day work with grave consequences.

The monthly Zhexue Yanjiu (Philosophical Studies) published three letters written by Chairman Mao in the early 50s to the philosopher Li Da. In these letters Chairman Mao gave his views on revising his works On Practice and On Con-

tradiction and discussed other philosophical questions as well. Comrade Mao Zedong's sincere tone in these letters demonstrated his democratic style of treating others as equals on questions of philosophy.

The magazine Zhongauo Qingnian (China Youth) published two letters written by Chairman Mao in the 40s to his sons Mao Anying and Mao Anging, and to five other young people, suggesting that they devote more time to studying the natural sciences. The two letters have greatly heightened the young people's enthusiasm to study and do their bit to accelerate the speed of socialist modernization.

The Chinese press before and after December 26 published numerous articles written by revolutionaries of the older generation, model workers and

scholars recalling their days with Chairman Mao. These recollections show that Comrade Mao Zedong who was a great Marxist was unassuming, had close ties with the masses and persisted in criticism and selfcriticism. As Comrade Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) said 30 years ago in his report "Learn From Mao Zedong": "should not regard Mao Zedong as a demigod or as a leader you could never hope to emulate." If we do so, "then Zedong would be isolated from wouldn't he? Wouldn't we be regarding Mao Zedong as godhead, something apart from the rest of us? That would be the kind of leader publicized in the propaganda in feudal and capitalist societies. Our leader is born of the people, has flesh-and-blood ties with the Chinese people and close ties with the country and soil of China."

Historic Shift: All-Out Effort for Modernization

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted last month a major decision: Starting from this year, shift the focus of the entire Party's work on to socialist modernization.

Basic Task. Comrade Mao Zedong had called for such a shift in the 50s in many of his speeches including On the Ten Major Relationships (1956), On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (1957) and Sixty-Point Methods of Work (1958). The basic concept here is: After the seizure of political power, and in particular after the basic accomplishment of the task of expropriating the exploiters and suppressing their resistance, the proletariat must set about establishing a social system superior to capitalism and raising Jabour productivity. Only in this way can we consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and press ahead with This is the the revolution. basic task facing the whole nation.

But why wasn't such a shift effected at that time? The answer is: Unexpected events took place in the international arena, such as the Soviet Union turning revisionist, which diverted the attention of our Party and made it necessary to concentrate its efforts instead on combating and preventing revisionism. At home, lack of experience in socialist construction resulted in Right or "Left" deviations in our work. Later, sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not only slowed down the pace of our economic growth but brought our economy to the brink of collapse. No wonder the whole nation rejoiced when the gang was smashed in October 1976.

Possibility and Necessity. The situation has changed complete-

ly today. With Lin Biao and the "gang of four" overthrown, their factional setup demolished and decisive victory won in repudiating their crimes, the main obstacle to modernization has been removed. United as one, the people of the whole country are now working hard to speed up socialist modernization.

The international situation, too, is more favourable than ever before. With Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of differentiating the three worlds as our guiding principle, we have achieved remarkable successes in foreign affairs and China's international prestige has risen enormously. All this makes it possible for us to mobilize all the positive factors at home and abroad to expedite our socialist construction.

Modernization and Class Struggle. It is quite evident that, in the long run, only through high-speed construction can we make our country powerful, raise the people's living standard, strengthen national defence and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Failing to do so, we would be pushed around and beaten in the event of a new war of aggression. That is why turning China into a strong, modern socialist country is not merely an economic job but an overriding political task, and this is in itself a great class struggle.

Since modernization calls for a big increase in the productive











forces, it necessarily entails changes in those relations of production and in the super-structure which do not correspond to the development of the productive forces. Methods of management, operation and thinking should also be changed to suit the needs of modernization. All this amounts to an extensive and profound revolution.

Needless to say, there are still a handful of counter-revolutionaries and criminals who will try to undermine our socialist construction. We should therefore on no account weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat or lower our guard against them. However, the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have come to an end, and the contradictions that exist in our society in large numbers and at all times are those among the people. As is the case with the struggle between advanced and backward ideas, these contradictions can only be resolved and should be resolved through democratic discussion, education and persuasion.

Modernization is now the central task of the whole Party, unless there is a large-scale aggression from abroad. All other tasks, including the Party's political work, should serve this purpose. There will be no more "political movements" or "class struggle" which deviate from this central task and are detrimental to modernization. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" described everything as "class struggle" and, with this as their pretext, they threw many socalled "class enemies" into prison. But, as facts have proved, this was only their legerdemain for usurping Party and state power and pulling our socialist system apart.

To shift the focus of our work on to modernization, it is imperative to follow the mass line and give full scope to democracy both inside and outside the Party so that the initiative of hundreds of millions of people will be brought into play. No less significant is the task of studying not only politics but science, technology, management and economics and mastering the economic laws governing socialist construction.

Greeting Establishment of Sinc-U.S. Diplomatic Relations

In spite of the fact that news of mutual recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States was announced two weeks earlier, the celebration activities marking the coming into effect of the agreement between the two governments on January 1, 1979 attracted worldwide attention.

Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping sent messages separately on January 1 extending their congratulations to President Jimmy Carter.

The message from Premier Hua said: "The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States is a historic event in our bilateral relations, which not only accords with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and American peoples but will exert a favourable influence on the international situation. I am confident that it will also open up broad vistas for the deepening of the friendship between the Chinese

and American peoples and the good relations between the two countries."

Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, also sent messages of greetings to Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng respectively on December 31, 1978. President Carter said in his message to Premier Hua: "The cause of world peace will be served by this historic act [establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations] of reconciliation. Through common effort, we can deepen the new ties of friendship between our peoples, and we can jointly contribute to the prosperity and stability of Asia and the Pacific region."

Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping attended a reception given on the evening of January 1 by Mr. Leonard Woodcock, Chief of the Liaison Office of the United States of America in Beijing, and Mrs. Woodcock. About 200 Chinese guests from various walks of life also attended.

Vice-Premier Deng said in his toast: "The normalization of Sino-U.S. relations is a historic event in the annals of our bilateral relations and a major event of far-reaching influence in international affairs. In announcing the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations, President Carter said that the United States did not undertake this important step for transient tactical or expedient reasons. I appreciate this far-sighted view. The Chinese Government has all along regarded Sino-American relations in a long-term political and strategic perspective."

"I hope that my contacts and talks with the leaders of the United States and the American people," he added, "will further enhance understanding and friendship between our two peoples and promote our amicable bilateral ties and co-operation in the scientific-technological, economic, cultural and many other fields." Vice-Premier Deng will pay an official visit to the United States at the end of the month.

Mr. Thomas L. Ashley, who headed a delegation of the Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on a visit to China, said in his toast that President Jimmy Carter asked him to convey to Vice-Premier Deng "his great, great pleasure and great satisfaction that this first giant step would be taken on New Year's Day, a step that is taken forward in a direction of friendship, peace and co-operation."

Mr. Woodcock said in his toast: We believe that January 1 marks the beginning of a new era in our relations that will contribute to the well-being of both countries and of all mankind.

A flag raising ceremony was held at the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America early that morning to mark the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. As the bright five-star red flag was hoisted at half past seven, cheers burst out from all present, including officials of the Chinese Liaison Office. Chinese-American scholars and representatives of overseas Chinese.

New Steel Complex Near Shanghai

On December 23, 1978, a ceremony was held at Baoshan on the northern outskirts of Shanghai marking the formal start of construction of a huge

iron and steel complex by the Changjiang (Yangtze) River. Vice-Premier Gu Mu and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Nippon Steel Corporation Yoshihiro Inayama attended.

The project will be built in two stages. When it is completed in 1983, the complex will produce 6 million tons of iron and 6 million tons of steel a year. This is the first time that China undertakes to build such a huge project within a short span of five years.

Most of the equipment for the complex will come from the Nippon Steel Corporation of Japan, including two blast furnaces, each with a volume of 4,063 cubic metres, three 300-ton pure oxygen top-blown steel converters and fast-speed hot and cold rolling mills. All processes will be controlled with the aid of computers.

The new steel complex now being built is one of the 120 large projects planned for the current eight-year plan (1978-85). Its completion is of key importance to achieving the goal of producing 60 million tons of steel a year in 1985, and will provide valuable experience for building more large and modern projects in the coming years.

Last year 20,000 administrators, engineers, technicians and skilled workers poured into Bacshan from all over the country. They lost no time in making preparations including geological surveying, designing and research work for the proj-The main roads on the building site have been laid, high tension lines totalling scores of kilometres have been put up, and a water-supply system for workers living miles around is ready for use. Construction of shipping berths for handling building materials and

large equipment has been completed. In addition, living quarters consisting of 140 buildings have been put up for the workers and their families.

year. China's steel output was 31 million tons, over 7 million tons more than that of 1977. Thus the long stagnation on the metallurgical front caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has ended. But per capita output of steel in China is still very low, and great efforts have to be made to build large and modern steel plants order to increase steel output. The building of the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex is a big step forward in this direction.

Never Cocoon Oneself Like A Silkworm

News of China's large-scale import of advanced technology and equipment and its readiness to accept foreign loans has aroused immense interest at home and abroad.

