

PEKING REVIEW

39

September 27, 1974

北

**Madame Imelda Romualdez
Marcos Visits China**

京

Socialist China Marches On

— A special pictorial section

周

報

Big Dam Across the Yellow River

PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

Vol. 17, No. 39 September 27, 1974

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Madame Imelda Marcos' Visit to China Welcomed	
Comrade Wilcox Leaves Peking for Home	
Chinese Sports Delegation Back Home	
Yugoslav Federal Assembly Delegation in Peking	
Mexican Economic and Trade Exhibition Opens in Peking	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
New Achievements in Socialist Construction: Big Dam Across the Yellow River — The key water conservancy project in Chingtung Gorge	7
Harnessing the Haiho River: Great Power of the Mass Line — Tung Yi-lin	10
Report From the Kailan Coal Mine: Old Coal Mine Rejuvenated — Our Correspondents Hsiang Jung and Mei Tien	14
Socialist China Marches On (A special pictorial section)	17
Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Are Masters of the Science of History — Niu Teh-liang, Wang Tzu-chiang, Ma Feng-ming and Chang Hung-pin of the workers' theoretical group of the Peking Motor Vehicle Plant	26
A Splendid Strategic Plan — Notes on studying "The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign" — Hung Cheng	30
Serious Fluidity of Manpower in Soviet Union	34
Who Is to Blame for Ukraine's Economic Trouble?	35
ON THE HOME FRONT	36
Written Tibetan Promoted	
Kirin Province Improves Environmental Protection	
ROUND THE WORLD	38
Mozambique: A New Victory	
United Nations: Soviet Opposition to Charter Revision Thwarted	
Ethiopia: Provisional Military Government Set Up	
"Holiday" (Dacca): Soviet Revisionism Presses Bangladesh for Repayment of Wheat	

Madame Imelda Marcos' Visit to China Welcomed

Madame Imelda Romualdez Marcos, wife of the President of the Republic of the Philippines, and her entourage arrived in Peking by special plane on September 20 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

She is visiting China as the special representative of President Marcos.

Welcoming the distinguished guests at the airport were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and leading members of the departments concerned. More than 2,000 people in the capital turned out to greet the visitors on their arrival.

Peking Airport flew the national flags of China and the Philippines. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and others went forward to shake hands with Madame Marcos and other distinguished Philippine guests as they stepped down from the plane. Two girls presented bouquets to Madame Marcos. Youngsters danced and waved colourful ribbons and flowers.

Madame Teng Ying-chao greeted Madame Marcos and her party at the Guest House.

In a hospital that afternoon, Premier Chou En-lai met with Madame Imelda Romualdez Marcos and had a friendly conversation with her.

Ferdinand R. Marcos, Jr., son of President Marcos, was present on the occasion.

During the meeting, Madame Imelda Marcos first of all conveyed the Philippine President's regards to Premier Chou En-lai. Premier Chou En-lai extended a warm welcome to Madame Marcos on her visit to China, and asked her to convey his regards to President Marcos.

Present at the meeting were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Deputy Department Directors of the Foreign Ministry Chang Han-chih and Kao Chien-chung.

In the evening, Chinese leaders Chiang Ching and Li Hsien-nien met with the distinguished Philippine guests. They had a friendly conversation and were photographed together.

Li Hsien-nien was host at a banquet given in the name of Premier Chou En-lai on the evening of September

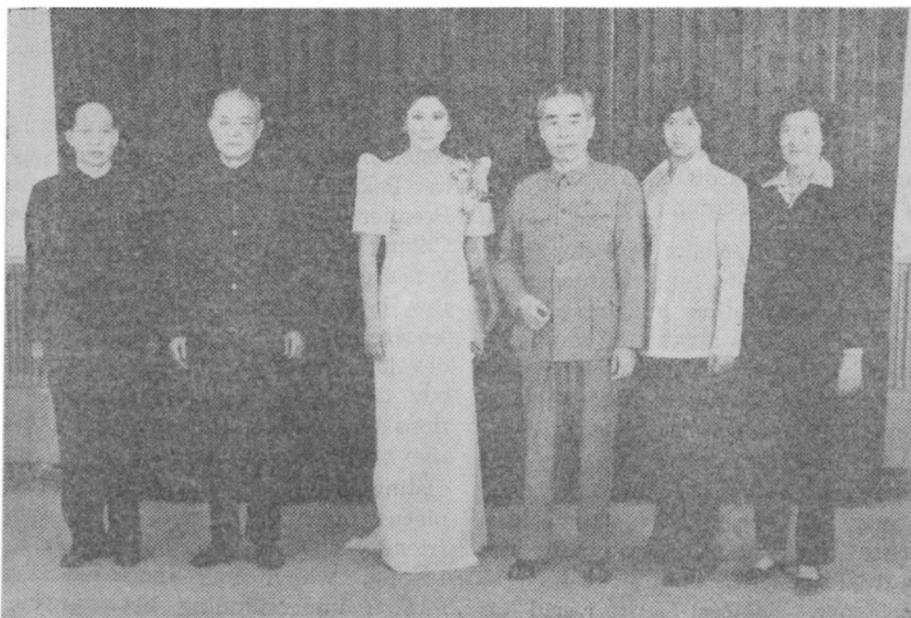
20 to warmly welcome the guests from the Philippines. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Madame Marcos spoke at the banquet.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: "China and the Philippines are neighbours separated by a strip of water. Between the peoples of our two countries, there exists a traditional friendship of long standing. They have the common experience of suffering long from foreign aggression and oppression and have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Today, both our countries are developing countries belonging to the Third World. We are glad to note that in recent years, thanks to the joint efforts of our two sides, friendly exchanges between China and the Philippines have been resumed and developed, and the trade between our two countries has steadily increased. This is another proof that countries with different social systems can develop relations on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We believe that the visit of Madame Imelda Marcos will make a new contribution to promoting the relations between China and the Philippines and the friendship between our two peoples."

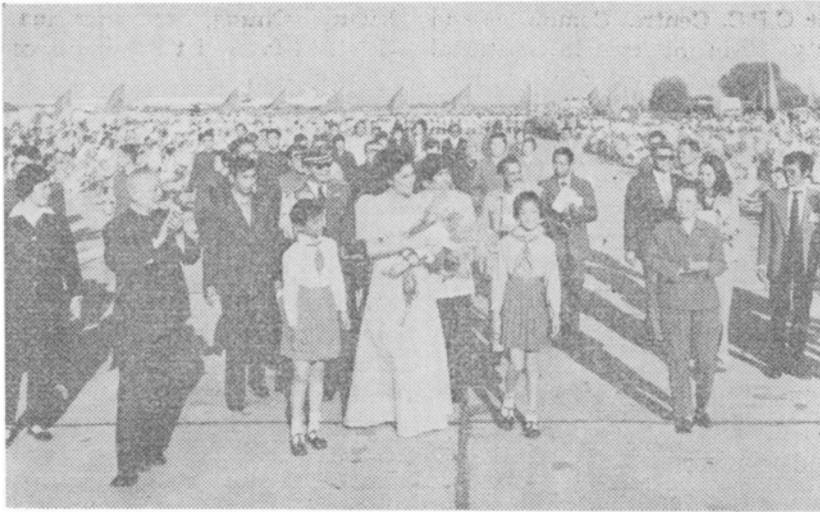
In her speech, Madame Marcos expressed the hope that the peace and friendship between the two countries and two peoples of the Philippines and China would be further expanded and continued.

She said: "Our people, living so close to China, cannot be indifferent to the events that have transformed the great Chinese nation and altered the course of human history under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung. Neither have the Chinese people been indifferent to us."

"It is my hope that in the course of this goodwill visit, we can explore



Premier Chou En-lai with Madame Imelda Marcos.



A warm welcome for Madame Imelda Marcos at the airport.

numerous initiatives in international councils to defend the right to equality of weaker and smaller states in the United Nations."

Madame Marcos reiterated: "We in the Philippines share in the belief that respect for the sovereignty and the right of self-determination of peoples is the true cornerstone of harmonious international relations." "We do not believe in the hegemony of any single power or culture in Asia. Rather, as President Ferdinand E. Marcos has sought by his earnest advocacy of an Asian forum, we must build the stability and harmony of Asia on the basis of a consensus among the peoples of the region regardless of political differences."

"We are approaching a new stage in the historic relationships between China and the Philippines. From where we now stand we can see expansive vistas of potential co-operation between our two countries," she said.

Madame Marcos said: "On this occasion, I would also like to pay tribute to the beloved leader of China, Chairman Mao Tsetung. He has shaped the course of history as few men have done. The great revolution of which he is the chief architect has transformed China and made its influence felt throughout the world. He is already universally recognized as one of the most eminent personages of our time. Yet he continues, humbly and quietly, to serve his people with complete devotion."

In his speech, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: "During her stay in Peking, Madame Marcos met Premier Chou En-lai and Comrade Chiang Ching and had friendly conversations with them. In the last few days, our two sides carried on a sincere exchange of views on further developing the relations between our two countries and other questions of common concern, and positive results have been achieved. The distinguished guests have visited places of interest and come into friendly contact with our people in Peking, which has increased the mutual understanding between our two peoples."

with the leaders of the People's Republic of China the possibilities for closer and stable relations between our peoples based on equality and mutual respect," she stated.

Madame Marcos said: "I look forward to the opportunity of seeing at first hand the achievements of the People's Republic of China."

"Today, our two peoples living so close to each other as neighbours can benefit from each other's experience as they endeavour to achieve progress through modernization and thus command their destiny."

"By your success in restoring pride and dignity to your people you have also inspired and ennobled the Filipinos," Madame Marcos said.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien held talks with Madame Marcos during her stay in Peking. She visited the Palace Museum, the Great Wall and other places of historic interest as well as a people's commune on the outskirts of Peking. She was invited to see the performances of the modern revolutionary dance-drama *Red Detachment of Women* and the modern revolutionary Peking opera *Azalea Mountain*. On September 23, Comrade Chiang Ching arranged a concert for Madame Imelda Marcos and other distinguished Philippine guests. She introduced noted Chinese literary and art personalities to the guests.

Madame Imelda Marcos gave a banquet at the Great Hall of the

People on the evening of September 23. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien attended the banquet on behalf of Premier Chou En-lai.

Madame Marcos and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke at the banquet.

In her speech, Madame Marcos expressed her thanks to Premier Chou En-lai for receiving her immediately upon her arrival in Peking. She said: "We held discussions on matters of mutual interest and concern between our two countries which quickly set a climate of understanding and goodwill for my visit."

She said: "I believe that growing contacts in the cultural and economic fields are the forerunner of more stable and lasting relations. As a matter of fact, within the framework of the United Nations, we have established closer contacts and found common cause in furthering the interests of the Third World in the United Nations system.

"The achievements of the People's Republic of China have compelled the admiration and respect of the world. This attitude is strengthened by the solemn and oft-repeated commitment of the People's Republic of China to the principles of respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. The rest of the world has also noted the relevance of your

The Vice-Premier stressed: "The successful visit of Madame Marcos has added a new page to the annals of the friendly relations between China and the Philippines. I am deeply confident that the relations between China and the Philippines and the traditional friendship between our two peoples will undergo a new and greater development."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien asked Madame Marcos and the other distinguished guests, on their return home, to "convey our regards to His Excellency President Ferdinand E. Marcos and the Chinese people's friendly greetings to the Philippine people."

An exchange of letters on the further development of trade between China and the Philippines was signed in Peking on September 23. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Madame Marcos attended the signing ceremony.

Comrade Wilcox Leaves Peking for Home

General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand V.G. Wilcox and his secretary Joyce Ewen left Peking for home on September 19 after a friendly visit to China.

Among those present at the airport to see them off were Keng Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Feng Hsuan, Member

of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met with Comrades Wilcox and Ewen in Peking on September 17 and had a very cordial and friendly conversation with them. After the meeting, Comrades Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao gave a banquet for the guests.

Chinese Sports Delegation Back Home

The Sports Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the 7th Asian Games in Teheran, the Iranian capital, was back in Peking. It returned by four special planes on the morning of September 20, bringing with it the friendly feelings of the people of Iran and other Asian countries for the Chinese people.

At the airport to welcome the delegation home were Chinese Party and state leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and Ni Chih-fu, and leading members of the departments concerned as well as several hundred people including athletes.

The four special airliners brought home head of the delegation Chao Cheng-hung, deputy heads Yin Hsinan, Ni Chih-chin, Hsu Yin-sheng,

Huang Chung, Li Shih-hua and Hsieh Li-fu, and the leaders, coaches and athletes of the 16 teams of track and field, swimming, diving, water-polo, gymnastics, football, basketball, volleyball, table tennis, badminton, tennis, shooting, fencing, cycling, weightlifting and wrestling.

All members of the Chinese painting and handicraft art exhibition group and the Chinese architecture exhibition group and all Chinese pressmen accredited to the 7th Asian Games returned with the delegation. The two exhibitions were held in Teheran during the Asian Games.

Iranian Ambassador to China Abbas Aram and other Iranian embassy officials were also present at the airport.

Red flags fluttered over Peking Airport. On the main building of the airport was a huge red banner inscribed with a slogan warmly greeting the triumphant return of the Chinese sports delegation. The welcoming crowds, beating drums and gongs, warmly congratulated the delegation on its successes at the 7th Asian Games.

During the 7th Asian Games, which lasted for 16 days, the Chinese athletes, following the principle of "friendship first, competition second," conveyed the Chinese people's profound friendship to the people of Iran and other Asian countries and regions through sports competition and friendly contacts. In a modest spirit they learnt to emulate the strongpoints of foreign athletes and displayed fine sportsmanship and skill. They achieved fine results and made their contributions to the promotion of unity and friendship among the people and athletes of various Asian countries and regions and to the development of sports in Asia.

Yugoslav Federal Assembly Delegation in Peking

The Delegation of the Federal Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia led by Peko Dapcevic, Vice-President of the Assembly, arrived in Peking on September 22 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the



Comrades Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao with Comrade V.G. Wilcox.

Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress.

Chairman Chu Teh and Vice-Chairmen Hsu Hsiang-chien and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress met with the Yugoslav guests on the following day. Guests and hosts had a cordial and friendly conversation. A banquet was given in the evening by the N.P.C. Standing Committee to warmly welcome the visitors.

Vice-Chairman Hsu Hsiang-chien toasted at the banquet which was permeated with a friendly atmosphere. He said: "The Yugoslav people are a people who cherish independence and freedom and have a revolutionary tradition. During the Second World War, the Yugoslav people waged a heroic struggle against the fascist occupationists and wrote a glorious chapter into the annals of Yugoslavia. Today, Yugoslavia adheres to a policy of non-alignment, opposes imperialism and hegemonism, opposes foreign control, subversion, interference and threat, and courageously defends her state sovereignty and national independence. Not long ago, the Yugoslav Federal Assembly adopted a new constitution, reaffirming Yugoslavia's determination to rely on its own efforts to strengthen national unity, fortify defence by the whole people, and defend freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Chinese Government and people admire the Yugoslav people for their heroic and staunch spirit in struggle and firmly support your just struggle."