The building of the abovementioned Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex near Shanghai, with technology and equipment imported from Japan, is a case in point. And more recently:

• Vice-Premier Li Xiannian (Li Hsien-nien) told foreign guests that on the condition that China's sovereignty is not impaired, we are prepared to accept funds and advanced technology from the developed countries, including the United States, Japan and West European countries, to speed up our socialist modernization. He told Willard C. Bucher, President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, that China is in favour of increasing bank service contacts and commercial and trade exchanges between the countries.

 Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang told newsmen in Xianggang (Hongkong) that China respects international trade practices, As long as the conditions are appropriate, he added, China will consider accepting loans from foreign governments.

Some foreign observers think that China has abandoned her policy of self-reliance.

Is that really the case? What does the Chinese public say?

When the "gang of four" were in power, the mass media in their grip stigmatized learning from foreign countries and importing technology as "capitulation" and "treason." Their pronouncement caused great confusion, although at that time few paid serious attention to their ultra-Left ballyhoo. ongoing criticism campaign has done away with most of the gang's nonsense and enabled people to see things in their proper light. As an old Chinese saying goes, one must never cocoon oneself like a silkworm.

But, some would ask, didn't Chairman Mao put the stress on "self-reliance"? Aren't you people doing things contrary to his teachings?

Now let's see what Chairman Mao actually said about this matter, Mao Zedong Thought glitters with the lustre of dia-"Rely mainly on our lectics. own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary." These are his own words, and please note the word "subsidiary," In a talk with the British correspondent Felix Greene in 1964, Premier Zhou Enlai elaborated the policy as laid down by Chairman Mao. Relying on our own efforts, the late Premier explained, implies reliance on the toil and wisdom of our own people in exploiting our own resources for economic development; at the same time it means developing trade with other countries to exchange what one has for what one lacks on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Lenin once worked out a very interesting formula in an outline he made when preparing the article *Immediate Tasks* of the Soviet Government. The formula is:

The readiness to absorb things good and foreign: Soviet government + good order on the Prussian railways + American technology and trusts + national education in the United States etc. etc. = the sum total = socialism.

This is easy enough for anybody to understand. Exchange in scientific and technological know-how between countries has been going on for centuries. For example, ancient China's four major inventions - papermaking, printing, gunpowder and the compass - found their way to the West through the Arabs. And it was chiefly European technology that opened up the American continent and made the Meiji Reform in Japan possible. But, according to the gang's line of argument, the most revolutionary thing to do is to go on riding mules while people abroad are travelling in supersonic jets, and to continue using the abacus while others are using computers.

Renmin Ribao in an editorial "Learn From and Make Use of Advanced Foreign Experience" said:

"It is a very good thing for us to import selectively the advanced technology and equipment from foreign countries in the light of our own needs and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. This is for the purpose of augmenting our economic strength and underpinning the material foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What's wrong with that? We must never play into the hands of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and do such a stupid thing as cocooning ourselves like sılkworms."



A workshop in the Shanghai Petrochemical Complex whose equipment is imported.

UNINTERRUPTED REVOLUTION

January 1958

MAO ZEDONG

UR revolutions have occurred one after another. From the seizure of nationwide political power in 1949, we went on to the antifeudal land reform and the movement for agricultural co-operation right after the land reform and to the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and of handicrafts. Socialist transformation in these three main fields, which was a socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, was basically completed in 1956. It was followed by a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts last year. By and large, this latter revolution can be wound up before July 1 this year. But there will still be problems, and it will be necessary to go on solving them each year for a considerable period of time through the full airing of views and the introduction of reforms. What we need now is a technological revolution so that we can catch up with or surpass Britain in 15 years or a little longer. China's economy is backward and its material base weak. As a result, we are still not in a position to take the initiative and feel mentally constrained, and in this respect we are not yet liberated. We need to exert ourselves. Then after five years we shall have a little more initiative; ten years from now, we shall have greater initiative; and 15 years on, when we have more grain and steel, our initiative will be greater still. In revolution as in war, we must set new tasks immediately after each victory. This keeps both the cadres and the masses full of revolutionary zeal and helps curb conceit. Anyway, there is no time for conceit. With new tasks pressing, everyone's attention is set on how to complete them. Our aim in proposing a technological revolution is to get everyone to study science and technology. The Rightists say that we are petty intellectuals incapable of leading big intellectuals. Others say that we should adopt a policy of "buying off" the veter-

This is one item in The 60 Points on Methods of Work (Draft) written by Comrade Mao Zedong.

an cadres, paying them a sum of money and telling them to retire, because they know only how to wage war and carry out land reform and know nothing of science and technology. We must exert ourselves, we must study and carry through to the end this great technological revolution which history has bequeathed us. This question should be discussed among the cadres; a cadre conference should be called to discuss what other capabilities we have. In the past we had certain capabilities, we were able to wage war and carry out land reform, but now these capabilities are not enough. We must acquire new ones and become well versed in professional work, in science and technology, otherwise we cannot possibly exercise effective leadership. In On the People's Democratic Dictatorship which I wrote in 1949, I said: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties." "We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know." Eight years have elapsed. During these eight years, one revolution has succeeded another, preoccupying everybody's attention, and many have not had the time to study science and technology. From this year on, while continuing to complete the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, we should shift the emphasis in our Party's work to the technological revolution. We must call the attention of the whole Party to this matter. Party committees at all levels may hold internal discussions first and make it clear to the cadres, but for the time being no publicity should be given it in the press. We can play it up after July 1, because by then the rectification campaign at the grass-roots level will be almost over and the attention of the whole Party can be shifted to the technological revolution. Politics is apt to be neglected with a shift to the technological side, so we must stress integrating technology with politics.

January 5, 1979

ON CONDUCTING RURAL SURVEYS

September 13, 1941

MAO ZEDONG

One. Conditions Are Understood Gradually and Only With Persistent Effort

Getting to know the world is no easy matter. Marx and Engels rounded off the theory of scientific communism only after lifelong effort and repeated investigation and study. Lenin and Stalin also made many investigations.

Carrying out the Chinese revolution also needs investigation and study. First of all we must know China (its past, present and future). It is regrettable that many comrades are often subjectivist and opinionated and attach no importance whatsoever to investigation and study.

We believe in science, not theology. Therefore, instead of giving play to our imagination we look at the grass-roots levels in making investigation. At the same time, we believe that things are in motion, they are changing, progressing. Thus investigation is a long-term job. We need to investigate things today, and our children and grandchildren will have to investigate things in the future. Only in this way is it possible to go on learning new things and acquiring more knowledge.

We must investigate patiently, step by step, and must not be impetuous. It was only after several years of effort that I came to know the countryside.

I remember it was in 1920, when I first read Kautsky's Class Struggle, Chen Wangdao's translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party and an Englishman's History of Socialism, that I came to know that the history of mankind is a history of class struggle and that class struggle is the motive force in social development; only then did I begin to grasp the method of cognizing problems. But in none of these books was there any mention of things specifically Chinese, such as Hunan or Hubei, Chiang Kai-shek or Chen Duxiu. I took from them

only the idea of "class struggle" and began to study practical class struggle in earnest. After taking part in the peasant movement for four months. I came to know something about the various classes, but this knowledge was quite superficial, not at all deep. The Central Committee later asked me to take charge of the peasant movement. I then made up my mind to conduct further investigations, spending a little over a month in the survey of the five counties of Changsha, Xiangtan, Xiangxiang, Hengshan and Liling. There was an upsurge in the peasant movement in these counties and many peasants had joined peasant associations. The Kuomintang attacked us for "going too far" and for engaging in "riffraff activities" and reviled the peasants for "going too far" by lolling on the beds of the daughters of big landlords. In fact, my investigations showed that not all things had gone "too far," as they said they had, but that this state of affairs was natural and necessary, because the peasants had suffered too much. I think it is inevitable for peasants who have been oppressed for thousands of years to go a little "too far" once they rise up, and it wouldn't have mattered much if they had lolled on the beds of the daughters of the landlords even more often.

However, I was still not very clear about class alignment in the countryside. It was only when I had made a survey of Xunwu after we got to the Jinggang Mountains that I became clear on the question of the rich peasants and the landlords. I put forward measures for dealing with the rich peasants, measures that involved not only "taking from those who have more land and giving to those who have less" but also "taking from those who have better and giving to those who have worse," for this was the only way the rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and farm labourers could all carry on. If the landlords were not given any land and had nothing to live on, and if the rich peasants were only given poor land



Chairman Mao on an inspection tour of Guangzhou's outskirts in 1958.

and were left half-destitute and driven to rebel, the poor peasants and farm labourers would be isolated. Some people ridiculed my approach as a rich-peasant line, yet I'm afraid my measures were the only correct ones at the time. Of course, today we have the Anti-Japanese National United Front and we are reducing rent and interest, not depriving the landlords and rich peasants of their property rights. Otherwise, it would be impossible for us to unite with them in the fight against Japan.

As regards the poor peasants and farm labourers, I became clear only after my survey of Xingguo County, which helped me realize the importance of poor peasant leagues in redistributing land.

So, it took me six to seven years to acquire experience in conducting rural surveys. Now with the experience of other comrades to go by, you can take shortcuts and accomplish such work in a few months instead of six or seven years. The thing for comrades to do today is dig into questions and exert yourselves in a matter-of-fact way. Provided you are not sleepy heads, you can achieve quite a lot even if you work at it only six hours a day. But you do need to keep at it.