Hsu Hsiang-chien added: "Both China and Yugoslavia are developing countries. Our two peoples have sympathized with, supported and encouraged each other both in the anti-fascist struggle of the past and in the present-day struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. We have forged a profound friendship."

Hsu Hsiang-chien was confident that the visit of the delegation of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly would make a positive contribution to the enhancement of the friendship between the two peoples, to the

development of the relations between our two countries and to the strengthening of the unity of the developing countries and the non-aligned countries against imperialism and hegemonism.

In his toast, delegation leader Peko Dapcevic said: "Our foreign policy is based on the well-known principle of non-alignment." "We oppose dividing the world into blocs and arranging international relations from a position of strength. We firmly stand for independence, equality and fight for one's own goal as the indispensable and inviolable rights of the people of various countries and their revolutionary movements," he added.

Speaking of the relations between Yugoslavia and China, Dapcevic said: "We have made marked achievements in the bilateral relations between our two countries in recent years. And we are convinced that greater and faster advances will be made in this field."

On September 24, Vice-Premier of the State Council Teng Hsiao-ping met with the delegation.

Mexican Economic and Trade Exhibition Opens in Peking

Mexico opened its economic and trade exhibition in Peking on September 14. The exhibition shows Mexico's achievements in developing its national economy independently.

The exhibition covers a total floor space of 7,000 square metres. In the friendship hall, there are many photographs showing Mexican President Luis Echeverria on his visit to China and the exchange of visits between the two countries, a graphic record of the continuous development of the profound friendship between the peoples of China and Mexico. On display are agricultural and sideline products, farm machines, motor vehicles, textile machinery, ores and mining equipment.

Attending the opening ceremony were Chinese Foreign Trade Minister Li Chiang, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Sha Feng, and leading members of the departments concerned. Oscar Brauer Herrera, leader

of the Mexican Agricultural Economic Delegation and Secretary for Agriculture and Livestock, and others also took part in the ceremony.

Sr. Brauer who delivered a speech at the opening ceremony hailed the long-standing friendship between the peoples of Mexico and China. He recalled new developments in the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and the growing friendship between the two peoples since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Mexico and China in 1972. He said: "There are similar characteristics between you and us, both our countries belong to the Third World." "The Mexican Institute of Foreign Trade prepared this event with the intention of strengthening the mutual understanding between our two peoples."

In his speech, Wang Yao-ting, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, warmly greeted the opening of the Mexican exhibition.

He said: "Though China and Mexico are separated by vast oceans, our two countries are countries with world-famous ancient civilizations. In history, both were subjected to aggression by colonialism and imperialism; today, both are confronting the common task of safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty and speeding up their economic construction. Though different in social system, both our countries are developing countries belonging to the Third World." "The current Mexican exhibition," he added, "not only brings with it the Mexican people's profound sentiments of friendship for the Chinese people, but also provides us with a good opportunity to acquaint ourselves with various achievements of the Mexican people in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Wu Teh, Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, visited the exhibition on September 24.

Big Dam Across the Yellow River

— The key water conservancy project in Chingtung Gorge

DESIGNED and built by Chinese technicians and workers, the huge key water conservancy project in Chingtung Gorge on the Yellow River is in the main completed. Located in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in northwest China, it has played a tremendous role in irrigation, power generating, flood prevention and in reducing the threat of ice floes in the river.

The second largest in China, the 5,464-kilometre-long Yellow River rises on the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, flows through Chinghai, Szechuan, Kansu, Ningsia, Inner Mongolia, Shensi, Shansi, Honan and Shantung and empties into the Pohai Sea. Its volume of flow is 48,000 million cubic metres per year. As its water head between the upper and lower reaches is 4,300 metres, the river is rich in hydropower and water resources. However, the reactionary ruling classes in old China, paying no attention to the people's interests, did not take any steps to harness the river and tap its potential. As a result, the Yellow River became a scourge and was known to foreigners as "China's sorrow."

Actually, the real scourge that plagued China was the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Since the founding of New China in 1949, a great amount of work has been done to harness the Yellow River and much has been achieved to make it benefit the people.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," people living on both banks of the river have since 1957 and especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started, made energetic efforts to build water conservancy and hydroelectric works. In the last decade and more, several big key water conservancy projects have been built on the Yellow River to generate electricity, irrigate the farms, detain the floodwaters and reduce the threat of ice floes.

The Chingtung Gorge project is one of the major projects in the first stage of work to develop the

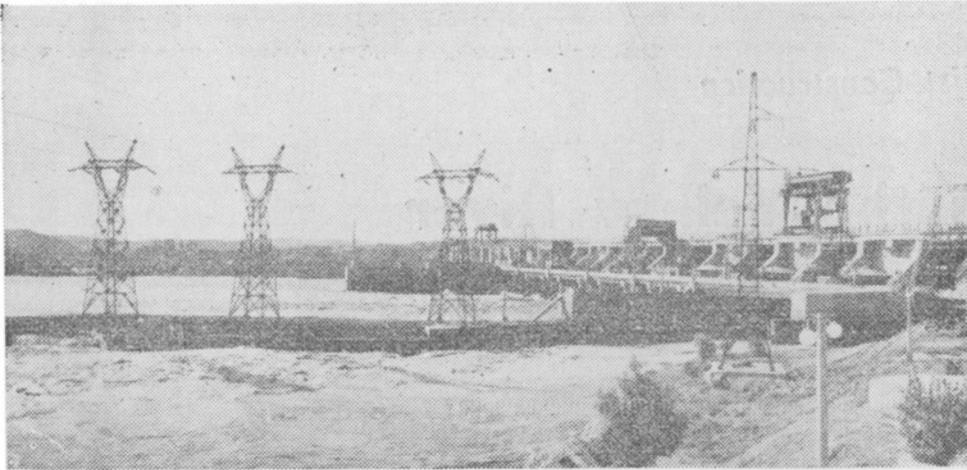


Yellow River. It is here that the river flows through the gorge between the Holan Mountains and the Ordos Plateau.

Its Benefits

Seen from the top of the Holan Mountains, the magnificent Chingtung Gorge project, made up of a big dam and a row of power houses, cuts the Yellow River in two. Water from the man-made lake above the dam is conducted through sluice-gates into seven major canals to irrigate more than 200,000 hectares of farmland. Powerful electric current from China-made turbo-generators is carried by a dozen or so high-tension transmission lines, to the factories and the vast countryside.

Construction of the project started in 1958, the year when the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region was



A glimpse of the Chingtung Gorge project.

founded. It began irrigating the fields in 1960 and generating electricity at the end of 1967. In the past few years, the average grain output of all its irrigated fields reached the target set for the region in the National Programme for Agricultural Development, and in some counties, people's communes and production brigades output topped six tons per hectare. Irrigated by water from the Yellow River, large tracts of deserts and wasteland at the foot of the Holan Mountains and on the Ordos Plateau have been turned into dozens of farms, forestry farms and orchards. Today, in the irrigated area covering 7,000 square kilometres, water supply is abundant and an end has been put to its history of flood caused by the overflowing of the Yellow River.

The Chingtung Gorge project is the centre of the power network in Ningsia. It has enabled this autonomous region, which had little industry to speak of, to establish and rapidly develop the metallurgical, coal-mining, machine tool-building, chemical fertilizer, farm machinery, textile and other modern industries. The region's total industrial output value last year was more than four times that of 1966, the year before the Chingtung Gorge power station was put into operation. Over 95 per cent of the production teams in the irrigation area now have electricity.

The people of Hui and Han nationalities who are overjoyed at these changes say in praise: "Illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought, the people of various nationalities will live happily ever after."

Work Began in the Big Leap Year

The working people of various nationalities in Ningsia have a long history of struggle to tame the Yellow River. As far back as 2,000 years ago, the local working people used the water from the Yellow River to irrigate their fields. As local records have it, the pres-

ent Chin Canal was said to have been built in the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.). During the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Tang (618-907 A.D.) Dynasties, new canals were built and old ones extended. But because the reactionary ruling classes of past dynasties were corrupt and incompetent, no dams were ever built on the Yellow River before liberation, so in the rainy season the river often overflowed its banks and the fields were inundated.

After the founding of New China, Chairman Mao issued the great call: "**Work on the Yellow River must be done well.**" Work to harness the river in a planned way started on the upper, middle and lower reaches.

In August 1958, during the high tide of the big leap forward in China's socialist construction, the key water conservancy project at Chingtung Gorge started. At that time, Ningsia's industrial basis was rather weak and there were no modern machines or instruments on the work-site. Some sneered: "How dare you dream of building a dam to tame the Yellow River when you don't have any machines?" The undaunted labouring people who have fought with the truculent river for generations replied: "With Chairman Mao's wise leadership and the guidance of his revolutionary line, we are sure to conquer nature and tame the Yellow River!"

Tens of thousands of builders came on donkeys or camels, wooden boats or sheepskin rafts from all directions to take part in the project which they had dreamt of for years. The Chingtung Gorge which had slumbered for centuries began to seethe with activity. With the turbulent waves of the Yellow River roaring beneath them, the builders put up a big signboard of the project's headquarters in front of the "Dragon King's Temple." It was a challenge directed at the theory that "everything is decided by heaven" as symbolized by the clay "Dragon King" which, according to Chinese mythology, was the god of rain and water.

Those who were robust and young organized themselves into shock brigades and requested that they be given the toughest jobs. Women of Hui nationality who had never been away from their homes also came from various places and organized a "March 8" shock brigade. An old man over 70 who had travelled 10 days on a donkey arrived at the work-site and volunteered to contribute his share. Stroking his snow-white beard, he said with emotion: "It's only under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party that the

people of various nationalities have such enthusiasm in working for the happiness of future generations!"

Completed in the Great Cultural Revolution

The Chingtung Gorge project includes a 697-metre-long and 42-metre-high concrete dam, six turbo-generating sets and other works. Its construction involves a struggle in which Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has triumphed over the interference and sabotage by the revisionist line.

The geological conditions of the site were very complicated, but the builders started work on the dam ahead of schedule after overcoming many difficulties. Under the influence of the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, some giped, saying that it was "rash" and "reckless" to build the dam there without imported equipment or guidance from foreign specialists. They tried to stop the project, but the workers of Hui and Han nationalities, led by the Party committee of the engineering bureau, firmly adhered to the principle of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** and decided to start with indigenous methods and gradually raise the level of mechanization. The Party committee relied on the masses' strength and wisdom which ensured the smooth progress of the project.

The closing of the dam took place in February 1960. At that time, because of the sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and serious natural disasters, China's national economy was in a temporary difficult position. Liu Shao-chi seized the opportunity to slash various engineering plans and tried to call a halt to the entire project. But the builders displayed the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, withstood

Liu Shao-chi's onslaught and carried on with the project as planned.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution gave enormous fresh impetus to the work. The workers and staff launched revolutionary mass criticisms at the work-site and excoriated Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. They were determined to quicken the tempo of construction with greater revolutionary enthusiasm and make up for time lost due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. On December 26, 1967, the first turbo-generating set was installed and strong electric current was transmitted to the factories and rural areas. With more new sets added, power output has steadily increased. At present, the sixth set is being installed.

In their race against time and quickening the tempo of construction, the builders used the traditional experiences of the local people in taming rivers to build the big dam. They built two cofferdams with 250,000 cubic metres of wheat stalks, straw and earth in the channel of the Yellow River, thereby creating conditions for the excavation of the dam's foundation pit. This was a pioneering effort which provided new experience for building large-scale water conservancy projects. Making use of local materials, this method has saved 80 per cent of the investment required for building concrete or sand-and-stone cofferdams and increased efficiency four- or five-fold.

The Chingtung Gorge project is one of the large water conservancy projects launched in the minority nationality areas in a relatively early period after the founding of New China. Its construction is a vivid expression of the Party's concern for the minority peoples. Thirty-two big and medium-sized cities in the country have given aid by sending large numbers of technicians and plenty of equipment.

After the project has been put into operation, workers of Hui and Han nationalities made still greater efforts in guaranteeing water supply for irrigation purposes and overfulfilling the plan for power generating. During the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers have cited the achievements of the Chingtung Gorge project to criticize in a deep-going way Lin Piao's crimes in following Confucius to try to restore the old order and negating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By constantly enhancing their consciousness of class struggle, the two-line struggle and continuing the revolution and by further developing the excellent situation in revolution and production, the workers are determined to make still greater contributions to accelerate the nation's industrial and agricultural production.



Divers of Hui and Han nationalities.

Great Power of the Mass Line

by Tung Yi-lin

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China has made great progress in agriculture in the last 25 years since the founding of New China in 1949. China's grain output rose from only a little over 110 million tons before liberation to 250 million tons last year. One of the important factors behind the rise in agricultural output is the building of water conservancy works on a large scale. The second year after the birth of New China saw the beginning of a project for harnessing the Huai River. Following this, work has been done on the Yangtze, the Yellow River and many other rivers. Such large-scale water conservancy projects involved broad areas and a huge amount of work. It would have been impossible to complete them by relying only on state investments, a small number of specialists and technicians and teams of professional construction workers, without enlisting

the strength and wisdom of the masses, following the mass line or launching mass campaigns.

This is the first of two articles describing how the mass line was carried out in north China's biggest water conservancy project in bringing the Haiho River under permanent control. — Ed.

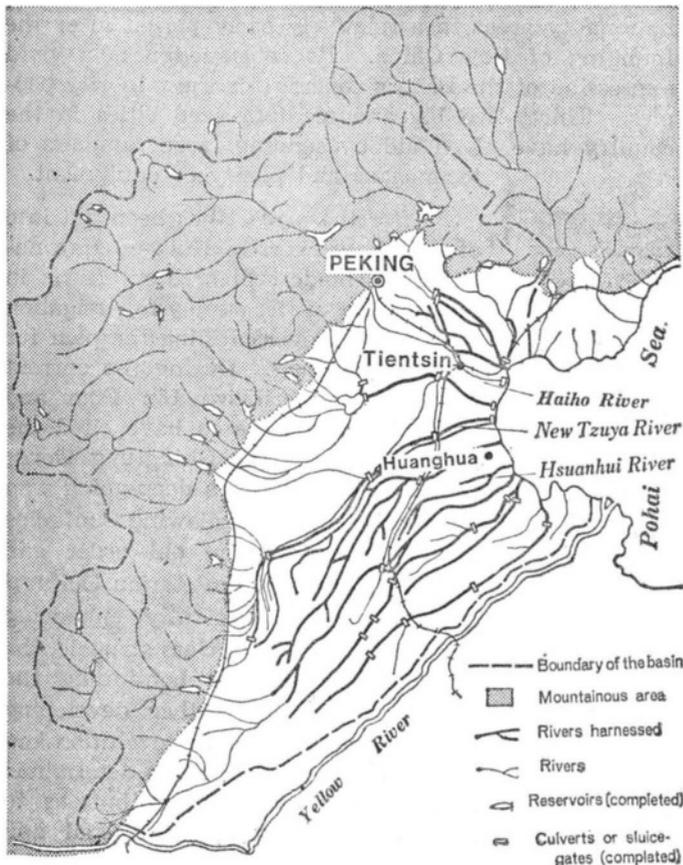
THE Haiho River and its tributaries form a big river system in north China. With a population of 70 million, the river basin occupies more than 70 per cent of the area of Hopei Province, parts of Shantung, Shansi and Honan Provinces and a section of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Both Peking, capital of China, and the famous industrial city of Tientsin are located in this basin.