Two. Method

A. The unity of opposites and class struggle are the two points of departure in our work. When we observe something, the first step can only be to perceive its broad outlines and form a general impression. Take the case of a newcomer to Yanan. At first he has only a general and vague idea of the place. But after he has visited the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, the Women's College and other schools and government institutions in Yanan, he takes the second step, adopts an analytical approach and makes a careful and systematic study and analysis of the different aspects of Yanan, Then, taking the third step, he employs synthesis to sum up his analyses of these different aspects and gains a picture of Yanan as a whole. He now knows a Yanan which is different from the one he knew on his arrival. He saw Yanan as a whole at the beginning and he is still seeing Yanan as a whole now, but his knowledge of the place is different. He has now gained a scientific knowledge and a concrete understanding of Yanan. The same is true of our observing a village.

This is the method Marx used in writing Capital. First, he analysed the various sectors of capitalist society. Then he synthesized them and arrived at the laws of motion of capitalism.

Special attention should be paid to analysis. There should be synthesis as well as analysis, that is to say, there is an element of synthesis in the analysis made in the second step. As the old saying goes, the principle of good writing is to have both an unfolding and a summing-up.

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This saying is correct. And it was also correct for Su Dongpo to study history and the Sung Dynasty by using the method of "tackling the enemy from eight sides." As we study Chinese society today, we should likewise use the method of "tackling the enemy from four sides," dividing it into four sectors — political, economic, cultural and 'military — and drawing conclusions for the Chinese revolution.

If we use the method of "looking at flowers while on horseback," trying to know a bit of everything, we will only be wasting time and will get nowhere.

Therefore, we must grasp this viewpoint, that is, the unity of opposites and class struggle. This is the viewpoint inherent in analysis and synthesis, as I have already said. If you use this approach in analysing conditions in the rural areas, you will come to know the classes there, their main characteristics and their interrelations. One of the questions you have asked me is: What is a rich peasant? In my view, a landlord lives mainly on rent; a rich peasant lives mainly by hiring farm labourers while engaging in some labour himself; a middle peasant generally does not sell his labour power and works his own land; a poor peasant has to sell his labour power, as he cannot make a living from his land; and a farm labourer sells all his labour power and owns no land at all. Of course, these are only the main criteria of the above classes.

Such an analysis of the different classes and strata as well as their general living conditions is the only way to correctly understand the overall situation in the countryside.

We should think hard in analysing objective reality and analysing classes. We should not turn a blind eye to practical problems. We should throw out purveyors of bombast and should think things out for ourselves and integrate theory with practice.

Lenin said in 1905 that a government of workers and peasants should be formed in Russia after the overthrow of the tsarist government, but Trotsky maintained that there should be a government of workers alone. This shows that Trotsky did not really integrate theory with practice. We should try through practice to identify the law of the movement of things and create new theories. For instance, the protracted nature of China's War of Resistance Against Japan constitutes a law of that war. Today, when you go down to rural areas to make investigations, you should adopt this view-

Background Information

CHAIRMAN Mao's talk On Conducting Rural Surveys printed here was delivered in Yanan on September 13, 1941, to a meeting of a women's life investigation group jointly organized by the Women's Work Committee and the Northwest China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

In the same year Chairman Mac called on the whole Party to rectify style of work in accordance with the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, eliminate the subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing spread by Wang Ming who had held the leading position in the Party, and unfold the movement of Marxist-Leninist education.

In Yanan, Wang Ming had held the posts of President of the Chinese Women's College and secretary of the Women's Work Committee of the Party Central Committee. In order to eliminate the influence of Wang Ming's line in the women's movement, the Party Central Committee decided in 1941 to close the college, reorganize the Women's Work Committee and remove Wang Ming from the two posts mentioned above.

Chairman Mao delivered the talk after these decisions were taken.

point and method to guide your practice, and, at the same time, constantly enrich your theoretical understanding in the course of practice.

B. Gathering vast amounts of data and grasping the main points. The more data one collects, the better. But it is essential to grasp the main points or characteristics (the principal aspects of contradictions). When Marx was studying capitalism and Lenin imperialism, they collected vast amounts of statistics and data. However, they did not use them all, they only made use of such data as best illustrated the characteristics under consideration.

No investigation, no right to speak. But there are comrades who like to ask: "Out of ten things, I have investigated nine—all but one. Don't I have the right to speak?" I think that if the nine you have investigated are all secondary things and you have omitted the principal one, you still have no right to speak.

In China today the national contradiction is the principal contradiction, while the class contradiction has become secondary. Before the Xian Incident, the contradiction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang was the principal one. Since the incident, the contradiction between China and Japan has been the principal one. So it is this contradiction that must be our point of departure in understanding and solving any problem today. If we concentrate on minor matters to the neglect of the principal contradiction, seeing the trees but not the forest, we will still have no right to speak.

Therefore, in synthesizing data, we should avoid getting bogged down in narrow empiricism.

Three. Replies to Questions

Comrades have raised a lot of questions and I can only answer some of them. Others cannot be answered, because if they could, there would be no need for you to go to the countryside. What is more, you yourselves must go to the rural areas and make investigations before you can understand these problems and find different solutions appropriate to different people and circumstances.

How should we hold fact-finding meetings? A fact-finding meeting must not only pose questions but produce answers. It is advisable to have around three to five people at each meeting. During my survey of Xingguo, I learnt that 40 per cent of the land was owned by landlords and 30 per cent by rich peasants and that 10 per cent was ancestral temple land owned in common by landlords and rich peasants, making a total of 80 per cent owned by the landlords and rich peasants, while only 20 per cent was owned by the middle and poor peasants. But the landlords accounted for no more than 1 per cent of the population and the rich peasants for no more than 5 per cent, while the poor and middle peasants accounted for 80 per cent. On the one hand, 6 per cent of the population owned 80 per cent of the land and on the other 80 per cent of the population owned only 20 per cent. The only logical conclusion could be revolution. This strengthened my confidence in the revolution, my conviction that the revolution would win the sympathy and support of more than 80 per cent of the people.

How should we select samples for investigation? There are three kinds, the advanced, the middle and the backward. If on the basis of this classification you choose to investigate two or three people from each kind, you will be able to learn the conditions of them all.

How should we collect and compile material? You must do it all yourselves in order to gain experience, experience which you use to improve your work in investigating and compiling material later.

How can we make sure that the people we talk to tell the truth? People are different and therefore you must adopt different approaches. But the main thing is to make friends with the masses and not to spy on them, which causes resentment. If a person does not tell the truth, it is because he does not know whether or not your intentions are for his benefit. You must give him time to get to know your thinking in the course of talking and making friends with him, so that he gradually recognizes your true intentions and regards you as a real friend. Only then will you be able to find out the facts. You must blame yourself and not the masses if they do not tell you the truth.

In my investigation of Xingguo, I invited several peasants for a conversation. At first, they were full of misgivings, wondering what on earth I would do to them. So the first day we only had a chat about everyday matters. No smiles crossed their faces and they did not say much. Later, I invited them to dinner and in the evening I gave them large warm quilts to sleep under. This helped them understand my real intentions. Gradually they began to smile and spoke up more. In the end, we were all at ease. Everybody joined in lively discussions, nothing was held back and we got along so well we might have been one family.

It is not necessary to go into the other questions. It will be better for you to go down as soon as possible to make investigations yourselves.



Message to Compatriots in Taiwan

(January I, 1979)

The Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress at its Fifth Plenary Session on December 26, 1978 adopted after discussion a message to compatriots in Taiwan. Following is the full text of the message. — Ed. Dear Compatriots in Taiwan:

Today is New Year's Day 1979. We hereby extend our cordial and sincere greetings to you on behalf of the people of all nationalities on the mainland of our motherland.

As an old saying goes, "When festival times come round people think all the more of their loved ones." On this happy occasion as we celebrate New Year's Day, our thoughts turn all the more to our kith and kin, our old folks, our brothers and sisters, in Taiwan. We know you have the motherland and your kinsfolk on the mainland in mind too. This mutual feeling of many years standing grows with each passing day. From the day when Taiwan was unfortunately separated from the motherland in 1949, we have not been able to communicate with or visit each other, our motherland has not been able to achieve reunification, relatives have been unable to get together, and our nation, country and people have suffered greatly as a result. All Chinese compatriots and people of Chinese descent throughout the world look forward to an early end to this regrettable state of affairs.

The Chinese nation is a great nation. It accounts for almost a quarter of the world's population and has a long history and brilliant culture, and its outstanding contributions to world civilization and human progress are universally recognized. Taiwan has been an inalienable part of China since ancient times. The Chinese nation has great vitality and cohesion. Throughout its history, foreign invasions and internal strife have failed to split our nation permanently. Taiwan's separation from the mother-

land for nearly 30 years has been artificial and against our national interests and aspirations, and this state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. Every Chinese, in Taiwan or on the mainland, has a compelling responsibility for the survival, growth and prosperity of the Chinese nation. The important task of reunifying our motherland, on which hinges the future of the whole nation, now lies before us all; it is an issue no one can evade or should try to. If we do not quickly set about ending this disunity so that our motherland is reunified at an early date, how can we answer our ancestors and explain to our descendants? This sentiment is shared by all. Who among the descendants of the Yellow Emperor wishes to go down in history as a traitor?