The fan-shaped Haiho River system is made up of five big rivers which take in more than 300 branches on the upper reaches. Converging near Tientsin, the five rivers flow into the 72-kilometre-long narrow, curved "fan-handle"—the Haiho River, which empties into the Pohai Sea. The original water-discharging capacity at the estuary was only 1,300 cubic metres per second, yet the volume of water from the tributaries on the upper reaches often increased to tens of thousands of cubic metres a second. Silt-laden water from the upper reaches in the mountains flowing down to the lower reaches in a plain choked up the river-bed, raising its level and often causing floods. With rainfall usually concentrated in summer and autumn, the basin suffered from serious drought the rest of the year if there was no rain. In coastal and low-lying areas, floodwaters from the upper reaches and rain water found no way out and accumulated in the fields. Gradually over a long period, the soil became alkaline. Flood, waterlogging, drought and alkali were the four disasters in the Haiho River basin.

According to historical records, 387 floods and 407 droughts struck the Haiho River basin in the 580 years from 1368 to 1948. Many years saw drought followed by flood. A local folk lament, no longer current, described the people's distress: "Waters of the Haiho are like tigers and wolves, disasters have struck for generations; when the dyke breaks all is lost, whole families must search for new homes." A big flood in 1939 not only swallowed up villages over a large tract, but cut off the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow Railways. Boats plied in Tientsin's downtown area for two months,

The author is vice-director of the Headquarters for Harnessing the Haiho River in Hopei Province.

Sketch Map of Major Projects in Haiho River Basin



At the Haiho River work-site.

Sketches by Wu Shou-ming
and Li Feng-tien



After liberation, under the leadership of the Party and the People's Government, a number of water conservancy works were built. The situation was improved, but these works still could not cope with big floods. An unusually big flood causing some damage occurred in 1963.

On November 17, 1963, Chairman Mao issued the call: "The Haiho River must be brought under permanent control!" Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people in the Haiho River basin, working hard for ten years, brought about tremendous changes in the whole catchment. Today rebuilt waterways and reinforced dykes channel the abated floodwaters seaward. Innumerable culverts, sluice-gates and criss-crossing channels run clean water into the fields. Good crops are now growing in low-lying fields which were formerly alkaline and subject to waterlogging.

In the years from 1963 to 1973, total grain output in the Haiho basin doubled. Hopei and Shantung Provinces, unable to produce enough grain for a long period of time, have now achieved basic self-sufficiency in grain for successive years. A big bumper harvest in Hopei last year hit an all-time high while this year's summer grain harvest showed a 20 per cent rise over last year's, doubling that of 1965, the year prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These increases would be inconceivable without the harnessing of the Haiho River,

The Principle

There are two different principles in building water conservancy works. One is to depend solely on state investments and allocations of equipment and material,

a small number of specialists to design a few huge projects behind closed doors and a professional construction contingent to do the work. This "take-it-easy" method brings smaller, slower, worse and less economical results.

The other is to mobilize millions of people, giving full play to the collective strength of the rural people's communes and the peasants' socialist enthusiasm, and construct a great number of small or accessory works while big or medium-sized key projects are under way. This is a kind of "people's war," a method for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "In socialist revolution and socialist construction we must adhere to the mass line, boldly arouse the masses and launch vigorous mass movements." In his report to the Tenth Party Congress held last year, Comrade Chou En-lai also pointed out: "One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses." Experience in harnessing the Haiho River has given us a deeper understanding of the tremendous power of the mass line.

Strength

A stupendous amount of work went into harnessing the Haiho. The main projects completed by 1973 include 4,300 kilometres of flood-prevention dykes, the biggest eight metres high and 10 metres wide; and 34 trunk channels harnessed or newly-dug, totalling 3,700 kilometres in length, the widest 3,600 metres, eight metres deep. This increased the capacity of the Haiho River system to discharge floodwaters into the sea more than ten-fold as compared with the days before liberation. Also completed were over 80 big and medium-sized reservoirs (a big one stores more than 100 million cubic metres of water and a medium-sized one stores between 10 and 100 million) and more than 60,000 culverts, sluice-gates and bridges, among which nine were key projects. In Hopei Province alone, 2,500 million cubic metres of earth were dug up for waterways; if made into a dyke one metre high and one metre wide, it would go round the globe 61 times.

How was such an enormous amount of work accomplished? How were solutions found to the problems of manpower, money, equipment, material and technique?

We relied mainly on the peasant masses for manpower. Take Hopei Province for instance, There was

a headquarters for harnessing the Haiho River which allocated the number of people needed to 80-odd counties. Each county organized one "peasant-worker regiment," recruiting its quota from its people's communes, production brigades and production teams. This meant sending only two or three members from each team to the work-site every year. Thus, the team's farming was not impeded in any way, but the number of workers added up to form a big contingent. In Hopei Province from 1963 to 1973, altogether 5.3 million persons out of a total population of 41 million took part in harnessing the Haiho River on different occasions. They worked selflessly out of a strong desire to transform their native villages and to accelerate their motherland's socialist construction.

Large-scale construction was generally carried out in winter and spring when farming tasks were lighter. The teeming work-site displayed man's struggle with nature in all its magnificence. Large banners waved their slogan: **"The Haiho River must be brought under permanent control"** while red flags fluttered in the wind. Each section area had several thousand peasant-workers shuttling between river-bed and dyke, transporting mud in hand-carts.

The state provided modern equipment including tractors, spike rollers, dredgers, derricks and trucks. Still China is a developing country; we do not have enough machines, so a great part of the work was done with spades and rubber-tired hand-carts that the peasant-workers brought with them. In addition, the peasants themselves made pulleys for moving carts up and down the slopes, used reed or mud moulds for concrete instead of wooden ones. Short of trucks, peasants brought their horse-carts from their communes or production brigades.

The state allocated large amounts of rolled steel, steel bar, cement, bricks, tiles and timber for the Haiho project. Nevertheless the peasants thought of ways to economize. They substituted willow branches and mats woven out of sorghum stalks brought from their home villages for bricks, tiles and timber to build simple, movable houses for living quarters, spending only 10 per cent of the money allocated by the state for housing.

Money paid out in wages for these several hundred thousand peasants amounted to a large sum. With a view to cutting down state expenditures, the peasants suggested that the collective economy of the production brigades should be responsible for a big part of the expense—wouldn't they benefit from flood-control? After all, the interests of state, the commune and its members were the same. The work-points earned by a peasant while on the Haiho project were recorded in his production team. At the end of the year during the team's annual distribution he received his due; the state provided only a certain amount of money for his living expenses while at the site.

Not only peasant-workers but people from other trades gave active support. Road-builders rushed through paving the highways before the peasants came to the work-site. The post and telecommunication department

was prompt in equipping the work-site with its service. Commercial establishments set up small retail shops; barbers, shoe-repairers and other service workers came. Pupils nearby were eager to do their bit. Children of a primary school presented a hand-cart they had bought with money from selling fodder collected in their spare time.

Large groups of P.L.A. commanders and fighters turned up every year to take their place beside the peasant-workers. They were to be seen wherever the work was the toughest, and always, they were instrumental in accelerating the tempo of the work.

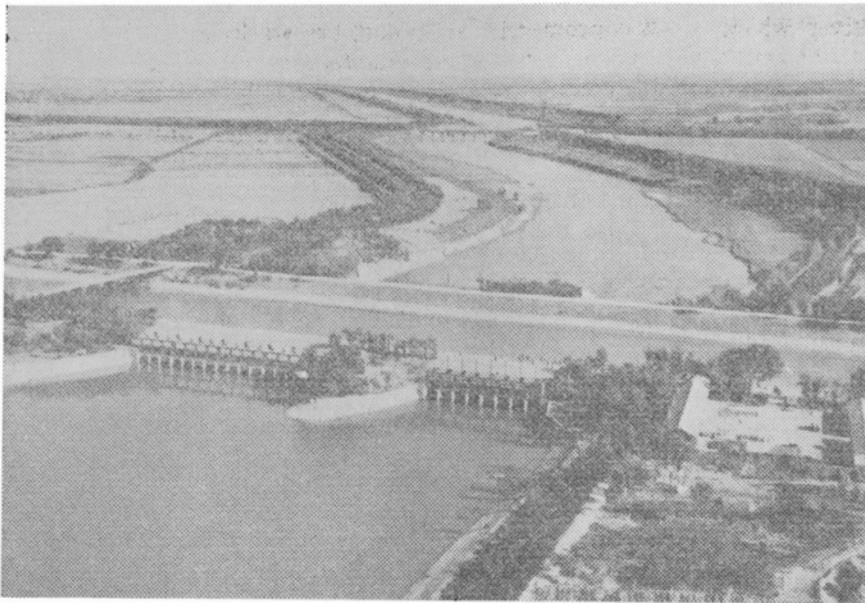
The Rear

The work-sites for big and medium-sized projects were referred to as "the front." The peasants looked upon their people's communes and production brigades as "the rear." While several hundred thousand Hopei peasant-workers built water conservancy projects on "the front" every year, several million of their fellow commune members dug ditches, levelled fields, built pumping stations and various other small accessory projects outside the villages. These small works were financed mainly by the collective economy of the people's commune, with only a certain amount of economic and technical help from the state. Without these small works, the aim of bringing the Haiho River under permanent control could not have been achieved.

While the state was in charge of the work of harnessing dozens of major tributaries of the Haiho in the last decade, the people's communes organized their members to dig 150,000 channels which, together with the rivers, form a large-scale irrigation and drainage network along the middle and lower reaches. In line with dozens of big and medium-sized reservoirs built by the state, people's communes in the basin completed 1,500 small ones of one to ten million cubic metres storage capacity. Co-ordination of these big and small works has played a positive role in combating flood and drought.

To end natural disasters in the river basin once and for all involved not only fighting floods, but dealing with the problems of drought, waterlogging and alkali. This called for much more than several big water conservancy works. It was necessary to go in for what we called "comprehensive taming" which could only be accomplished by launching a large-scale mass movement in thousands of villages throughout the basin of 265,000 square kilometres.

To fight drought, it was necessary to sink a number of power-operated wells. Small groups made up of peasants investigated underground water resources and fashioned different kinds of equipment for well-digging. Nearly 500,000 wells have been dug in the last decade. In addition to the work being undertaken along the lower reaches, the peasants planted trees, dug pits and built terraced fields in the mountain areas on the upper reaches in order to prevent soil erosion and silting of the river-bed. To eliminate waterlogging in the low-lying areas, numerous channels have to be cut to divert accumulated water to the rivers. The problem of



A water conservancy work at Heilungang.

alkalinity could only be solved by deep ploughing and soil improvement on a large scale.

Every winter and spring throughout the vast countryside, from the coastal areas by the Pohai Sea in the east to the Taihang Mountains in the west, from suburban areas of the big cities Peking and Tientsin to out-of-the-way mountain villages, millions of people — men and women, old and young — turned out to dig ponds and wells, plant trees and built embankments. They formed a tremendous force for transforming nature.

Wisdom

The labouring people have incalculable strength and the deepest wisdom. We also relied on the masses to overcome technical difficulties in taming the river.

The surveying and designing institute at the Headquarters for Harnessing the Haiho River in Hopei Province has only 200 engineers and technicians. They did their designing outside their offices, with the masses.

The first requirement for designing was a complete file of hydrological data from the past, but the Kuomintang reactionary rulers had left none. In designing the project for harnessing the Taching River, historical records of all the counties involved were investigated, but only general notations were found such as “continual rain during such and such a month in a certain year inundated the fields.” The figure for the biggest floodwater flow per second in history was an important reference, but there was no ready data available. The designing personnel went among the masses to investigate. An old peasant recalled: “A flood in 1939 swallowed up all the houses in the village and destroyed them; only the top structure of the gate of a landlord’s estate was above water.” Another said: “Water came

right up to the Buddha’s feet in the temple north of the village.” By following up these clues and by repeated checking on flood traces, they worked out the needed figures.

Many new rivers for diverting floodwaters were dug. A large number of bridges have to be built to span them. The old way was to dig the river first then build bridges over it. Later the masses invented a much easier method. They built bridges on dry land — digging holes where the bridge piers would be placed, putting steel frames into them and then pouring concrete in. When the river was opened up, its bridges were already there, thus facilitating the work of bridge-building.

A new river 2,500 metres wide, 140 kilometres long, was to be dug to eliminate the threat of flood from the Tzuya River. Out of long years of experience, peasants at the site suggested: “Big

floods don’t necessarily come even once in eight or ten years. Why not dig a river that takes up less farmland?” Together with the designers, they drew up a new plan. In addition to building a high dyke on each side of the new river, they built another lower dyke in the river-bed on one side. When an unusually big flood came, the water could be contained between the two higher dykes. Ordinary floods would be discharged between one higher dyke and the lower one. The river bank outside the lower dyke could be used for growing crops. When an especially big flood came, the silt-laden water could be used to improve the soil between the high and the lower dykes.

Peasant-workers also created other ways of building water conservancy works. By the time a river was dug, the bridges were standing. The mud they dug up, more than enough for the dykes, was used to build “platform fields” on the banks. The dykes were built strong enough to run a highway on the top, which they lined with trees. So when the river was finished, so were dykes, bridges, roads, fields and tree-planting.

Similar examples are numerous. Often, the textbooks offered only general principles for dealing with some of the many technical problems cropped up in taming the river. Again and again, solutions suited to time and locality came from the practice of the masses. Other problems which found no mention at all in technical documents depended even more heavily on the peasants’ collective wisdom for answers. These new experiences further enriched the theoretical knowledge in river harnessing.

Many technical contingents were trained in the course of the work. When harnessing began, there were not many technicians and professional workers

(Continued on p. 25.)

Old Coal Mine Rejuvenated

by Our Correspondents Hsiang Jung and Mei Tien

Are there any new developments in China's state-owned socialist industrial and mining enterprises during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which began in 1966? What are they, if any? With these questions in mind, we went on a special trip to the large Kailan Coal Mine where the miners, cadres and engineering and technical personnel recounted from their own experience the changes that have taken place in Kailan since the Great Cultural Revolution started. Following is the first of a series of three reports on our visit.

ALIVELY atmosphere of bustling activity greeted us the moment we set foot on the Kailan Coal Mine. Both revolution and production were going full steam ahead.

Against the background of an azure sky were eye-catching streamers hung on the tall buildings. They bore the slogans in bright red characters: **"Going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism," "Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war" and "In industry, learn from Taching."** [The Taching Oilfield is the pace-setter in China's industry.] The winding pulleys in the head frame kept rotating and hoisting the coal up and fully loaded trains rumbled by, their shrill whistles ripping the air. Down below, miners were busy extracting coal round the clock, while electric mine cars were shuttling back and forth along the haulage roads. On the walls in a compound were big-character posters and wall newspapers criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius; from afar, angry denunciations of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius drifted to our ears. . . .