Radical changes have taken place in China's status in the world over the past 30 years. Our country's international prestige is rising constantly and its international role becomes ever more important. The people and governments of almost all countries place tremendous hopes on us in the struggle against hegemonism and in safeguarding peace and stability in Asia and the world as a whole. Every Chinese is proud to see the growing strength and prosperity of our motherland. If we can end the present disunity and join forces soon, there will be no end to our contributions to the future of mankind. Early reunification of our motherland is not only the common desire of all the people of China, including our compatriots in Taiwan, but the common wish of all peace-loving peoples and countries the world over.

Reunification of China today is consonant with popular sentiment and the general trend of development. The world in general recognizes only one China, with the Government of the People's Republic of China as its sole legal

The recent conclusion of the Government. China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship and the normalization of relations between China and the United States show still more clearly that no one can stop this trend. The present situation in the motherland, one of stability and unity, is better than ever. The people of all nationalities on the mainland are working hard with one will for the great goal of the four modernizations. It is our fervent hope that Taiwan returns to the embrace of the motherland at an early date so that we can work together for the great cause of national development. Our state leaders have firmly declared that they will take present realities into account in accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland and respect the status quo on Taiwan and the opinions of people in all walks of life there and adopt reasonable policies and measures in settling the question of reunification so as not to cause the people of Taiwan any losses. On the other hand, people in all walks of life in Taiwan have expressed their yearning for their homeland and old friends, stated their desire "to identify themselves with and rejoin their kinsmen," and raised diverse proposals which are expressions of their earnest hope for an early return to the embrace of the motherland. As all conditions now are favourable for reunification and everything is set, no one should go against the will of the nation and against the trend of history.

We place hopes on the 17 million people on Taiwan and also the Taiwan authorities. The Taiwan authorities have always taken a firm stand of one China and have been opposed to an independent Taiwan. We have this stand in common and it is the basis for our co-operation. Our position has always been that all patriots belong to one family. The responsibility for reunifying the motherland rests with each of us. We hope the Taiwan authorities will treasure national interests and make valuable contributions to the reunification of the motherland.

The Chinese Government has ordered the People's Liberation Army to stop the bombardment of Jinmen (Quemoy) and other islands as from today. A state of military confrontation between the two sides still exists along the

Taiwan Straits. This can only breed man-made tension. We hold that first of all this military confrontation should be ended through discussion between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Taiwan authorities so as to create the necessary prerequisites and a secure environment for the two sides to make contacts and exchanges in whatever area.

The prolonged separation has led to inadequate mutual understanding between the compatriots on the mainland and on Taiwan and various inconveniences for both sides. overseas Chinese residing in faraway foreign lands can return for visits and tours and hold reunions with their families, why can't compatriots living so near, on the mainland and on Taiwan, visit each other freely? We hold that there is no reason for such barriers to remain. We hope that at an early date transportation and postal services between both sides will be established to make it easier for compatriots of both sides to have direct contact, write to each other, visit relatives and friends, exchange tours and visits and carry out academic, cultural, sports and technological interchanges.

Economically speaking, Taiwan and the mainland of the motherland were originally one entity. Unfortunately, economic ties have been suspended for many years. Construction is going ahead vigorously on the motherland and it is our wish that Taiwan also grows economically more prosperous. There is every reason for us to develop trade between us, each making up what the other lacks, and carry out economic exchanges. This is mutually required and will benefit both parties without doing any harm to either.

Dear compatriots in Taiwan,

The bright future of our great motherland belongs to us and to you. The reunification of the motherland is the sacred mission history has handed to our generation. Times are moving ahead and the situation is developing. The earlier we fulfil this mission, the sooner we can jointly write an unprecedented, brilliant page in the history for our country, catch up with advanced powers and work together with them for world peace, prosperity and progress. Let us join hands and work together for this glorious goal!

Romanization of Chinese Names Of Persons and Places

CHINA'S State Council has recently decided to use the Chinese phonetic alphabet to standardize the Romanization of Chinese names of persons and places.

According to the decision, all publications and documents in English, French, German, Spanish and other languages put out in China will, starting from New Year's Day this year, use the Chinese phonetic alphabet in spelling Chinese names of persons and places.

Beijing Review will also, starting from this issue, use the Chinese phonetic alphabet to Romanize Chinese names and place names.

Specific Rules

The State Council provides the following specific rules on implementing the new way of spelling:

- *The spelling of the name of the country will not change in languages using the Roman alphabet. "China" will remain "China" in English, "Chine" in French, "China" in German and "China" in Spanish.
- * In foreign languages, Chinese geographical names, in principle, will be spelt out in the Roman alphabet according to Chinese phonetic scheme, while the common name part such as "province, municipality, autonomous region, river, lake, etc." will be translated according to meaning.
- *The names of persons and places with specific meanings which need to be translated according to their meanings for literary works, tourist maps and other publications can be so translated.
- *The traditional spelling of certain historical places and persons such as Confucius and Sun Yat-sen need not be changed. But, if required, the new spelling can be used and the usual spelling given in parenthesis.
- * The names of overseas Chinese will be spelt according to their own usual way of spelling.
- * Trade marks and trade names already in use need not be changed.

- * All diplomatic documents, passports, certificates, contracts, agreements, publications and various kinds of export catalogues, sample books, explanations and bills which use traditional spelling, can still be used if necessary. The new spelling should be used when reprinting.
- * The spelling of names of Chinese persons and places which are used in certain scientific terms need not be changed.
- * In telecommunications, forms of spelling which do not conform to telecommunication needs can be dealt with technically, for instance, "yu" can be used for "ü."
- * In view of the fact that internationally a transitional period would be required in adopting the new way of spelling, documents, telegrams, visas, etc. from abroad using the old spelling should not be invalidated.

Preparatory work has been done by the parties concerned to facilitate the implementation of the new decision. They have published in Chinese phonetic spelling a map of China and a handbook of Chinese geographical names, a list of common geographical names together with names in Han language, English, French and Spanish, a table of Chinese names and place names including those in the old way of Romanization, and a list of the names of Chinese Party and state leaders together with the old way of spelling. Other publications include a book with the names of telegraph offices, a maritime navigation chart, and a list of meteorological observatories and stations (the Chinese Central Meteorological Bureau has transmitted it to the World Meteorological Organization) in both the new phonetic alphabet and the traditional spellings.

How to Pronounce

Following is a Chinese phonetic alphabet table showing the alphabet pronunciation with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in brackets for reference.

[&]quot;a" (a), a vowel, as in far;

^{.. &}quot;b" (p), a consonant, as in be:

"c" (ts), a consonant, as "ts" in its; and "ch" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in church, strongly aspirated;

"d" (t), a consonant, as in do;

"e" (e), a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;

"f" (f), a consonant, as in foot;

"g" (k), a consonant, as in go;

"h" (h), a consonant, as in her, strongly aspirated;

"i" (i), a vowel, two pronunciations:

1) as in eat

as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;

"j" (ch), a consonant, as in jeep;

"k" (k), a consonant, as in kind, strongly aspirated;

"I" (l), a consonant, as in land;

"m" (m), a consonant, as in me;

"n" (n), a consonant, as in no;

"o" (o), a vowel, as "aw" in law;

"p'! (p), a consonant, as in par, strongly aspirated;

"q" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in cheek;

"r" (j), a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;

"s" (s, ss, sz), a consonant, as in sister; and "sh" (sh), a consonant, as "sh" in shore;

"t" (t), a consonant, as in top, strongly aspirated;

"u" (u), a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German umlauted "u" in "Muenchen";

"v" (v), is used only to produce foreign and national minority words, and local dialects;

"w" (w), used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in want;

"x" (hs), a consonant, as "sh" in she;

"y", used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "i" or "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in yet;

"z" (ts, tz), a consonant, as in zero; and "zh" (ch), a consonant, as "j" in "jump".

Spelling of Chinese Names of Persons

In accordance with the Chinese phonetic alphabet, the late Chairman Mao Tsetung's name will be spelt "Mao Zedong"; the late Premier Chou En-lai's name will be "Zhou Enlai"; and the late Chairman of the Standing

Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh will be "Zhu De."

Following are names of Party leaders of China Romanized according to the Chinese phonetic alphabet. The old spelling is in brackets for reference.