One of China's biggest coal mining centres, the 96-year-old Kailan Coal Mine in north China's Hopei Province has several large mines under it in addition to power generating, machine repairing, scientific research and other departments. The Great Cultural Revolution has brought a tremendous change to the mental outlook of the tens of thousands of workers and staff there. By tapping the old mines' enormous potentials, they have increased production by a wide margin.

Restoration Not Allowed

During our visit, we attended several meetings to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. With their untold sufferings in the old society still fresh in their minds, many veteran miners said: "Following in the footsteps of Confucius who vainly attempted to restore the slave system, Lin Piao plotted to restore capitalism in China

and plunge us once again into the abyss of poverty and misery. We will never tolerate it!"

The coalfields in Kailan have rich deposits of top-quality coal. But from 1900 on, Kailan gradually fell into the grips of imperialist capital and the miners who toiled like beasts of burden could hardly keep their heads above water.

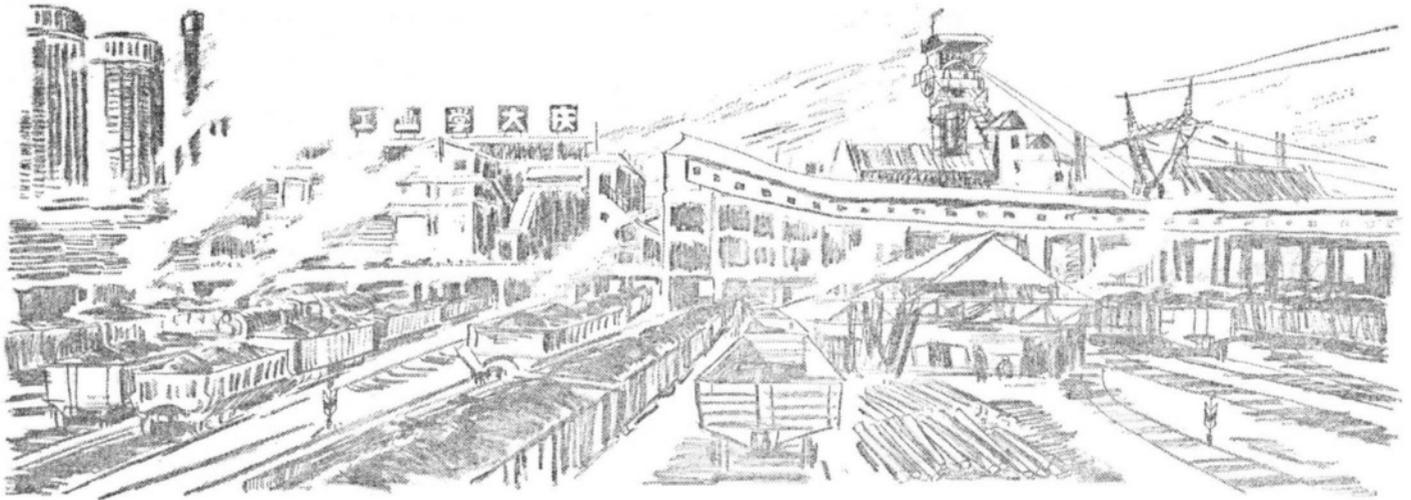
On display in an exhibition hall in the city of Tangshan where Kailan is located are well-documented materials related to the history of the mine. One of the charts shows that in 1936 the daily cost of fodder for a mule hauling coal in the pit was 0.47 silver dollar, while a miner got only 0.22 for a day's work. The mules were provided with choice fodder and clean drinking water, whereas the miners had to live on stale and bitter "steamed bread" made of miscellaneous grain, tree leaves and wild fruit, and they drank dirty water down the pit to quench their thirst. The mules were well looked after by full-time veterinaries, but the miners got sacked when they were too old to work, fell ill or got injured and disabled. Among the other exhibits are cast-iron picks and small kerosene lamps—the crudest of tools the miners used before liberation. Needless to say, the method of mining was primitive and back-breaking. The miners cut the seams into small squares, chiselled around them and pried out the coal which was carried in wicker baskets by sheer muscles to the roadways and loaded on to the mule carts.

Statistics show that in the half century before liberation the imperialists plundered nearly 200 million tons of coal from Kailan and raked in a net profit of over 328 million silver dollars. In the same period, 5,347 miners lost their lives in the pits and another 200,000 were injured or crippled. Such was the plight of miners in old China under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism—something they will never tolerate again.

The miners' long years of suffering from exploitation and enslavement came to an end in 1949 when the country was liberated and the Kailan Coal Mine returned to the hands of the Chinese people.

The Line Decides Everything

The establishment of the socialist system, however, does not mean the end of struggle. A country under the dictatorship of the proletariat may change its political colour and the people may suffer again as they did in old China. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the**



The Kailan Coal Mine.

capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.” Leading cadres and miners in their talks with us often quoted this teaching of Chairman Mao’s in connection with the reality in the mine and stressed the importance of further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“It is the line that counts”—this is what they emphatically pointed out. In the light of conditions in Kailan, they explained to us that though much has been achieved under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, the revisionist line has at one time or another adversely affected Kailan before the Cultural Revolution.

Kailan presents a different scene today. An excellent situation prevails in both revolution and production. After the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao respectively have been shattered in the Great Cultural Revolution and their revisionist line has been criticized in a deep-going way, the cadres and workers have become firmer and more conscious in running the mine by adhering to Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line.

Many cadres recalled how things were in the years between 1959 and 1961 when China’s national economy met with temporary difficulties arising from sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and three consecutive years of serious natural disasters. Taking advantage of the situation, Liu Shao-chi went all out to push his revisionist line and Chen Po-ta, a sworn follower of Lin Piao and a counter-revolutionary revisionist, came to Kailan and openly peddled such revisionist trash as “material incentives” and “relying on experts to run the factories.” He babbled that “the workers will show initiative when they get more pay,” describing this method of stimulating initiative as a “new creation.” Moreover, he said that for industrial and mining enterprises to do a good job of production it was necessary to rely on the “technical guidance” of engineers and technicians and not on the working class.

Since the chieftains of the opportunist line were at that time still usurping leading government positions,

some of the responsible cadres in Kailan, who did not have a high level of consciousness of the two-line struggle and could not distinguish the revisionist line, followed the erroneous line to a lesser or greater extent, thereby bringing harm to the mine. This was a serious lesson to the cadres who later came to the deep realization that if they occupied themselves only with coal mining without being able to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and between right and wrong in matters concerning the line, they would make a mess of production and lead the enterprise astray.

One of the important achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution is that both workers and cadres have heightened their consciousness of the two-line struggle. To increase their ability to discern revisionist junk of all descriptions, they are making earnest efforts to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Consequently, an upsurge in political study has emerged everywhere in the mine.

On whom should we rely in running enterprises? This is a question of fundamental importance.

On the eve of country-wide liberation when our Party was about to take over large numbers of cities and industrial and mining enterprises, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party in March 1949 that “we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class.”

The Great Cultural Revolution has further strengthened and elevated the Kailan workers’ position as masters of the enterprise. A greater number of workers have joined the leading bodies at all levels and the workers have participated in management in an all-round way. This was not so prior to the Cultural Revolution. Those who pursued the revisionist line were bent on undermining the workers’ initiative and they introduced a whole set of measures such as are taken under capitalism to keep the workers in bondage. Thus for a period of time irrational systems of management with a socialist label on them were instituted in Kailan. Since they stifled and dampened the initiative, these

systems were naturally opposed and resisted by the workers.

The revisionist line negated the workers' enthusiasm for building socialism as masters of the country and advocated such trash as "putting bonuses in command" and "material incentives." Under its pernicious influence, there were quite a variety of premiums which, as the workers recalled, prompted them to seek personal gains, eroded their revolutionary will and weakened their efforts to work in close co-operation. This revisionist practice was really harmful, for it affected the quantity and quality of coal produced. During the Cultural Revolution, this line came under fire, and proletarian politics was put in command to bring into full play the workers' political consciousness in extracting coal for the revolution. As a result, production made rapid headway thanks to the workers' initiative and their communist spirit of **"utter devotion to others without any thought of self."**

The Cultural Revolution has helped the leading cadres heighten their consciousness of the two-line struggle. They now make it a point that they join the rank-and-file workers in physical labour as ordinary workers, and always be one with them. They have come to a clearer understanding that they should not enjoy any privileges because they and the workers are equals doing different work as required by the division of labour. In the past, however, the revisionist line was aimed at corrupting the cadres and making them overlords high above the workers. Some cadres in Kailan also fell a prey to this sinister line.

A case in point was a deputy secretary of the Party committee in one of Kailan's mines. During the Cultural Revolution, the workers put up a big-character poster criticizing him for taking advantage of his position and power to move to better dwellings three times

in succession. Criticisms of his hankering after privileges helped this leading cadre realize his mistake in the light of the two-line struggle. After making a self-criticism, saying that he was "sliding down the revisionist road in his everyday life," he and his family moved on their own initiative into the workers' living quarters.

Great changes have also taken place among the engineering and technical personnel and administrative staff. During the Great Cultural Revolution, they have deepened their understanding that intellectuals must firmly integrate themselves with the workers and modestly accept re-education by the working class. So while taking part in physical labour, they learn from the workers their revolutionary drive and practical experience. The three-in-one technical innovation groups composed of workers, technicians and cadres have mushroomed throughout the mine and have made great contributions to raising production efficiency.

But it was a different story in the past when the revisionist line called for "relying on experts to run the factories" and "giving first place to technique." Misled by this erroneous line, some engineers, technicians and administrative personnel looked down upon the workers and even smothered their initiative. The miners of the Chaokechuang Mine told us that before the Cultural Revolution a veteran miner there had devoted his off-hours to making experiments on improving the mining method in the light of the steep coal seams in the locality. He clipped his aluminium cooking pot into small pieces and, with the bits of wood collected by his children, used them as materials for making a model for experimentation. Later he took the model to the chief engineer, hoping that his innovation would be approved. But the engineer jeered at him: "Doesn't this look like a small temple?" During the Cultural Revolution, a revolutionary committee was set up in Chaokechuang, and it gave full support to this veteran worker's creative efforts and put him in one of the three-in-one groups which took up the experiment again. Before long, the new mining method proved to be successful and was put to use.

The line decides everything, the miners emphatically pointed out. If efforts are concentrated solely on extracting coal in total disregard of the line and if the revisionist line is allowed to interfere and sabotage unchecked, then sooner or later the leading cadres would become a privileged stratum and the engineers and technicians would turn into intellectual aristocrats, while the workers would be deprived of their status as masters of the country. And the socialist state ownership of enterprises would become non-existent except



"We'll never tolerate restoration!"

Sketches by Li Mu,



Our great leader Chairman Mao solemnly proclaimed on the Tien An Men rostrum the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.



Chairman Mao presided over the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China which was held from August 24 to 28, 1973.



People of various nationalities in China celebrating a festival in a Peking park.

With the five-star red flag fluttering over their heads, compatriots of Taiwan Province living abroad feel immensely happy when they return to their motherland on a sightseeing trip.





Chairman Mao warmly received the revolutionary masses on the Tien An Men rostrum during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Friends from many countries visiting the Great Wall.



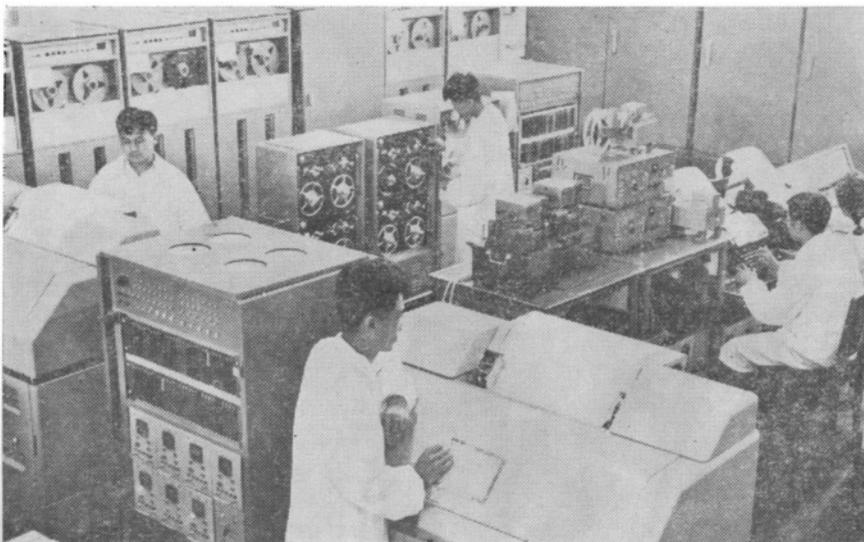


The leading group made up of middle-aged and young people in Linwu County, Hunan is discussing a plan for development and conservancy.



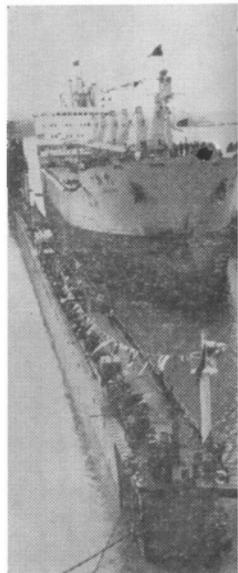
The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in a deep-going, popularized and sustained way. A veteran worker of the Tientsin Railway Station is giving a talk on the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools (top left).

Shanghai textile workers are discussing what they have gained from studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works.



An electronic computer using integrated circuits with a speed of one million operations per second has been successfully trial-produced.

The 25,000-ton floating dock Huangshan built in Shanghai.

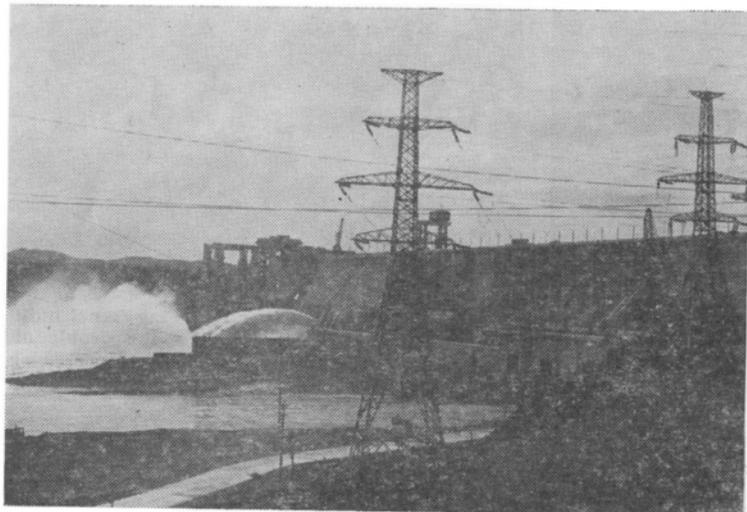




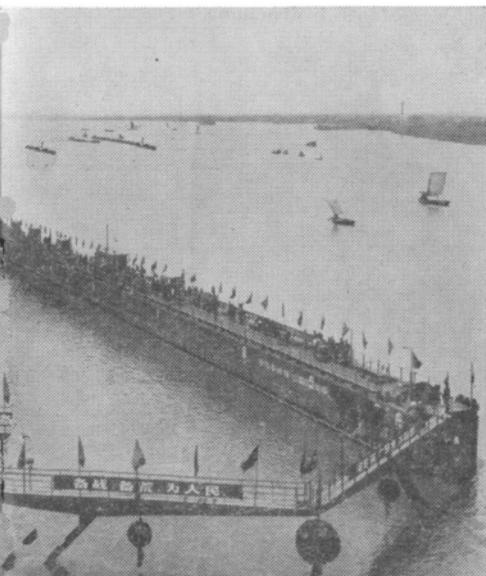
...e up of old,
...g cadres in
...Province, dis-
...loping water



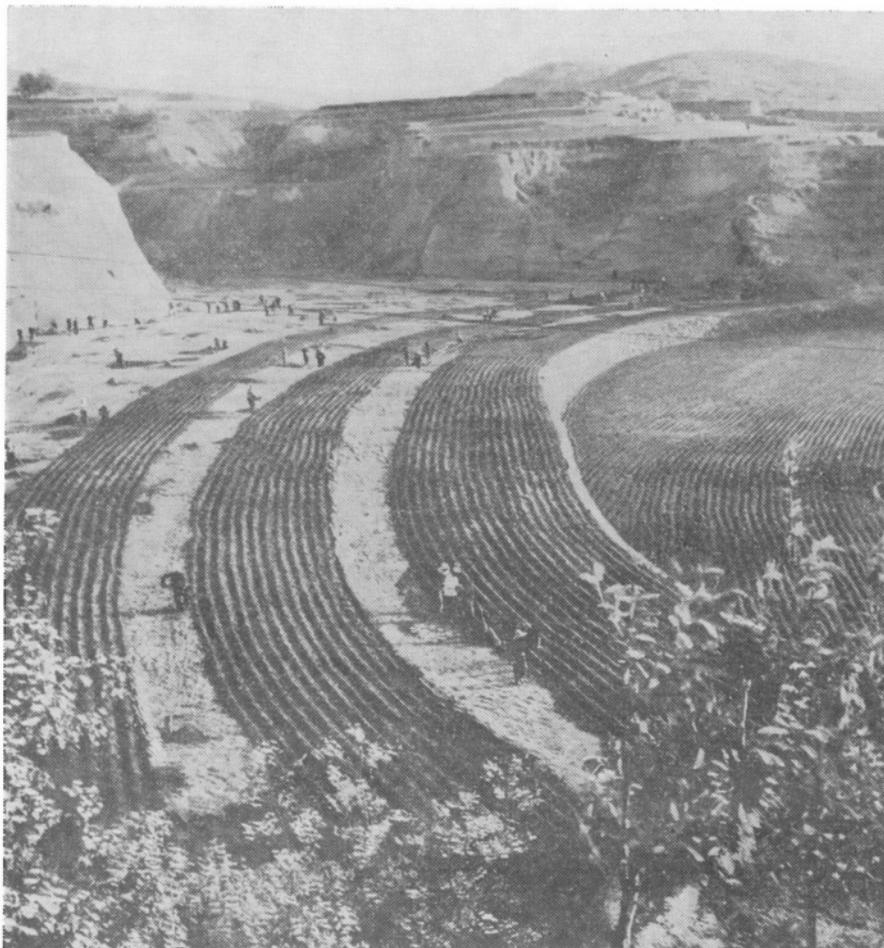
**An oil refinery in Taching which is the pace-
setter in China's industry.**



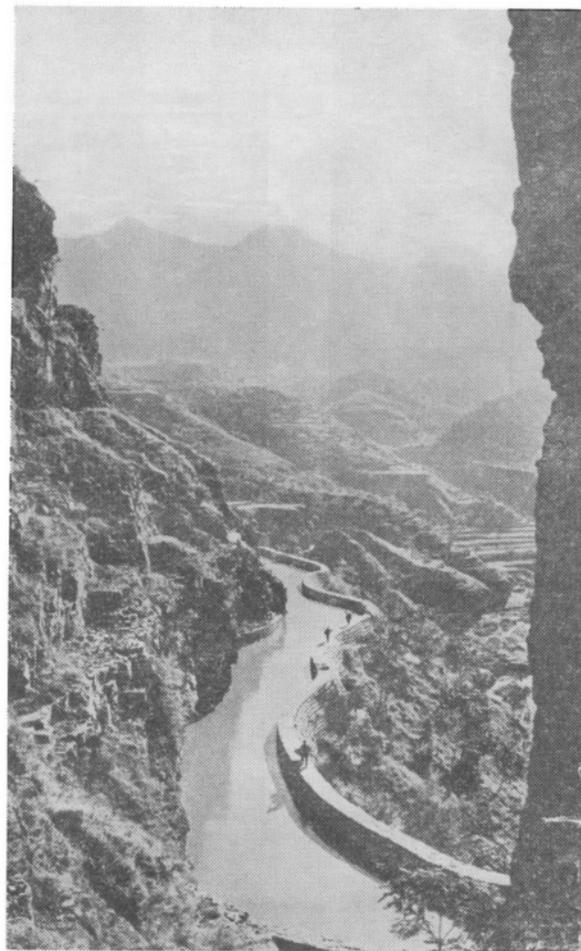
**The key water conservancy
work in Tanchiangkou on the
Hanchiang River.**



**The Chengtu-Kunming Railway which was com-
pleted during the Great Cultural Revolution.**



Members of the Tachai Brigade, the national pace-setter in agriculture, have extensively built terraced fields on the mountain slopes.



The 1,500-kilometre-long Red Flag Canal built on the Taihang Mountains by the people of Linhsien County, Honan Province.

A flourishing market in Hangchow.



Cadres taking part in manual labour to temper themselves in the countryside in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions.





A Tibetan woman tractor driver on the Tibetan Plateau.



Bumper harvest in a people's commune in Shantung Province.

Educated youth on a farm in Honan Province.



Putting prevention first, a "barefoot doctor" of Li nationality is giving injections to primary school pupils in the countryside of Kwangtung Province.





A stage photo of the revolutionary modern Peking opera *The Red Lantern*. Revolutionary model theatrical works now dominate China's stage.



A worker lecturing in a university.



In a kindergarten.

P.L.A. men and the militia guarding the frontier.



SOCIALIST CHINA MARCHES ON

in name. That the working class in the Soviet Union has again been reduced to hired slaves of the newborn bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists is a grave historical lesson we must never forget.

The Great Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a great political revolution for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. Thanks to this revolution, the Kailan Coal Mine has undergone great changes of far-reaching significance. A common saying on everyone's lips today is: "Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the people's ideology has changed and the mine has taken on a new look." Chairman Mao has pointed out that the Great Cultural Revolution is "**absolutely necessary and most timely.**" Revolutionary practice in the last few years has proved the absolute correctness of this thesis of Chairman Mao's, and the people have gained a deep understanding of its importance.

Revolution Promotes Production

The Kailan Coal Mine had increased coal production by a big margin and overfulfilled the state plan

for six successive years from 1968 to 1973. Its average annual increase of output was equivalent to the output of a large mine. Output last year was 59 per cent higher than the originally designed capacity. The swift increase in production has fully testified to the correctness of another brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's: "**The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country.**"

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius now under way in Kailan and other parts of the country is also a revolutionary struggle to prevent capitalist restoration and ensure that our socialist state will never change its political colour. Revolution continues to propel production forward. The first half of this year saw a 13.94 per cent increase in Kailan's coal output over that of the corresponding period last year.

Some people held that the potentiality of this old coal mine has been tapped to the full and no further development was possible. But today the miners of Kailan proudly say: "Our old mine has rejuvenated and is full of vitality as never before."

(Continued from p. 13.)

at the site. Under a system of apprenticeship which was set up, each of them trained a group of peasants while they worked. A year later when these "peasant-technicians" were transferred to another project they were ready to take on other apprentices.

The Contrast

The Headquarters for Harnessing the Haiho River in Hopei Province once had astrayed from the principle of having full confidence in the masses and relying on them and learnt some lessons.

Take dredging the Hsuanhui River, 165 kilometres long, as an example. Complications arose along a 50-kilometre-long stretch of drifting sand, which kept sliding down when dredged. Underestimating the masses' initiative, we drew up a plan for finishing it in three years, with an investment of 39 million yuan. As the sum needed was so large, the work did not start at all. When Chairman Mao issued the call to bring the Haiho River under permanent control in 1963, people of the six counties along both banks put up an urgent demand to continue. When designers went among the masses to solicit opinions, a new plan was born. That winter saw 60,000 peasants marching to the work-site. The project was completed the next spring, cutting the expenditure to only 11 million yuan.

What about the shifting sand? The method to stabilize sand written in the old design was to drive in rows of wooden piers stuffed with willow branches. This called for 1,000 lorries to transport timber. The peasants took into account the fact that sand shifts in moving water. They dug wells at a fixed distance apart and walled them with bricks. Water in drifting

sand flowed into wells and was then pumped out. In this way strata of drifting sand became hard. As bricks were comparatively expensive, later on the peasants instead used willow branches woven together for lining the wells.

The Future

Such outstanding achievements already gained inspire the people in the Haiho basin with even more confidence that "man can conquer nature." They have begun the work of the next ten years. A new folk song projecting a bright future is now popular: "Locked in the hills, the dragon heads; lakes rise in steep gorges; grainfields replacing alkaline land, yield big harvests on every land."

Contemplating the great changes in Haiho leads us to a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's famous thesis: "**The masses have boundless creative power.**" In this connection, we are reminded of a passage in the speech by Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, at the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly held this year: "The developing countries have great potentials for developing their economy independently. As long as a country makes unremitting efforts in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully possible for it to attain gradually a high level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of its industry and agriculture. The ideas of pessimism and helplessness spread by imperialism in connection with the question of the development of developing countries are all unfounded and are being disseminated with ulterior motives."

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Are Masters Of the Science of History

by Niu Teh-liang, Wang Tzu-chiang, Ma Feng-ming and Chang Hung-pin of the workers' theoretical group of the Peking Motor Vehicle Plant

Applying the Marxist viewpoint, four members of the workers' theoretical group of the Peking Motor Vehicle Plant, with the help of an editor of the Chung Hwa Book Company, recently wrote a book of annotations on the essay "On Ducal States" by Liu Tsung-yuan (773-819 A.D.), a Legalist of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.). Entitled "Notes on 'On Ducal States,'" the book has been published by the Chung Hwa Book Company. The fact that workers now annotate the works of the Legalists — a pioneering effort on the part of the workers, peasants and soldiers in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius — once again vividly shows that workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force in this movement.

The essay "On Ducal States" gave a high appraisal of Chin Shih Huang (259-210 B.C.), founder of the Chin Dynasty which was the first united feudal empire under centralized authority in Chinese history. While paying tribute to the progressive role played by the Legalist school in making reforms, the essay criticized the Confucianists' ideology of trying to restore the old order and turn back the wheel of history. "Notes on 'On Ducal States,'" totalling 40,000 characters, gives explanations and makes an analysis of this essay which was written in classical Chinese. The book consists of five parts: preface, notes about the author, notes on the text, a paraphrase of the essay into present-day Chinese and explanatory notes. The fifth and last part gives a detailed explanation of the ideological content of the essay.

The book has been warmly received by the readers; this is because it has a clear-cut proletarian stand and viewpoint, and it is easy to understand. Adhering to the principle of "making the past serve the present," the four authors have closely linked their comments and notes with the reality of current class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

In the following article, the authors tell why and how they wrote this book.—Ed.

TOGETHER with the people of the whole country, workers and staff members in our plant launched the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius early this year which has since developed vigorously. While criticizing Lin Piao, we have also repudiated Confucius and his school of thought. With the movement going deeper and deeper, we feel the urgent necessity to study

the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle throughout Chinese history.

It was at this juncture that the Chung Hwa Book Company invited workers of our plant to annotate the Legalist work *On Ducal States*. This task was given to us by the plant's Party committee. We were both happy and worried. Happy, because we could in the process study some history which would help us in our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Worried, because we were afraid we might not be able to fulfil our task well. Our hearts misgave us at the thought of having to tackle classical Chinese because it is difficult to read, difficult to understand and difficult to annotate. We knew little about classical Chinese. Ma Feng-ming was a junior middle school graduate, Wang Tzu-chiang was a secondary technical school graduate, Niu Teh-liang had studied for only a year in the junior middle school. Chang Hung-pin was a 1968 university graduate, but he majored in automatic control. Could we fulfil the job?

"We Must Do the Job"

But since the task was entrusted to us by the Party committee and the workers and staff members of the plant and was required in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must display the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the working class and accomplish it to the best of our ability. So we accepted the job without demur.

We decided first of all that we must make clear as to why it was necessary to study books by the Legalists and why it was necessary to annotate *On Ducal States*. Through study, we came to a better understanding that the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools over the past 2,000 years in China had always been a struggle between the two lines representing two classes or factions — one for reform and progress and the other for maintaining the old order and retrogression. The struggle has continued to this day and will exert its influence in the future. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Historical experience merits attention." In studying history and annotating works by the Legalists today, we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the class struggle as a whole, and apply this experience to the present-day class struggle and two-line struggle.

For instance, how should we evaluate Chin Shih Huang? An outstanding statesman of the newly emerging landlord class during the period of transition from slave society to feudal society in ancient China, Chin Shih Huang practised the Legalist line and opposed the Confucian school. Representing the aspirations of the people in his time for unification, he put an end to the situation in which the country was carved up into many independent ducal states fighting one another and founded the first multi-national united feudal state under the centralized authority in Chinese history. He stood for progress and opposed retrogression, and effected bold reforms in the realm of politics, economy, culture and ideology, dealing head-on blows to the restoration forces of the slave-owning class. He was an expert in laying the stress on the present rather than on the past. During his rule, the laws of the country were unified, all weights and measurements were standardized, the same script was used in writing, all carriages had uniform track, public roads were built, the Great Wall was repaired and built to keep off the forces of the Hsiung Nu slave-owners in northern China from invading the central plains, and irrigation works were built to develop agriculture. . . .

Chin Shih Huang played a tremendous progressive role in Chinese history. But the decadent and declining reactionary forces in the past, which revered Confucian school and opposed the Legalist school without exception, attacked him as "tyrannical." Such was the case with Chiang Kai-shek, the Soviet revisionists and Lin Piao. Was this mere coincidence? And was it merely an academic question concerning the evaluation of historical personages? Certainly not. This was the class struggle in ideology and the superstructure. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."** By attacking Chin Shih Huang, Lin Piao and his like used the ancient to slander the present, vilified China's socialist system and dictatorship of the proletariat, and tried to create public opinion for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

In sharp contrast to Lin Piao and other reactionaries at home and abroad who cursed Chin Shih Huang, Liu Tsung-yuan in his *On Ducal States* boldly challenged the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the spirit of going against the tide. He highly appraised Chin Shih Huang and other Legalists and forcefully refuted the reactionary fallacies of advocating restoration of the old order and retrogression. To annotate Liu Tsung-yuan's essay, therefore, was of great immediate significance in deepening the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Having gained a clearer understanding, our enthusiasm soared.