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng)

Vice-Chairmen of the Party Central Committee:

Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying)

Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping)

Li Xiannian (Li Hsien-nien)

Chen Yun (Chen Yun)

Wang Dongxing (Wang Tung-hsing)

Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee:

Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng)

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Wang Zhen (Wang Chen)

Wei Guoging (Wei Kuo-ching)

Ulanhu (Ulantu)

Fang Yi (Fang Yi)

Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping)

Deng Yingchao (Teng Ying-chao)

Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying)

Liu Bocheng (Liu Po-cheng)

Xu Shiyou (Hsu Shih-yu)

Ji Dengkui (Chi Teng-kuei)

Su Zhenhua (Su Chen-hua)

Li Xiannian (Li Hsien-nien)

Li Desheng (Li Teh-sheng)

Wu De (Wu Teh)

Yu Qiuli (Yu Chiu-li)

Wang Dongxing (Wang Tung-hsing)

Zhang Tingfa (Chang Ting-fa)

Chen Yun (Chen Yun)

Chen Yonggui (Chen Yung-kuei)

Chen Xilian (Chen Hsi-lien)

Hu Yaobang (Hu Yao-pang)

Geng Biao (Keng Piao)

Nie Rongzhen (Nieh Jung-chen)

Ni Zhi(u (Ni Chih-fu)

Xu Xiangqian (Hsu Hsiang-chien)

Peng Chong (Peng Chung)

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee:

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.) Chen Muhua (Chen Mu-hua) Zhao Ziyang (Chao Tzu-yang) Seypidin (Saifudin)

Spelling of Chinese Place Names

Names of well-known places in China are listed as follows. The old spelling is in brackets for reference.

Municipalities directly under the central authorities:

Beijing (Peking) Shanghai (Shaoghai) Tianjin (Tientsin)

Provinces, autonomous regions for minority nationalities and some well-known cities and other places:

Anhui (Anhwei) Province Hefei (Hofei) Bengbu (Pengpu)

Fujian (Fukien) Province Fuzhou (Foochow) Xiamen (Amoy)

Gansu (Kansu) Province Lanzhou (Lanchow)

Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province Guangzhou (Kwangchow) Shantou (Swatow)

Guangxi Zhuang (Kwangsi Chuang) Autonomous Region Nanning (Nanning) Guilin (Kweilin)

Guizhou (Kweichow) Province Guiyang (Kweiyang) Zunyi (Tsunyi)

Hebei (Hopei) Province

Shijiazhuang (Shihchiachuang)

Tangshan (Tangshan)

Heilongjiang (Heilungkiang) Province Harbin (Harbin) Daqing Oilfield (Taching Oilfield) Qiqihar (Chichihar)

Henan (Honan) Province Zhengzhou (Chengchow) Luoyang (Loyang) Kaifeng (Kaifeng)

Hubei (Hupeh) Province Wuhan (Wuhan) Hunan (Hunan) Province Changsha (Changsha) Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province

Nanjing (Nanking)
Suzhou (Soochow)
Wuxi (Wuhsi)

Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province Nanchang (Nanchang) Jiujiang (Chiuchiang)

Jilin (Kirin) Province Changchun (Changchun)

Liaoning (Liaoning) Province Shenyang (Shenyang) Anshan (Anshan) Luda (Luta)

Nei Monggol (Inner Mongolia) Autonomous Region Hohhot (Huhehot) Baotou (Paotou)

Ningxia Hui (Ningsia Hui) Autonomous Region

Yinchuan (Yinchuan)

Qinghai (Chinghai) Province Xining (Sining)

Shaanxi (Shensi) Province Xian (Sian) Yanan (Yenan)

Shandong (Shantung) Province Jinan (Tsinan) Qingdao (Tsingtao) Yantai (Yentai)

Shanxi (Shansi) Province Taiyuan (Taiyuan) Dazhai (Tachai)

Sichuan (Szechuan) Province Chengdu (Chengtu) Chongqing (Chungking)

Taiwan (Taiwan) Province Taibei (Taipei)

Xinjiang Uygur (Sinklang Ulghur) Autonomous Region Urumqi (Urumchi)

Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous Region Lhasa (Lhasa)

Yunnan (Yunnan) Province Kunming (Kunming) Dali (Tali)

Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province Hangzhou (Hangchow)

African People Tempered in Turmoil and Struggle

In 1978 Soviet expansionists brought disaster after disaster to the people of Africa, throwing the continent into greater chaos. The Horn of Africa was plunged into war and armed conflicts erupted one after another in the hinterland. In southern Africa the twin plagues of racism and hegemonism tormented the people. From the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic to Mediterranean Africa, these expansionists reached for strategic points, resources and routes. The independence and security of many African countries were thus gravely menaced.

Before this stark reality, the African people did not make compromise, stomach insults or seek peace at the expense of principle. They continued to uphold the banner of struggle in unity and won many victories in combating foreign intervention, aggression, control and expansion. This was a great contribution to the third world's cause of united struggle against hegemonism.

The Soviet expansionists have never reconciled themselves to their failures. Despite the serious setbacks it met in its aggression and expansion in Zaire, the Sudan, Somalia and other places in 1977. Moscow, out to dominate Africa, stepped up its aggressive and expansionist activities on the continent in 1978.

In northeast Africa, it militarily intervened in the Horn of Africa last February and March, sending there 17,000 Soviet and Cuban military personnel, and 1,000 million U.S. dollars' worth of weapons including 400 tanks, 50 new-type fighter-bombers, missiles and large-calibre guns.

In central Africa, while continuing its suppression and encirclement of the Angolan guerrillas, Moscow instigated several thousand Katanga gendarmes to stage another sudden armed invasion of Zaire's Shaba Province last May in an attempt to split Africa by breaking through at the centre.

In southern Africa, it interfered in the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples. Through sending advisers and arms for infiltration and sowing discord between the frontline states and the various liberation organizations, it was striving to divert the national-liberation struggle on to the Soviet course of contending for spheres of influence.

Outflanking Europe. The series of offensives launched by the Soviet Union last year in Africa has shown the world more clearly the frenzied, adventurous nature of this arriviste superpower bent on expansion abroad and exposed its strategic intrigues to annex Africa and outflank Europe.

The Soviet moves in the Horn of Africa were closely co-ordinated with its expansion in the Red Sea area and the Persian Gulf as well as its activities in other African regions. It aims to control the passage linking the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean through military occupation of the regions around the Red Sea, to seize places of vital strategic importance in southern Africa and, in wartime, to cut the South Atlantic route vital for shipping oil and other resources to Western Europe.

Mercenaries as Spearhead. One move the Soviet expansionists employ most in Africa is



Divide and consume.

by Ying Tao

to provide arms and money and to hire mercenaries to serve as Soviet cannon fodder. In recent years, Cuban mercenary troops were used to spearhead all four wars in Angola, Zaire and the Horn of Africa, while the Soviet Union pulled wires backstage. Cuban troop strength in Africa increased visibly again last year. One-fourth of Cuba's total military strength is in Africa, the biggest foreign interventionist force on the continent.

Divide and Rule. Another tactic employed by the Soviet Union in Africa is to do everything possible to widen differences and aggravate disputes among African countries in an attempt to divide and rule over them. The Ethiopian-Somali dispute it instigated and aggravated is a case in point. Using both the stick and the carrot, the Soviet Union now formed an alliance with one side and then signed a so-called friendship treaty with the other. Stick or carrot, the Soviet aim is to put the two sides under its thumb.

Conferrer of Epithets. In order to curry favour with some and attack others to meet its own needs, Moscow will wilfully label one state, one organization or an individual as "progressive" or "reactionary." Take Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia as examples. Moscow once tried its utmost to win them over, but when these governments stuck to principle in defence of their independence and state sovereignty and thus stood in the way of Soviet expansionism, the lords in the Kremlin turned round and called them "reactionary regimes." Moscow even claimed that the regional co-operative organizations in the Red Sea area and West Africa are "military and political groups." "The establishment of these groups would sooner or later result in the formation of alliances or groups opposing them. Hence the consequences," Moscow announced menacingly. As everyone knows, what Moscow means by "the consequences" is that it would carry out intervention and aggression against those who would not be ordered about. With Cuban mercenaries itching for action under Moscow's dictate, the states in these regions face the very real threat of increased Soviet aggression. Even in Angola and Ethiopia, the Soviet Union is an "ally" to be on guard against. An abortive Soviet-engineered coup d'etat was reported from Angola in 1977. In June 1978 a leader in opposition to the present Ethiopian regime was secretly installed in the Cuban Embassy in Ethiopia. These events call for deep thought.

Gratifying Results of Struggle

The Soviet Union, acting as an overlord in Africa, has educated the African people by negative example and given an impetus to the African countries to unite in a resolute struggle against it. More and more African countries have in the past year come to realize that it is imperative for them to strengthen their joint defence and co-ordinate their military actions to resist and defeat this most dangerous enemy of theirs if they are to safeguard their security and prevent invasions by the Soviet Union and its mercenaries. Following the large-scale Soviet intervention in the Horn of Africa, countries of the Red Sea area have adopted various measures to strengthen co-operation and joint defence to resolutely defend the security of this area. In April 1978, at the summit held by the 16 countries of the Economic Community of West African States to discuss the problem of security, a draft treaty on mutual non-aggression was passed. When the second Shaba war broke out, over a dozen African countries provided Zaire with moral and material assistance. Six African states dispatched troops to form a united force to fight side by side with the Zairian army. As a result, the invading mercenaries were driven out and Soviet military expansion into central Africa was halted. This was a good demonstration of the power of joint defence.

The African people's anti-hegemonic struggle has also won sympathy and support from some West European countries. New progress has also been reported in the Afro-West European united struggle against Soviet hegemonism.