When comrades in our plant learnt that we had accepted the task, they all supported us. Comrade Niu Teh-liang's trainee cheerfully said to him: "Go ahead with your new assignment, please. I'll do your work here." Many veteran workers gave us encouragement: "Workers, peasants and soldiers are the main

force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Be sure you'll do a good job!"

Leading comrades on the Party committee and editors of the Chung Hwa Book Company warmly welcomed us when we got there. A young editor was assigned to work with us. Thinking of the past and comparing it with the present, we were greatly moved. This book company has a history of more than 60 years, but before liberation workers who were regarded as "rowdies," were not allowed to enter its offices. Workers writing books was something unheard of at that time. This place where "scholars chatted and laughed but those with little education were not admitted" is now open to us thanks to the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We soon got down to study and discussions and, together with the comrades of the book company, repudiated the theory that "everything is decided by heaven" and the theory of "genius." This boosted our confidence.

Chang Hung-pin recalled that three years ago veteran workers in our plant manufactured with their own hands our plant's first electric pulse machine which was of an advanced type. This example shows that we do not rely on "sages" or "prophets," but on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and on practice. Knowledge comes from practice, should we be daunted by classical Chinese? Analysing the struggle between revering and opposing Confucius in past history, Wang Tzu-chiang said: "Working people and progressive thinkers in the past criticized the decadent and reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but their criticisms were not thoroughgoing due to the limitations of their times or classes. Now time has changed and we have Marxism which is our powerful and scientific ideological weapon. The historical task of using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy the entire realm of the superstructure including the science of history now falls on the proletariat. Who else but we should occupy the realm of the superstructure?" Thus we came to the conclusion: For the cause of the revolution, we must do a good job in annotating *On Ducal States*.

Overcoming Difficulties

None of us had ever read the essay *On Ducal States*. It was really difficult for us to write comments and notes on it. There were three difficulties we had to overcome.

First, the language difficulty. With more than 1,700 characters, *On Ducal States* is a relatively long article in classical Chinese. Many characters were new to us. Take Niu Teh-liang for example, out of every 100 characters, 20 to 30 were unfamiliar to him. In some cases, the characters were not new, but when they were put together, we couldn't make head or tail of it. With the help of the editor, we studied conscientiously, looked up the new words in the dictionaries and delved into reference books. After a week, we grasped the meaning of the whole essay, and some could even recite it.

Second, the difficulty of analysis. The analysis of the ideological content of an article is more important and also more difficult than the understanding of its language.

On Ducal States was a dissertation on the merits and demerits of the prefectural and county system and the system of ducal states based on historical analysis. The author affirmed the superiority of the former and deprecated the latter. After the overthrow of the Yin Dynasty (c. 16th century-1066 B.C.) by the Chou Dynasty (c. 1066-249 B.C.), when China was still in the period of slave society, the conquered landholdings were allotted to the descendants and relatives of the Chou rulers, to officials who had won merits and to the allies, and many ducal states thus came into being. These ducal states were actually independent hereditary kingdoms. This was known as the "ducal state system." With the founding of the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) by Chin Shih Huang, a two-level local administration was introduced — the prefecture and the county. Governors of the prefectures and heads of the counties were appointed by the central authority and were subject to transfer and dismissal at any time. This system, known as the "prefectural and county system," was totally different from the system of hereditary official posts and emolument enjoyed by the slave-owning aristocrats. In the history of China's feudal society, it had been a long-debated question as to whether to enforce the prefectural and county system, which suited the needs of a unified centralized authority, or to enforce the ducal state system which split the country into many independent states. This was also a major issue of contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

Taking the stand of reformists of the landlord class, Liu Tsung-yuan advocated progress and unity and opposed retrogression and split. He proved the advantages of the prefectural and county system with abundant facts since the Chou and Chin Dynasties, and affirmed the historical contributions of Chin Shih Huang.

In analysing Liu Tsung-yuan's *On Ducal States*, we must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and dialectical and historical materialism to study the words and deeds of the historical personages concerned in the context of the class struggle and two-line struggle at that time. Therefore, we studied time and again the important directives by Chairman Mao and related documents on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. In order to make a scientific analysis and correct appraisal of *On Ducal States*, we also studied conscientiously the related chapters and paragraphs of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, such as *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, *The State and Revolution*, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* and *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*.

Liu Tsung-yuan set forth the concept of "trends" based on an analysis of the historical experience. He

maintained that the development of the history of human society was decided by "trends," that is, the objective situation. Just as the system of ducal states was established earlier, the prefectural and county system inevitably would follow and would be enforced later to replace the ducal state system. This "trend" of historical development was irresistible. "Trends" were the main idea of *On Ducal States* and ran through the whole article. How then should we correctly grasp the meaning of "trends" put forth by Liu Tsung-yuan? To achieve this, we thrice studied the related teachings by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's teachings, and thrice made an analysis of its meaning, each time attaining a deeper understanding.

In our first analysis, we studied Engels' statements criticizing the theory of "genius" and analysed Liu Tsung-yuan's concept of "trends." We came to understand that the Confucian school considered that the ducal state system was "a system decided by the sages" which could not be changed. Proceeding from the viewpoint of simple materialism, Liu Tsung-yuan held that the establishment of this system was the result of objective historical situation and not the will of "sages." This was a forceful refutation of the reactionary Confucian theory that "everything is decided by heaven."

In our second analysis, we studied Chairman Mao's teaching that "**all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines.**" (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) We then analysed the polemics between Liu Tsung-yuan and the despotic big landlord forces centring around the question of the ducal state system and the prefectural and county system. We arrived at the understanding that the controversy was in essence a two-line struggle within the ranks of the landlord class — the reformists upheld progress and unity, while the conservatives advocated retrogression and split. *On Ducal States* was a product of this political struggle. The concept of "trends," which was the theoretical basis of Liu Tsung-yuan's political line, was a poignant criticism of the idealist conception of history of the Confucianists who held that "Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao (Way) changeth not," and therefore the system of ducal states must not be changed. Liu Tsung-yuan's views served the political line of the reformists.

In our third analysis, we studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "**It is man's social being that determines his thinking.**" (*Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?*) This enabled us to get a better understanding of the limitations of Liu Tsung-yuan's concept of "trends." He was after all a reformist of the landlord class, and politically he represented the interests of the middle and small landlords. It was not possible for him to make a historical-materialist explanation of the social development because of the limitations of the class he belonged to and the time he lived in, neither was it possible for him to understand that the basic motive force of historical development was class struggle. His so-called

"trends" were an abstract viewpoint of the theory of historical evolution. But, just as Lenin pointed out: **"Historical services are not judged by the contributions historical personalities did not make in respect of modern requirements, but by the new contributions they did make as compared with their predecessors."** (*A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism.*) That Liu Tsung-yuan was able to put forward the concept of "trends" at that time and observe society from the viewpoint of historical evolution showed that his views were far superior to the traditional Confucian preachings.

Our study enabled us to gain, from the high plane of the ideological and political line, a clearer understanding of the progressive significance of Liu Tsung-yuan's concept of "trends" as well as its limitations. We profoundly realized that once we workers, peasants and soldiers grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we were capable of learning history and gaining mastery of it. Not only must the workers, peasants and soldiers be masters of history but they must also become masters of the science of history and the main force of the revolution in the entire realm of the superstructure including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and jurisprudence.

The last difficulty we encountered was how to make ourselves understood. This involved two thorny problems: One was that we couldn't write down what we had learnt, the other was there were so much materials that we didn't know how to put them in proper order. Some comrades said: "Don't worry. We can learn as we write, and correct and rewrite what is not satisfactory. If one person can't do it, surely we can accomplish it by concerted efforts." Before we wrote the "explanatory notes," we worked out a detailed outline after full discussions. Then Comrade Wang Tzu-chiang began writing the first draft. He completed it in four days, having worked so hard that his eyes became bloodshot. After soliciting suggestions for improvement, he wrote the second draft. Then we wrote the third and fourth drafts together, each better than the previous one. Sometimes we worked all night. When Comrade Wang Tzu-chiang worked at home, he used to carry on into the small hours despite his wife entreated that he took a rest. Some of us slept in the book company for a period instead of going home every day so as to save time. The young editor assigned to work with us took part in our discussions every day and helped us improve our manuscript. We always sought advice from the comrades concerned in the book company if and when a knotty problem cropped up. We went over our manuscript paragraph by paragraph, discussing every sentence and weighing every word, and finally completed it after eight major revisions.

In the process of writing this book, we always kept in mind two principles. The first was to follow Chairman Mao's teaching to **"make the past serve the present"** and sum up the experience of the struggle in the past, making it serve the current class struggle and two-line struggle and criticizing in a deep-going way the ultra-

Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line aimed at bringing about a restoration and a split.

The other principle was to always bear in mind the demands of the worker-peasant-soldier readers and make the language as simple and easy-to-understand as possible. More often than not we took a long time to phrase our ideas in everyday language comprehensible to the masses. After the book had been finished, we and the editor returned to our plant and asked the workers to give their comments. Members of the Party committee of the book company went to a unit of the People's Liberation Army where they held a forum. The comrades there heartily spoke in favour of the book and offered valuable suggestions for further improvement. The teachers concerned in Peking University and Peking Teachers' College and the editors of the book company also gave us their comments and opinions. These helped us make another careful revision of the manuscript.

Our Experience

Looking back on the road we have covered in writing *Notes on "On Ducal States,"* we realize that the completion and publication of this book has shattered the bourgeois prejudice that "the workers, peasants and soldiers who know nothing about classical Chinese cannot study history." We workers, peasants and soldiers can surely use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy the position of the science of history as long as we diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and workers' theoretical contingents and professional theoretical workers join efforts to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyse and study history, **"sum it up critically"** and **"make the past serve the present,"** instead of taking a nihilist attitude towards history, totally negating it or approving it without distinguishing the essence from the dross. The four of us are ordinary young workers. It is not because we have any special talent and ability that we are able to write this book. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, any other workers, peasants and soldiers can do the same job as long as they make an effort and work hard. The victory of the revolution depends entirely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. So does everything we have achieved.

Chairman Mao has pointed out in *On Practice:* **"In the present epoch of the development of society, the responsibility of correctly knowing and changing the world has been placed by history upon the shoulders of the proletariat and its party."** We have made some contributions to the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and to the study of the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole. But this is far from enough. We are determined to join efforts with the people throughout the country to carry forward the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, break down fetishes, emancipate the mind, and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy the entire realm of the superstructure.

A Splendid Strategic Plan

— Notes on studying "The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign"

by Hung Cheng

The Peiping- (now Peking) Tientsin campaign fought between December 1948 and January 1949 was one of the three greatest campaigns of decisive significance in the Chinese People's War of Liberation (1946-49). The other two were the Liaohsi-Shenyang* and Huai-Hai** campaigns. These three major campaigns resulted in virtually wiping out the crack troops the Kuomintang relied on to wage the counter-revolutionary civil war and in greatly speeding up nationwide victory in the War of Liberation. "The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign" was a telegram drafted in December 1948 by Chairman Mao for the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and addressed to the Northeastern China People's Liberation Army. It is included in "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung," Vol. IV. — Ed.

corps, it was capable of quickly wiping out enemy forces dependent on strongly fortified positions and the enemy's powerful mobile corps. The Liberated Areas at that time, where the land problem had been solved in areas with a population of about 100 million, covered 24.5 per cent of the country's total area and had a population amounting to 35.3 per cent of the nation's total. What with the soaring revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of the people and the rehabilitation and development of finance and economy, there was every possibility to provide a steady stream of manpower and material in support of the front.

The opposite was the case with the Kuomintang. The total number of its troops had dropped to about 2.9 million; as a result of the heavy blows suffered during the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Huai-Hai campaigns,

FOLLOWING the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign and fierce fighting on the Huai-Hai front in November-December 1948, the momentum of the victories in the strategically decisive battles under the personal command of Chairman Mao had built up in our favour. The military situation in China had reached a new turning point. At that crucial point, Chairman Mao drew up *The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign*, seizing the opportune moment to organize this campaign. He made a series of brilliant dispositions for this major engagement aimed at annihilating large numbers of troops of the Kuomintang's main force, overcame Lin Piao's interference and sabotage and guided the army and people to win complete victory in the great strategically decisive engagements in the War of Liberation.

* The Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign was a gigantic campaign fought by the Northeastern China People's Liberation Army in the western part of Liaoning Province and in the Shenyang-Changchun area between September 12 and November 2, 1948. The campaign ended in wiping out over 470,000 Kuomintang troops and liberating the whole of northeast China. For details of this campaign and the interference and sabotage by Lin Piao, see "Victory of Chairman Mao's Concept of Strategy — Notes on studying *The Concept of Operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign*" in *Peking Review*, No. 46, 1972.

** The Huai-Hai campaign was a campaign of decisive importance fought by the Eastern China and Central Plains Field Armies and regional armed forces over a large territory centring on Hsuechow in Kiangsu Province from November 6, 1948 to January 10, 1949. With more than 555,000 Kuomintang troops wiped out in this campaign, the reactionary Kuomintang ruling clique began falling apart.

Enemy Forces Like Birds Startled by Mere Twang of a Bow-String

Prior to the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, the People's Liberation Army, guided by Chairman Mao's military line, had annihilated large numbers of enemy effectives in all theatres of war. The balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves had undergone a fundamental change. Long superior in quality, our army became superior in numbers as well, totalling more than 3 million men. With morale soaring, improved arms and equipment and its newly formed artillery and engineering



it had nearly lost all the chips on which it relied for fighting its counter-revolutionary civil war. The reactionary Kuomintang government was collapsing and nearing the end militarily, politically and economically.

The 600,000 enemy troops in north China were isolated in Changchiakou, Peiping and Tientsin and their links with the Chiang Kai-shek troops in other areas had been cut off. They were thus in a passive and vulnerable position. As Chairman Mao put it: "They are like birds startled by the mere twang of a bow-string."

To avert the danger of total destruction and save their tottering reactionary rule, the Kuomintang reactionaries, on the one hand, tried to make use of the troops belonging to the north China group to hold their ground and check the southward thrust of our army so as to win time to regroup their forces south of the Yangtze River. On the other hand, they tried to inveigle that group into sending its troops by sea south of the Yangtze via Tangku as a direct reinforcement for the east China war theatre in an attempt to save the remnant forces of the Huai-Hai campaign from being rounded up or to put up a last-ditch fight along the Yangtze. To avoid its doom, the enemy's main force in north China intended to flee west to Suiyuan Province* to entrench itself, win a brief respite and gain a stalemate there. However, it had not made up its mind whether to fall back on the defence or take to its heels.

Dwelling on strategic counter-offensives in his *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A defeat for either side will lead directly and speedily to a new effort by the defeated side to avert disaster, to extricate itself from the new conditions and the new situation unfavourable to it and favourable to the enemy and to re-create such conditions and such a situation as are favourable to it and unfavourable to its opponent, in order to bring pressure to bear on the latter." "The effort of the winning side will be exactly the opposite. It will strive to exploit its victory and inflict still greater damage on the enemy, add to the conditions that are in its favour and further improve its situation, and prevent the enemy from succeeding in extricating himself from his unfavourable conditions and unfavourable situation and averting disaster." Following the tremendous victories in the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Huai-Hai campaigns, we and the enemy were locked in an all-round test of strength in which the enemy was trying to avert disaster and we were striving to exploit our victories and completely destroy him so as to win the final victory of the great strategic engagements of decisive importance.