African countries are increasingly aware that to maintain stability on the African continent it is imperative to get rid of external influence, especially interference by Soviet hegemonism. Calls for the withdrawal of Soviet and Cuban troops from Africa have been mounting in the past year as never before. At the 15th OAU summit held in the Sudan last July, opposition to interference in African affairs by Soviet and Cuban troops became an important issue. After full discussions, resolutions on opposing external military interference and establishing a pan-African force were adopted at the summit. This was a telling blow to the Soviet hegemonists who have tried persistently to secure military bases in Africa and have truculently interfered in African affairs.

(A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent)

Soviet Military Budget Puzzle

MOSCOW'S recent performance over its 1979 military budget once again brings home the fact that the Kremlin leaders are hypocrites, double-dealers of the first order. While going all out to step up their arms expansion and war preparations, they take great pains to dress themselves up as angels of "peace" and "disarmament."

As the whole world knows, at the Moscow meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw treaty member states held on November 22 and 23, 1978, the Soviet Union urged treaty members to spend more to enhance the military strength of the Warsaw pact. In turning up its propaganda machine recently to blast one member state which openly voiced its opposition, Moscow asserted that in face of "the NATO states" arms race," it is "inevitable and necessary" to beef up the Warsaw treaty forces by hiking military spending of the treaty members.

It would seem that the Soviet Union should have openly taken the lead in increasing its military expenditure. However, the 1979 military budget as announced by the Kremlin following the Moscow meeting is the same as last year—17.200 million rubles. TASS gave great publicity to the announcement, alleging that "this is the budget of a peace-loving state" and that "the Soviet Union in the course of several years has been allocating one and the same sum for defence needs. This is a truly lofty and inspiring example for the international community."

Double-Dealers

While declaring that higher military spending is "inevitable," TASS said in the same breath that out of "love of peace," the Soviet Union would not increase its military budget for 1979. Is it rather strange?

As a matter of fact there is nothing strange about it. It is the Brezhnev clique's set principle to gain military superiority and world hegemony through the arms race. It is also the normal practice of the Kremlin leaders to extol "stopping the arms race," "reducing military expenses" and "peace," and to cover up their large-scale arms expansion and war preparations in disregard of the Soviet people's sufferings by handing out doctored military budgets.

But people remember well that in the past decade Soviet leaders have on many occasions spoken publicly of their strivings for military superiority. Each time they made such a statement, the arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States escalated. In June 1966, Brezhnev declared in a speech, "We shall see to it that the armed forces of the Soviet state be kept at the highest level of up-to-date military technique and equipment. We will ensure the superiority of our army." In 1966, the number of the Soviet offensive strategic nuclear weapons was 29 per cent of the U.S. figure. In 1972 the two countries were roughly on a par. Afterwards, while continuing to increase the quantity of these weapons, the Soviet Union laid stress on catching up with the United States in nuclear technology and in the quality of nucléar weapons. The Soviet Union has trial produced and begun to deploy three types of intercontinental missiles of a new generation and Backfire strategic bombers, greatly narrowing the gap with the United States in the quality of nuclear weapons. Soviet numerical superiority over the United States in strategic nuclear weapons increased from 0.3 per cent in 1973 to over 18 per cent in 1975. During this period, the Soviet Union was far ahead of the United States in the production of conventional arms. Its annual output of tactical aircraft. large surface warships, tanks and artillery was two to nine times that of the United States. At present the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States in the load capacity of MIRVs (multiple independent reentry vehicles), while five years ago it had no strategic missiles with multiple nuclear warheads at all.

Rapid expansion of military power naturally calls for a huge increase in military spending. However, according to the figures published every year by the Soviet Government, its military budgets for four years ending 1972 remained at 17,900 million rubles, or only one-third or one-fourth of the annual military spending of the United States. The Soviet military budgets even went down for two years after 1973, and amounted to roughly 17,200 million rubles in the past two years, which is less than one-fourth of U.S. military spending. This is the basis for the TASS assertion that "Soviet defence allocation has remained the same for several years."

But neither false military budgets nor hypocritical preachings about "disarmament" and "peace" can cover up the truth. It is well known that labour productivity in Soviet industry is only roughly half that of the United States. How is it that the Soviet Union can turn out far more arms and equipment than the

United States with only one-third or even less than one-fourth of the U.S. military spending? The answer is that since the mid-1960s, Soviet military spending has risen each year and has surpassed that of the United States for years running since the early 1970s. Much of the Soviet military spending is hidden in other expenditures. Khrushchov admitted in 1959 that the actual Soviet military spending then was about 2.5 times the budget allocation published for the public. According to Western research institutes, in the past decade actual Soviet military spending has swollen to three, four and even five times the published figures. Since 1975, it has exceeded 100,000 million U.S. dollars.

The Soviet demand for more military spending by the Warsaw treaty members belies its published military budget for 1979, which "remained the same as the previous years." Normal Soviet practice to deceive people has boomeranged.

Hanoi's Bellicose Bleating

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THE reck of gunpowder was very much in evidence at the Vietnamese Army Day meeting in Hanoi on the evening of December 21, 1978. Le Duan and other Vietnamese Party, government and army leaders turned up to hear Defence Minister Vo Nguyen Giap declare in a lengthy speech: Viet Nam "is always ready to fight," "is resolved to defeat all kinds of enemies" and "ready for a large-scale war." The next day, the Party and army papers carried editorials repeating this refrain. The bellicose bleating by the leadership in Hanoi and its media, whipping up a new wave of agitation for armaments expansion, aggression against Kampuchea and opposition to China, indicate the following:

One, Putting Viet Nam into an arms expansion and war preparation orbit,

Vo Nguyen Giap stressed in his report that "the immediate task of our entire Party, people

and army is to mobilize to the highest degree," "quickly increase our economic and defence potentials" and "get ready for battles to defeat all aggressive schemes and acts of the enemy, including a large-scale aggressive war." He asserted that "to meet the present urgent needs" and to fulfil a "historic mission," the entire Party, armed forces and people must, in line with the directives of the Secretariat and Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, carry out the campaign to "develop the quality and increase the fighting strength of the people's armed forces" and rapidly "strengthen (the armed forces) in all respects."

The daily Nhan Dan said more bluntly in a December 22 editorial that in Viet Nam "everyone must play a role in building the armed forces and an all-people national defence.

Everyone should correctly render obligatory military service." Quan Doi Nhan Dan said editorially on December 22 that "the sacred task now" is "to integrate closely the economy with national defence and combine increasing the armed forces' combat strength with reinforcing the all-people defence" and build an "invincible force." "Under whatever circumstances, we must take the initiative and apply the offensive strategy, so as to strike at the enemy under advantageous circumstances."

The Vietnamese people triumphed after more than 30 years of bloody struggle. But since the war against U.S. aggression ended, the Vietnamese authorities have continued to keep and even expand their huge armed forces to seek hegemony in Southeast Asia, instead of organizing the nation for healing the wounds of war and overcoming economic difficulties. Men from 16 to 45 are being conscripted. Enormous manpower and material and financial resources are being diverted for the invasion of Kampuchea, to oppose China and to dominate neighbouring countries. This perverse act has virtually wrecked the country's industry and agriculture, and the people are worse off than during the war. But Hanoi is pushing the nation further down the road of arms expansion and war preparations. These militaristic moves have already been, and will be, strongly denounced by public opinion in Southeast Asia and the world at large.

Two. Inciting the Vietnamese people to aggression against Kampuchea and opposition to China.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh declared in Bangkok that "Viet Nam is able to capture Phnom Penh within 24 hours." Vo Nguyen Giap announced on December 21 that Hanoi is determined to "defeat the reactionary clique in Phnom Penh." He also attacked China by name. He said: "The reactionaries in the Peking authorities are practising big-nation expansionism and hegemonism and colluding with imperialism and the worse reactionaries." Let it be noted that when the text of the speech appeared in newspapers and was broadcast over the radio, the phrase "the reactionaries in the Peking authorities" was quietly dropped. This is indicative of the unpopularity of the Vietnamese authorities who toe Moscow's line of opposition to China and who are fainthearted despite their bravado.

What also merits attention is that Vo Nguyen Giap stressed the need for all Vietnamese officers and men to see clearly the "new targets of war." Who else did he mean, besides China and Kampuchea, when he talked of the "new targets of war" and "international reactionary forces"? This cannot but arouse the vigilance of all Southeast Asian countries. After Hanoi created a puppet Kampuchean organization, Singaporean Foreign Minister Rajaratnam said: "The Vietnamese have set up a Cambodian national salvation front. We are concerned whether two years from now it would be necessary to set up salvation fronts for ASEAN countries." "What is happening in Kampuchea today could happen to us tomorrow."

Three. Publicly announcing dependence on Moscow for support.

Although Vo Nguyen Giap time and again boasted that the Vietnamese "armed forces have rapidly grown in strength and become an unprecedentedly huge and strong army," the Vietnamese authorities have not entirely deluded themselves into thinking that with their pitiable "unprecedentedly huge and strong army" they could singlehandedly realize their hegemonist ambitions in Southeast Asia. So they have thrown themselves into the lap of the Soviet Union to get support in the form of arms. He said: "We will win because we have the sympathy and the broad and great international support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." On the same day, Soviet Minister of Defence D. Ustinov said in an encouraging message to Vo Nguyen Giap that the "unbreakable co-operation" between the armed forces of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam "based on the Soviet-Viet Nam treaty of friendship and co-operation will be further developed and consolidated."