Proceeding from the overall situation strategically, Chairman Mao made a correct class appraisal of the nationwide situation and the positions of the enemy

* A defunct province covering the central part of the present Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. It was cancelled in 1954.

and ourselves in the north China war theatre. Basing himself on this appraisal, he firmly decided to organize the Peiping-Tientsin campaign immediately after the conclusion of the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign without giving the enemy any respite. In *The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign*, Chairman Mao made a series of brilliant strategic dispositions for getting the enemy forces to remain where they were so as to prevent their escape and for cutting up and surrounding them in order to wipe them out then and there.

Attending to the Situation as a Whole And Tying Down the Enemy

"Victory or defeat in a war is first and foremost a question of whether the situation as a whole and its various stages are properly taken into account." "What is most important for the person in overall command is to concentrate on attending to the war situation as a whole." (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*.) With the enemy forces in Peiping and Tientsin like birds startled by the mere twang of a bow-string, the key to complete victory in the campaign lay in whether we could make them remain where they were so as to prevent them from fleeing south or west and from shortening their lines of defence and concentrating their forces. Tying down the enemy forces was the question which had to be first taken into consideration in directing the campaign as a whole. Whether it would be victorious or not hinged first of all on whether this question affecting the situation as a whole was properly taken into account. To this end, Chairman Mao ordered our forces in the Huai-Hai theatre to spare the remainder of several enemy armies for the moment and "for two weeks to make no dispositions for their final annihilation"; he also ordered our forces on the Taiyuan front in Shansi Province to attack Taiyuan at a later date so as to lull the enemy in Peiping and Tientsin, and those on the Peiping-Suiyuan front "not to attack for the time being" the enemy forces in Hsinpao-an "so as to lure the enemy at Peiping and Tientsin and make it difficult for him to come to a decision to flee by sea." Meanwhile, Chairman Mao ordered "our troops in Shantung to mass certain forces to control a section of the Yellow River near Tsinan and to make preparations along the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway" in order to prevent the enemy in Peiping and Tientsin from fleeing to Tsingtao along the Tientsin-Pukou Railway. Closely linked with one another, these measures constituted fine co-ordination between the whole and its parts, with conditions created in each part for keeping the enemy forces where they were in terms of the entire situation. With the enemy tied down as a result of mistakes in judgment and action, our army won the time to concentrate its forces and cut apart and surround the enemy troops, thereby laying the foundation for the Peiping-Tientsin campaign's victorious development.

The Peiping-Tientsin campaign was fought jointly by the Northeast Field Army and two armies of the

Northern China People's Liberation Army. The former's moves in the operations were of decisive importance in ensuring the victory of the entire campaign. In the light of the overall situation, Chairman Mao made a series of well-considered dispositions for the Northeast Field Army to move south of the Great Wall and fight battles there. Chairman Mao's wise and correct command overcame the interference of Lin Piao's erroneous line and ensured the Peiping-Tientsin campaign to end in great victory.

Encircle the Enemy Strategically and Cut Him Apart Tactically

Long before the conclusion of the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, Chairman Mao had ordered the Northeast Field Army's advance detachment to lose no time in moving to the vicinity of Peiping with a view to organizing the Peiping-Tientsin campaign. Then he ordered the main force of this field army to march south of the Great Wall as soon as possible so as to encircle Tientsin, Tangku and Tangshan and prevent the enemy from fleeing by sea. At the same time this force would get a rest from fighting and consolidate its troops. The time for the Northeast Field Army to move south of the Great Wall had close bearing on whether the campaign could be fought according to the pre-arranged plan. If it were delayed, the right time for launching the attack would certainly be missed, the enemy would escape and the aim of wiping him out in the Peiping-Tientsin area could not be attained.

If, however, this field army moved south of the Great Wall early, a strategic encirclement beyond the enemy's expectations could be made in north China and he would be completely annihilated, for the enemy would be under the false notion that our field army had to catch its breath and consolidate its troops after the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign and could not possibly rapidly move into areas south of the Great Wall. Lin Piao, however, delayed the action in a vain effort to undermine Chairman Mao's great strategic dispositions. It was only after Chairman Mao had time and again criticized Lin Piao and insisted on this move that the main force of the Northeast Field Army swept south of the Great Wall at an early date.

After this army had marched south of the Great Wall, whether the enemy troops in Peiping and Tientsin could be sliced up and surrounded hinged primarily on the direction of our attacks. At that time, the two armies of the Northern China People's Liberation Army had already surrounded the 35th Corps, the enemy's main force, in the Changchiakou and Hsinpao-an areas, thus blocking the enemy's retreat westward. Under such circumstances, **"the main or the only concern is that the enemy might flee by sea."** Therefore, Chairman Mao made it clear that the Northeast Field Army must first encircle Tientsin, Tangku, Lutai and Tangshan, thereby blocking the enemy escape routes by sea, and then join efforts with the armies of the Northern China People's Liberation Army to bring about the strategic encirclement of the enemy forces in

Peiping, Tientsin and Changchiakou and cut them up tactically before destroying them one by one.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In the two weeks beginning from today (December 11-25), the basic principle is to encircle without attacking (in the case of Changchiakou and Hsinpao-an) and, in some cases, to cut off without encircling (in the case of Peiping, Tientsin and Tungchow, to make only a strategic encirclement and cut the links between the enemy forces, but not to make a tactical encirclement) in order to wait for the completion of our dispositions and then wipe out the enemy forces one by one. In particular, you must not wipe out all the enemy forces at Changchiakou, Hsinpao-an and Nankow because that would compel the enemy east of Nankow to make a quick decision to bolt. Please make sure you understand this point."** Encircling without attacking or cutting off without surrounding was the only correct principles for a strategic encirclement of the enemy in north China and completely annihilating him then and there. Encircling without attacking the enemy in individual places was aimed precisely at wiping him out as a whole, while making no tactical encirclement of the enemy in individual places was precisely for the purpose of encircling him as a whole strategically. In this way, the enemy, unable to judge our intentions, was reduced to complete passivity and became a "caged bird" with no escape and incapable of concentrating his troops and putting up any resistance. Meanwhile, we were in a position to take our time in attacking and seizing quick victory.

Hit the Two Ends Before Taking What Is in Between

When cutting up and encircling the enemy had yet to be completed, Lin Piao, in total disregard of the campaign as a whole and the interrelations between its different stages, put forward the erroneous proposal to attack Nankow first. Chairman Mao criticized this as improper so far as the overall plan was concerned. A very sensitive area, Nankow was a screen to the north of Peiping and right on the way between Peiping and Changchiakou and Hsinpao-an. If we attacked and took it too soon, there would be the danger of making the enemy in Peiping flee to Tientsin and Tangku, thus adversely affecting the progress of the entire campaign. Precisely because of this Chairman Mao strictly ordered that **"the 3rd Column should on no account go to Nankow,"** determinedly preventing Lin Piao's mistake of attacking Nankow first. Thus the smooth unfolding of the campaign was ensured.

After the completion of the final dispositions for the campaign, Chairman Mao who had a firm grip on the key to the entire campaign instructed our forces to hit the two ends before taking what was in between. He pointed out that **"if these two points, Tangku (the most important) and Hsinpao-an, are captured, you will have the initiative on the whole chessboard."** Thus, not only the enemy's escape door by sea was shut, but his route for fleeing west to Suiyuan Province was

blocked, placing him in our water-tight encirclement from all sides. And we ourselves could concentrate a superior force to launch powerful offensives and destroy the enemy forces one by one. Under Chairman Mao's wise command, the Northeast Field Army and the two armies of the Northern China People's Liberation Army closely co-ordinated their actions and, on December 22, 1948, surrounded and wiped out the enemy's main force at Hsinpao-an (the headquarters of his 35th Corps and two divisions). Two days later, Changchiakou fell into our hands and over 50,000 enemy garrison troops were put out of action. On January 14, 1949, heavily fortified Tientsin was captured and the enemy garrison of over 130,000 men was wiped out. After the two points had been captured, the enemy in Peiping between them could not but accept peaceful reorganization under our powerful military pressure and political offensive, thus bringing about the peaceful liberation of Peiping. The Peiping-Tientsin campaign came to a victorious close with the annihilation and reorganization of over 520,000 Kuomintang troops.

Struggle Between Two Military Lines

A fierce struggle between two different military concepts and lines ran through the entire course of the campaign. Basing himself on a scientific analysis of the existing situation of class struggle throughout the nation by employing dialectical and historical materialism, Chairman Mao predicted that the War of Liberation would be much shorter and that objectively there was every possibility for completely overthrowing the Kuomintang reactionaries in a short time. Shortly after the conclusion of the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"As we now see it, only another year or so may be needed to overthrow it [the reactionary Kuomintang government] completely."** (*The Momentous Change in China's Military Situation.*) It was precisely on the basis of this Marxist scientific judgment that Chairman Mao, in the proletarian thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of daring to seize victory, worked out a series of wise overall strategic plans, guiding the War of Liberation to win one victory after another and making the possibility of overthrowing the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty at an early date a reality. At a time when the war switched over to the strategic offensive, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."** (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks.*) During the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, he once again stressed that **"you should on no account overrate the enemy's combat effectiveness."**

What Chairman Mao said was a forceful criticism of Lin Piao's Right opportunist line. Taking a Right opportunist stand, Lin Piao invariably overestimated the strength of the enemy and underestimated the strength of the revolutionary people. He failed to see the imminent doom of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule, the objective situation that the War of Liberation

would be victorious at an earlier date and the tremendous dynamic role of the army and people in making subjective efforts to promote the advance of the revolutionary cause. While opposing Chairman Mao's brilliant decisions, he did not dare to fight unprecedented big battles of annihilation, wipe out enemy corps in large numbers and attack and capture big enemy-held cities. In a word, he did not dare to seize nationwide victory. If Lin Piao's Right opportunist line had not been done away with, the excellent situation which had already prevailed objectively would certainly have come to nothing and the Chinese revolution would have suffered losses. The victory of the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, therefore, was a great victory for Chairman Mao's military concept and a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over Lin Piao's Right opportunist line.

After the conclusion of the campaign, the liberated areas in northeast, north, east, central and northwest China were linked together in one contiguous territory which became a solid rear area. This created very favourable conditions for our million-strong army to cross the Yangtze River. On the other hand, the crack troops on which the Kuomintang depended for waging its counter-revolutionary civil war were virtually wiped out and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime faced total collapse.

During the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, our army, under the wise command of Chairman Mao, created three patterns* for disposing of the enemy forces — the Tientsin pattern, the Peiping pattern and the Suiyuan pattern. These played an important role in speeding up the War of Liberation.

On the eve of the conclusion of the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, Chairman Mao issued the call to **"carry the revolution through to the end,"** setting forth the great historical task of burying the Chiang Kai-shek regime once and for all. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the Chinese people, through courageous struggles and in hot pursuit of the retreating enemy troops, overthrew in less than a year after the conclusion of the Peiping-Tientsin campaign the feudal oppression of thousands of years, the imperialist oppression of a hundred years and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule of a little over 20 years on the mainland. Then came the birth of the People's Republic of China.

* The three different patterns are: (1) Dispose of the enemy troops by fighting as was the case in Tientsin. This is called the Tientsin pattern. (2) Force the enemy troops to accept peaceful reorganization as was the solution in Peiping. Hence the Peiping pattern. (3) Deliberately keep part of the enemy troops wholly or nearly intact, that is, make temporary concessions to these troops in order to help win them over to our side politically or neutralize them. In this way we could concentrate our forces to finish off the main part of the remnant Kuomintang forces first, and then after a certain period proceed to reorganize these troops into the People's Liberation Army in conformity with the P.L.A.'s system. After the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, we deliberately kept the Kuomintang forces in Suiyuan Province intact. They were not reorganized until the spring of 1950. This is known as the Suiyuan pattern.

Serious Fluidity of Manpower in Soviet Union

SOVIET working people have again become wage-labourers who must sell their labour to eke out a living. This is the dire consequences of the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the revisionist renegade clique. With manpower on a constant flow the broad masses of workers and peasants lead a life without security.

Under the "new economic system" of Soviet revisionism, those in charge of enterprises can hire, fire and punish workers and fix wage scales as they please. To seek huge profits, they dismiss or employ workers in large numbers at any time. Therefore, workers are not assured of fixed jobs and many find themselves roaming from place to place.

High Floating Percentage

According to figures published by the Soviet magazine *Planned Economy* not long ago, floating workers in the Soviet industrial branches (not including the figures of the building industry, transport and communications) accounted for 19.8 per cent of the total in 1972, with 30.7 per cent in the food industry, 28.7 per cent in the meat and milk processing industry, 26.3 per cent in the building-material industry and 24.2 per cent in the timber industry.

Some reports say the percentage was even higher in some areas: half of the workers and functionaries of the enterprises in Dushanbe, capital of the Tajik Republic, changed places of employment in 1972. The building and assembly departments in the Azerbaijan Republic hired 47,928 workers last year while in the same period 48,696 people left their jobs. Floating workers make up one-fourth of the total in the Georgian Republic, with the rate reaching one-third in Tbilisi, the capital, and half in the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic.

The Soviet magazine *Smena* disclosed that the annual number of floating labourers in the Soviet manufacturing and building industries in the last few years reached 10 million. On average a labourer wastes 23 days during the float period. This means that one million people remain idle or are out of work every year. As a result, the industrial branches alone lost about 4,000 million rubles in output value in 1972, according to *Planned Economy*.

As the gap between town and country widens and labour force becomes a commodity, a large rural population flock to the cities. According to apparently watered-down figures recently published by the Soviet magazine *Journalist*, 16.4 million people in the rural areas migrated to the cities during 1959-70, an average of 1.5 million each year. The outflow of rural population has become increasingly serious in recent years, the number reaching 2 million every year.

From 1960 to 1971, it is reported 10 per cent of the tractor and combine drivers quitted the collective farms and 20 per cent the state farms annually. In the last two years, some 3 million were trained in the Soviet Union to operate farm machines, but within a short time, some 2.5 million of them packed up. The Soviet revisionist leading clique admitted that "a serious problem arose owing to the influx of rural population into cities," that "able collective farm members are becoming aged," that "the average age of those working in the fields in some place is 50" and that "about two-thirds of inappropriate labour in production is assumed by women."

Labour Force Becomes Commodity

Press reports describe the Soviet Union's floating workers as coming from two categories. One category involves workers fired at will by industrial enterprises, many of whom were sacked on trumped-up charges. Another involves workers who allegedly "left their posts voluntarily." According to a survey made in 1973 by the Soviet Central Board of Statistics of 1,105 industrial enterprises, 83.4 per cent of these workers left their jobs because of discontent with working conditions, low wages and shortage of living quarters. In other words, they gave up their work because they could not put up with the oppression and exploitation by the bureaucrat-capitalists. It was much the same reason that goaded the peasants into leaving their land and homestead to find work in the cities or elsewhere. Whether the departure was "voluntary" or "involuntary," the fact is clear that Soviet workers and peasants have been reduced to purely hired labourers and the labour force in the Soviet Union has become a commodity.