This Moscow-Hanoi duet shows that a deal has been struck between master and flunkey. This is a grave factor in the present situation in Southeast Asia. It proves that people are not overcautious when they consider the Soviet-Viet Nam treaty as a military alliance. This will heighten the vigilance of Southeast Asian and other Asian people towards the Vietnamese regional hegemonists and the global hegemonists behind them, the men in the Kremlin.

(A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent)

ESPIONAGE

K.G.B. Very Busy Abroad

As Moscow's appetite for aggression and expansion grows, its not-so-undercover arm, the K.G.B., has stepped up operations abroad and is gravely endangering the independence and security of a number of countries. Governments and people all over the world have denounced this menace and are keeping a wary eye on it. The K.G.B.'s criminal record grows longer and more odious as its activities become more and more exposed.

On October 30 last year, U.S. judicial authorities sentenced two Russian spies, Rudolf P. Chernyayev and Valdik A. Enger, to 50 years' imprisonment for stealing U.S. military secrets while working as U.N. employees. There are thousands of K.G.B. agents in the United States, including 40 or so of the 130 members of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. They are particularly interested in acquiring intelligence on microelectronic. laser, computer, nuclear energy and aerospatial technologies.



The "Peeplomat."

by hongton

Despite their agents constantly being caught and expelled, Moscow continues to send more agents abroad and even has the impudence to send the same agents expelled from one country into another! For instance, of the four Russian spies expelled in late 1978 by the Ghanaian Government. one of them. Albert Dmitrevevich Yefremoff had earlier in April 1974 been in Ghana as an "engineer with the Soviet trade mission" to spy on the Ghanaian armed forces. In 1973, he had been booted out of Pakistan for similar unsavoury activity.

Victor Niloff was another second-time offender. In 1969 he had been caught red-handed for trying to recruit civil servants in Nigerian ministeries to become K.G.B. agents. When he was caught in Ghana, he was a "TASS correspondent."

The number of K.G.B. personnel outside the Soviet Union has been going up. The Japanese weekly Gendai reports that 70 per cent of the 200 or so staff members of the Soviet Embassy, general consulate, office of commercial representative, Aeroflot and Intourist in Japan are professional spies.

In France, 60 Soviet officers working for the intelligence department of the general staff of the Soviet armed forces are in Paris as "journalists" or "diplomats"

This gives the lie to Moscow's loud protestations about "non-interference in other country's internal affairs." "promoting international security," and "striving for detente and

expanding mutual co-operation among various big powers."

OPEC

Oil Price Increase

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) announced in a communique issued at the close of its 52nd ministerial conference held on December 16 and 17 in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates, that the price of oil will go up as of January 1, 1979.

The increase will be spread over four quarterly periods. Specifically, 5 per cent the first period, 3.809 per cent as of April 1, 2.294 per cent as of July 1 and 2.691 per cent from October 1. By next October, per barrel price will have risen from last December's 12.70 dollars to 14.542 U.S. dollars.

The communique pointed out that the price hike is a sequel of the high inflation rate and U.S. dollar depreciation in the past two years which sharply reduced oil revenues of OPEC member states and adversely affected their economic and social development. But with a view to "strengthening the U.S. dollar and arresting inflationary trends," only a partial adjustment is being effected. However, if inflation and dollar depreciation continue, the communique said, OPEC will consider further adjustments to the oil price.

The 13 member states at the conference agreed in principle to the increase of price but differed in the rate of increase. Saudi Arabia held that a slight increase was reasonable, while Iraq, Algeria, Libya and other

countries stood for a rise of 15 to 20 per cent. Unanimity was reached after thorough consultations. Conference president and Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources of the United Arab Emirates Mani Said Al-Oteiba said at the December 17 press conference that the 52nd conference had ministerial brought about closer and stronger unity among the OPEC countries.

TAJIK S.S.R.

Ethnic Conflict

Some 13,000 people, or 3 per cent of the population of Dushanbe, capital of the Tajik Republic of the U.S.S.R., were involved in an ethnic clash last September, according to a report only recently come out of the republic. The clash was an outburst of the Tajik people's long pent-up fury against the Kremlin's policy of oppressing the various nationalities.

Since the revisionist renegade clique usurped power in the Soviet Union, the republic has been treated as a sort of colony and a supplier of raw materials for the central part of the Russian S.F.S.R. This has brought about a lop-sided growth of Tajikistan's economy. According to National Economy of the U.S.S.R., Statistical Yearbook for 1975, Tajikistan produced 10.6 per cent of the Soviet Union's cotton that year, but less than 1.5 per cent of the country's total cotton cloth. The Tajik Republic's 1977 harvest of foodcrop was 26.5 per cent lower than that of 1940. Among the union republics, Tajikistan's total and per-hectare yields of foodcrop are the second lowest. Its growth rate of industrial output value between 1970 and 1977 was well below the national

average and again the second lowest among the union republics. Its growth rate of industrial labour productivity also lags far behind all the other republics.

. Oppressed and exploited by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists of the Soviet Union, most Tajik collective and state farms have been operating at ever heavier losses. And the living standard of the labouring people there is relatively low. Politically, the Tajiks are virtually second-class citizens. In the last few years, more and more Russians have replaced Many native-Tajik cadres. born cadres have been removed from office, expelled from the party, or victimized in other ways for protesting against the lop-sided growth of the republic's economy.

To Russify the Tajik people, the Soviet authorities have increased the pressure for the study of the Russian language, restricted the use of the Tajik language and suppressed Tajik culture.

IRAN

Prime Minister Azhari Resigns

Iranian Prime Minister Gholam Reza Azhari tendered his resignation on December 31 which was accepted by Shahanshah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Azhari, who is Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander's Staff of the Armed Forces, formed his military government on November 6 and had since failed to stabilize the turbulent situation in that country.

Before Azhari's resignation, Shapour Bakhtiar, 63, one of the national front leaders, had been assigned by the Shahan-shah to form a new cabinet. Bakhtiar declared on December 30 that a new government would be formed within six days.

The situation of unrest which has continued in Iran for several months has worsened since December 18. Strike waves engulfed the country and oil output dropped so sharply that the world's second biggest oil exporter was compelled to enforce an oil ration in the country. Heating oil has been in short supply and normal life and business activities have been almost completely paralysed.

Successive demonstrations and clashes took place in Teheran and many other Iranian cities and hundreds of casualties were reported.

The Shahanshah has had consultations with political figures on the formation of a civilian government to solve the political crisis. His effort met opposition from religious leader Khomeini and leader of the national front Sandjabi. They insist that the Shahanshah must hand over his power.

According to foreign news agency reports, the Soviet Union has stepped up its propaganda campaign against the Shahanshah as the situation in Iran is becoming more unstable. This has aroused much concern in U.S. official circles. A correspondent Ωf the British weekly Economist The reported from Moscow on December 31 that the Soviet Union has alerted troops in areas bordering Iran and Soviet officials claimed that Soviet troops would enter into Iran if U.S. marines landed in that country.

CULTURE & SCIENCE



COMPUTERS

Chinese Encoded for Computers

Shanghai scientist has devis-A ed a new coding method for imputting written Chinese directly into electronic computers. The square Chinese ideographs are not as easily encoded as the letters of an alphabetic language due to their complex formation and vastness of number - about 5,000 are in common use, and if technical terms, names of people and places and archaic usages are included, 8,000-10,000.

To store Chinese characters in a computer memory, they must be transcribed into a binary code as imput information. The new method is more advanced in this field than any devised so far in China or abroad.

The beauty of this new method is that the code of any character is readily read out on sight.

Each ideograph is taken to have four components. The code uses the first letter of each part in Romanization. For example, 路 is broken down into the following four components, 日, 上, 太, 日, and read respectively as "kou," "zhi," "wen." "kou." From this

is obtained KZWK. If a character consists of less than four parts, the hiatus has to be made good according to certain rules. In Mt, for example, the last stroke (dian) is added to follow the original three parts of B, {, 寸. As an independent character 寸 reads as "cun." The other three read the same as 耳 (er), 人 (ren), 点 (dian). Thus 附 becomes ERCD. If there are more than four parts to a character, some parts are combined and taken as comprising four parts for encoding.

This coding method is simple, easy to understand and remember. An encoder who knows the Romanized Chinese script can master the rules in three weeks. The 26-letter encoding keyboard is compatible with an ordinary teletypewriter.

Zhi Pingyi, who invented this coding system, is deputy director and chief engineer of a Shanghai electric meters and instruments research institute. He had once taught Chinese a college in Germany when he was studying there before China's liberation and had done some research on Chinese ideographs. In 1968 he began his studies on how to encode written Chinese. His perusal of Japanese, American and Australian literature on information processing of Chinese characters led him to see that the methods devised by foreigners had two problems in common: bulky keyboard duplication of codes for different characters. He set out to solve this.

After six years of work he basically succeeded and trans-

lated 3,000 common-use characters into code. Two years later, he encoded all 8,500 entries in the popular Xinhua Dictionary. He has also managed to eliminate the 2.5 per cent duplications of the codes.

Shanghai scientists and researchers from 20-odd units met to study Zhi Pingyi's invention, and initial results have been obtained in developing an imput system using encoded Chinese characters.

Tests were carried out on the encoding method in May this year. When Chinese script encoded in Latin letters was typed and fed into the information processing machine, appropriate Chinese characters immediately appeared on the visual display unit.

The Shanghai Telephone Bureau's Information Service has used the new coding method to store the numbers and names of its subscribers in an electronic computer. Operators at the information desk on receiving an inquiry can get the required telephone number at the touch of a key

The new coding system has opened up broad vistas for setting up Chinese-language computer networks and data bases and has laid the groundwork for extensive use of electronic computers in China.

MODERN DRAMA

Worker Playwright Zong Fuxian

Three weeks ago, Zong Fuxian, a 31-year-old worker of the Shanghai Heat Treatment Factory, was the recipient of a citation and an award of 1,000 yuan from the Ministry of Cul-

ture and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. This was in recognition of his successful writing of the modern play Where the Silence Is (see our issue No. 47, 1978). This fouract play, with the stirring Tian An Men events of April 1976 as the background, was first put on by worker amateur players in Shanghai in September 1978. After its successful appearance in November in Beijing, theatrical troupes in other parts of the country began staging it to full houses.

On April 6, 1976, the day after the Tian An Men events, Zong Fuxian met a friend from Beijing who was stopping over in Shanghai. The friend told him what had been taking place in Tian An Men Square over the past few days. Millions of angry and anguish-filled people had gone to the square where they placed wreaths and small white paper flowers, put up elegies in praise of the late Premier Zhou Enlai and denounced the small handful of careerists and conspirators, Zong Fuxian was told by his friend.

But the newspapers came out with a totally different story. The Tian An Men events were declared "counter-revolution-

ary." Zong Fuxian was stunned. He did not know what to say and said nothing. He was not the only one. Everyone appeared glum and silent. The silence in Shanghai was palpable. It seemed to him that the people had suddenly and spontaneously decided not to speak. But he could feel the wrath, burning sullenly and silently, deep down in their hearts. Six months later the conspiratorial "gang of four" was thrown out. How the people rejoiced! In the midst of the jubilant crowds, marching in triumphant parades, Zong Fuxian saw what he had long known in his silence: The people would not remain silent for ever. They. would eventually emerge the victor. That moved him to take up the pen and write.

In building up the story of his play, Zong Fuxian said that he called to mind again the days of the tempestuous Cultural Revolution. "It was an enormous storm," he said. "It affected the lives of every person and every family in China. It fired the soul of every revolutionary and it shattered the masks of the political charlatans. There were senior cadres whose faith in the Party only grew firmer

in the ordeal of savage persecution meted them by the 'gang of four' and after being expelled from the Party. There were also scum who betrayed comrades and relatives without a scruple to preserve their positions. Some people became outwardly cynical to hide their resentment towards realities. Others who had been timid and weak became courageous and staunch in the course struggle. Everything — people's morals, ideas beliefs, feelings - was severely tested. Some people were found Wanting, but most grew politically more conscious."

"I wish I could write all this down with my inexperienced and clumsy pen!" Zong Fuxian said to himself.

He began to write. And in the play he wrote, he depicts what six people from two families do in nine hours, through a succession of highly typical and realistic scenes and personalities. There is a loyal Communist Party member; a political time-server who has wormed his way into the Party; a young man branded an "active counter-revolutionary" for distributing copies of the elegies to Premier Zhou which were put up at Tian An Men Square by the revolutionary masses, and the girl who loves him; an honest, goodhearted mother and her cynical doctor son.

When the draft was finished, the amateur playwright solicited and received encouragement and help from all quarters. Improvements were introduced continuously during rehearsals, and even after it had been actually presented on stage. In his own words, "This play is the result of collective efforts." This, incidentally, shows a tiny



Playwright and director with the actors.

facet of the role of the working people in China's socialist society.

Why did Where the Silence Is become such a success?

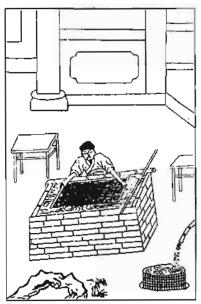
Cao Yu, the noted playwright whose well-known works include Thunderstorm and Sunrise, attributed this to the worker-author "expressing what was on the minds of the Chinese people and telling the truth." "It is a bold, courageous work and quite well done," he added. The poet and composer of the famous opera The White-Haired Girl He Jingzhi said the play is a "very important work in the history of the development of literature and art in China." He noted: "Literary and art works mustreflect major social problems of the greatest concern to the millions and give them correct answers in accordance with their wishes. The play Where the Silence Is does this coura-That is why the geously. audiences have been so responsive."

ARCHAEOLOGY

Who Invented Paper?

For hundreds of years people in and outside China have credited Cai Lun of the Han Dynasty with the invention of paper-making in 105 A.D. New finds by Chinese archaeologists have disproved this.

Two pieces of hemp paper made before 105 A.D. have been found, say preliminary reports published last year on archaeological excavations conducted from 1972 to 1976 at historical sites in the Ejin



Contemporary print of papermaking in the past.

River valley in Gansu Province near the major high road linking ancient China's central ruling dynasty with the Xiongnu (a Hunnish tribe) areas. One of them measures 21 × 19 cm, and the other 11.5×9 cm. The larger piece made before 52 B.C. is white, thin and even, with one side smooth and the other slightly teased. fibres are closely knit and the paper strong and resilient. The other piece is dark yellow in colour, loosely knit and somewhat rough in texture. It was found in the earth layer dating back to before the year 4 B.C.

Earlier, excavations in 1957 of a Han Dynasty tomb dated the 2nd century B.C. (300 years before Cai Lun's time) in the northwest China city of Xian brought to light the world's earliest vegetable fibre paper. It was made of hemp and ramie fibres.

Ancient paper made from hemp fibres in the early years A.D. has also been unearthed in Xinjiang. This proves that Cai Lun had summed up the experience of his forebears and improved on the art by using tree bark, hemp, rags and throw-away fishing nets to produce a higher quality paper. The new discovery, important as it is, doesnot, however, detract Cai Lun's contribution to paper-making.

BOOKS

Six Ancient Books of China

- The Kang Xi Dictionary compiled in the early 18th century has 47,035 entries, the first in the world with so many entries.
- The Yong Le Dictionary in 22,877 volumes and compiled in 1408 is the world's first big encyclopaedia.
- The Tea Book written by Lu Yu (733-804), a man of letters and a connoisseur of tea, is the first comprehensive book of its kind in the world. China has 100 or so books written exclusively about tea.
- Architectural Engineering, written by Li Jie in 1100, is the world's first comprehensive book on architecture.
- Shen Nong Ben Cao Jing (Materia Medica of Shen Nong), written more than 2,000 years ago, is the world's first book on pharmacology recording the medicinal properties and use of more than 300 kinds of herbs, animals and minerals.
- Tang Ben Cao (Materia Medica of the Tang Dynasty) edited in 659 is the world's first state-compiled pharmacopoeia.

Construction in High Gear

Industrial good tidings mounted as the old year drew to an end.

- The Panzhihua Iron and Steel Company in south Sichuan has been completed and gone into production. This is the first large complex ever designed and built by Chinese personnel and completely installed with home-made equipment from mining ore to rolling steel. Second-stage construction is under way. Nine other major iron and steel bases are scheduled to be in operation by 1985.
- A steel rolling project producing 3 million tons of steel sheets up to 1.5 metres in width annually has in the main been completed in central China's Wuhan Iron and Steel Company.

The project consists of a continuous steel casting workshop, a hot rolling mill, a cold rolling mill and a silicon steel sheet plant. The equipment came from West Germany and Japan, and operations are computer controlled

• Three shafts with an annual capacity of 2 million tons have been completed at Shandong Province's Yanzhou Colliery, one of eight major coal mining centres already under construction or will be built in the future. Work on another four shafts, to produce 11 mil-

lion tons annually, is in full swing.

• A prospecting team discovered high-grade bauxite deposits (alumina content: 59.9 per cent) in south China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. This is the largest fine-quality bauxite deposit discovered in China so far. It lies exposed or less than a metre underground.

It makes for ideal opencast mining and will become one of the nine major nonferrous metal bases to be built before 1985.

- The 1978 engineering quotas for the first-stage construction of the projected Qinghai-Xizang (Tibet) Railway some 4,000 metres above sea level were fulfilled a month ahead of schedule. The first stage entails building an 800-km. length from Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province, to Golmud County. Track-laying has been completed over 650 kilometres. The builders have had to contend with the rarified air, sub-zero temperatures and numerous salt pools and lakes and permafrost along the route.
- Along another frontier railway in south Xinjiang 309 of the total 474 kilometres have been tracked. It starts south from the Turpan basin (the



Yanzhou Colliery: Another big shaft under construction.

fiery, arid oasis) to Korla County through the Tianshan Mountains. The terrain is rugged and ravine-slashed, so many tunnels had to be bored and bridges built.

 Construction of the petrochemical project in northeast China's Jilin Chemical Industrial Company is proceeding briskly and the quality of work is excellent. Part of the equipment for this project, one of the 120 large construction projects undertaken by the state, is imported. Some 20 technical forums were held last year by the company for West German and Japanese technical personnel to pass on their expertise and management know-how to Chinese technicians.











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