Opposition of the workers and peasants to the Soviet revisionists' oppression and exploitation often takes the form of strikes, absenteeism and go-slow. Reports say that 66 per cent of all workers in many units under the Ministry of Agriculture in the Moldavian Republic were absentees at one time or another in 1973 and that the absentee rate in Dnepropetrovsk of the Ukraine reached 20 per cent or even as much as 30 per cent last year.

Planned Economy revealed that absenteeism and go-slow accounted for a loss of 59 million work-days in the Soviet industry as a whole in 1972, more than the combined total loss of work-days by strikes in the United States and Britain (26 million and 23.9 million work-days in the two countries respectively).

The enthusiasm for work of the peasants is still lower. The newspaper *Zarya Vostoka* reported that in the collective farms in some regions of Georgia an average of 30.4 per cent of able-bodied members as a rule do not turn up for collective labour. The attendance

rate of many farm members is far from meeting the minimum requirements.

Big-scale floating, absenteeism and go-slow on the part of the Soviet workers and peasants have dealt a heavy political blow to the Soviet revisionists and caused them very serious economic losses. Disturbed by the situation, the Soviet revisionist clique is further strengthening its fascist dictatorship. It has set up "legal

sections" in factories and instituted so-called "trials by comrades" and "discipline committees" to "try" those who "violate labour discipline"; it held up their wage and bonuses, deprived the workers of their right to welfare, and even dismissed and expelled them. Where there is oppression, however, there is resistance and struggle. The Soviet revisionist clique's high-handed policy is sure to arouse fiercer resistance and struggle of the working people in the country.

Who Is to Blame for Ukraine's Economic Trouble?

THE Ukraine is in serious trouble in the way of consumer goods production and supplies on the market. This much has been admitted by the Brezhnev clique in a decision issued by the revisionist C.P.S.U. Central Committee, and all responsibility for this grave situation has been palmed off upon the Ukrainian officials.

The decision admits reluctantly that there has been a sharp deficiency in the Ukraine's "delivery of cotton fabrics, leather shoes, galoshes, sports shoes and knitwear. Consumer goods production is lagging behind the targets set in the five-year plan, and the production plans for furniture, steel utensils, galvanized utensils, enamelware, stainless steel dinner sets, cameras, hardware and locks have not been met." Mention is also made of the fact that many products are of "poor quality," and "the proportion of products which meet state quality standards is still very low."

Referring to the causes, the decision stresses that the party, Soviet and economic organs of the Ukraine Republic are not making full use of the existing potentialities of the Republic, and are not carrying out the resolutions of the 24th congress of the revisionist C.P.S.U. and the decisions of the December 1973 plenary session of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. In this way the Brezhnev clique is trying to shift on to others all responsibility for the situation.

Brezhnev Clique Cannot Shirk Responsibility

As is well known, economic confusion has long been a problem in the Soviet Union as a whole, not in the Ukraine alone. This confusion involves not only the production of daily necessities, but also a number of departments in the field of industry and agriculture. According to the obviously doctored Soviet revisionist official data, the targets for national income for the first three years of the 9th five-year plan (1971-75) were not fulfilled. The targets for industrial output value set by the five-year plan for the past two years

were also not realized. The targets for most of the major industrial products for 1972 were not accomplished. In 1973, the plans for petroleum, cars, tractors, combine harvesters, textiles and leather shoes were not met.

Grain output for the first three years of the five-year plan failed to achieve its target. Pigs at the end of 1973 were smaller in number than at the end of 1962.

As the socialist production relations of the Soviet Union have backslided into capitalist relations thanks to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the working people, once masters of the country, have been turned into hired slaves and, not unnaturally, have lost the enthusiasm for work they had in the period of socialism. All Soviet enterprises are run on capitalist management lines and with the aim of making maximum profits. In cut-throat competition among them, production planning has gone by the board and "planned economy" is nothing but a tissue of lies. The result is that while there are serious shortages of some products, dead stock is the fate of others. In particular, because Soviet revisionism, bent on attaining world domination, is stepping up arms expansion and war preparations and allocates a third of the total budget to munition production, the whole of the national economy is out of balance. The Brezhnev clique has to admit that the "objective cause" for the shortages of consumer goods is the "huge defence appropriations." Who then is it that is to blame for Soviet economic confusion and consumer goods shortages? Is it not the Brezhnev clique itself?

The Soviet revisionist leading clique has all along pursued a Russian big-nation chauvinist policy of oppression towards the nationalities in the country. To achieve the "closest combination" with the non-Russian nations, the Brezhnev clique has opposed all-round development of the economy in non-Russian regions. It

(Continued on p. 37.)

ON THE HOME FRONT

Written Tibetan Promoted

RAPID progress has been made in culture, education and publishing in the Tibet Autonomous Region since the democratic reform in 1959. This has been accompanied by an increasingly wide use of the Tibetan language in government organizations, schools and cultural institutions.

Now a major subject taught in the region's more than 3,000 primary, middle and secondary technical schools, the Tibetan language is also an important course in evening schools all over the rural and pastoral areas. The Tibet Institute for Nationalities has set up a special faculty of Tibetan language. Many graduates, who were serfs or slaves, devote themselves to studying and translating the Tibetan language.

The Tibet People's Publishing House, established after the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, has put out 46 different books in Tibetan, the total number of copies exceeding 1.5 million. These include the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, as well as material on cultural and scientific subjects. In 1972, a more up-to-date printing house was built in Tibet, mainly for printing books in Tibetan. Since the democratic reform, local bookstores have sold large numbers of Tibetan language publications printed in other parts of the country. Among these are works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works as well as various books and magazines.

At present, circulation of the Tibetan language edition of *Xizang Ribao* is 12.5 times that of 1956 when it first appeared.

More radio rediffusion networks and the increased number of radio

sets enable growing numbers of liberated peasants and herdsmen to enjoy listening to programmes in Tibetan from the people's broadcasting station.

A dozen or so professional cultural troupes, including a dramatic troupe, a Tibetan opera company and a song and dance ensemble, have been organized in Tibet, while amateur cultural groups have been mushrooming in large numbers. Actors of Han nationality, who work hard to acquire a natural grasp of the language, also put on performances in Tibetan for the local people. Films are dubbed in Tibetan in the autonomous region itself.

Tibetan typewriters are in ever wider use.

Development of the language is marked by enrichment of its vocabulary, which has acquired over 100,000 new phrases and expressions since 1959. Modern standard Tibetan based on the Lhasa dialect and pronunciation is being gradually popularized. Members of the central linguistics research institutes have gone to Tibet to join local linguists in studying the Tibetan language. The *Han-Tibetan Dictionary* published in 1964 is now being revised.

The benighted rule of the feudal serf system in old Tibet deprived the serfs and slaves, who made up over 90 per cent of the population, of all access to education and culture. No facilities for learning or cultural activities had ever been set up for their benefit. The few schools in existence, whether public or private, were open only to the children of serf-owners and nobles. One song and dance ensemble performed for the entertainment of Dalai only. A few xylographic printing works produced nothing but Buddhist scriptures and other material of a superstitious na-

ture. This drastically restricted the use of written Tibetan and retarded the development of the language.

Since the democratic reform, the Tibetan people have been expanding cultural activities. With the help of professional personnel from other parts of the country, they have trained teachers and linguists of Tibetan nationality. The government has also given extensive financial support—the appropriations for culture and education in Tibet between 1959 and 1973 equalled 1.8 times the revenue from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes for the same period.

Kirin Province Improves Environmental Protection

SINCE the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, northeast China's Kirin Province has adopted new measures for protecting the environment. Now about 100 forms of the "three wastes" (waste water, gas and residue) are being disposed of or used by various industrial enterprises in the province. In 1973, the "three wastes" were turned into 200 kinds of chemicals, building materials, oil and metallurgical products and light industrial goods whose value exceeded 100 million yuan.

Over the past year or so, the provincial capital Changchun has remodelled 800 industrial boilers to reduce air pollution.

Like other places in China, Kirin Province emphasizes environmental protection while boosting socialist construction. Active measures have been taken to improve and renovate existing plants and mines to eliminate harmful industrial waste. At the same time preventive work is stressed—by regulation, no new plants and mines may be built without anti-pollution facilities.

The provincial revolutionary committee has established a special leading group in charge of environmental protection; major cities as

well as many big mines and factories have similar organizations. In addition, the provincial industrial departments run a scientific research institute for environmental protection.

Detailed regulations based on investigation and incorporating the views of the people have been issued by the province for preventing pollution and protecting the environment. In the major cities and at points along the principal rivers there are stations to test for pollution, measure its extent, and issue regular reports on the atmosphere, river water, soil, underground water and food.

Workers and staff in many industrial enterprises are encouraged to go in for technical innovations related to eliminating pollution and making use of the "three wastes." By means

of tests as well as by mobilizing the workers and staff to offer suggestions, the "three-in-one" combination group composed of workers, cadres and technicians at the Kirin Dyestuff Plant improved the old processing techniques and succeeded in eliminating mercury pollution. In addition, through collective efforts, a new technique was introduced for turning out a green dyestuff which trebled output, cut costs by 70 per cent and eliminated a poisonous liquid.

On-the-spot conferences and mobile exhibitions are held often by industrial departments so that workers, cadres and technicians can exchange experiences in environmental protection work.

In several dozen workshops of Kirin city, the municipal environmental protection office has popular-

ized a new electroplating technique without using cyanide.

To mobilize the masses more fully for environmental protection, Kirin Province has transcended the boundaries between trades and professions to eliminate pollution by organizing mutual assistance and co-operation. The Changchun No. 1 Chemical Works co-operated with the local light and chemical industrial research institute and rural people's communes to eliminate soil-pollution by waste residue from borax production. They produced boron-calcium-magnesium phosphate and calcium carbonate used as fertilizers by making use of this residue. Workers and staff of the Changchun Film Studio and the city's photographic enterprises, co-operating with departments concerned, recovered a large amount of silver last year from water which had been used to develop films.

(Continued from p. 35.)

advocates "division of labour" and economic "specialization," which are in essence a curious outgrowth of colonialism. Among the cadres of the non-Russian republics, anyone standing for all-round economic development is branded as a "nationalist" and accused of having a "closed-door" mentality. He will be attacked, dismissed from his post or ordered to "retire." The direction of the Ukraine's economic development fixed by the Brezhnev clique is to remain "the most important base for coal and metallurgical industries and the main sugar beet producer for the whole of the U.S.S.R. as it has always been historically (i.e. in the period of tsarist Russia)." A few years ago, the directors of the Lvov National Economic Council in the Ukraine, referring to the imbalance, pointed out: the industry of that region "resembles a monster with elephantine feet, a stunted body and a microcephalic head." Since the production of consumer goods in the Ukraine is directed by such policies, how can it not get worse than in other areas of the U.S.S.R.? Who is to blame for this state of affairs, if not the Brezhnev clique itself?

Russian Big-Nation Chauvinists Exposed

The Soviet revisionists came up with the decision on the Ukrainian consumer goods question with sinister motives.

The Brezhnev clique has plunged the Soviet economy in chaos, seriously affecting the living standards of

the Soviet people and rousing strong dissatisfaction among the people of all nationalities in the country. In the last two years, the Brezhnev clique has intensified its fascist suppression of the Ukrainian people with the result that dissatisfaction with the Soviet revisionist leading clique has increased among the Ukrainian people, including the ordinary cadres and party members.

The motive behind the decision issued by Brezhnev and his like is obvious. On the one hand, they hope to show that they are concerned about conditions affecting the Ukrainian people, on the other, they want to hold others responsible for the shortages of consumer goods in the Ukraine and damp down the people's dissatisfaction to some extent. They can find scapegoats among the ordinary Ukrainian cadres and step up their move to purge anyone daring to oppose Russian big-nation chauvinism pushed by Brezhnev. They hope, in fact, to kill two birds with one stone!

The Soviet revisionist scheme, however, will not work. The people of all nationalities of the U.S.S.R. are clear as to who is to blame for the Soviet economic confusion and the serious shortages of consumer goods in the Ukraine. The Brezhnev clique's trick merely means it is only lifting a rock to drop it on its own feet, further exposes the ugly features of the Russian big-nation chauvinists and once more shows that they are the mortal enemy of the people of all nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

ROUND THE WORLD

MOZAMBIQUE

A New Victory

The agreement signed between FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front) and the government in Lisbon on Portugal's recognition of the Mozambican people's right to independence is a victory for the armed struggle the people of Mozambique have persevered in for ten years.

The Mozambican people who experienced untold sufferings from colonialist oppression drew lessons from their more than 400 years of arduous struggle. On September 25, 1964, they took up arms and embarked on the road of armed struggle for national independence. Ten years of fighting show that the Mozambican people are a heroic people who defy brute force and dare to persevere in their cause and that armed struggle is the correct road to the liberation of Mozambique.

At the beginning of the armed struggle, the patriotic forces had only 200-odd men but they went on the attack incessantly in Cabo Delgado Province in northeastern Mozambique. The armed forces grew in strength in the heat of battle and their operations expanded to include Niassa Province in northwestern Mozambique. Later, the enemy built the Cabora-Bassa Dam in Tete Province, plotting to set up a state of white settlers and turn Mozambique into a Portuguese Rhodesia. To crush this scheme, the patriotic armed forces opened a new front in Tete Province in 1968. They assaulted the dam, destroyed communication lines and mounted frequent attacks on the enemy. Pressing on southwards in July 1972, they crossed the Zambezi River and penetrated the enemy's strategic and economic centre to open a new front in Manica-and-Sofala Province. Last July, they

launched a fierce offensive in Zambezia Province in central Mozambique. And in less than a month the armed struggle spread to one-third of the province. The opening of this strategic new front dealt a heavy blow at the enemy. In the past ten years, under FRELIMO's leadership, the patriotic armed forces fought valiantly against the Portuguese colonial troops, killing more than 16,000 of them, downing 96 planes and destroying more than 2,000 military vehicles. In the course of fighting, the people's forces grew into a 10,000-strong army. They have liberated more than 200,000 square kilometres of land with a population of over one million, and established liberated areas and extensive guerrilla bases.

The constant victories achieved by the people of Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies in Africa in their armed struggles have dealt a crushing blow to the Portuguese colonialists, plunging them into difficulties at home and abroad, and making them utterly isolated. Over the past 13 years, the Portuguese colonialists have spent 6,000 million U.S. dollars in their colonial war in Africa. Military expenditure made up over half of their annual budget, averaging 41 dollars for each Portuguese. The protracted huge military expenditure has drained the country's wealth, made life unbearable for the people, intensified class contradictions and resulted in the collapse of the fascist dictatorial regime.

In the new situation, the Mozambican people did not relent in their determination to fight on nor did they lower their vigilance. In the past several months after the coup d'état in Portugal, the patriotic armed forces persisted in their struggle in the northern, northeastern, western and central parts of Mozambique and won new victories.

While winning victories on the battlefield, the Mozambican people

persisted in struggle in negotiations, and finally forced Portugal to recognize their right to national independence and sign the agreement in Lusaka, capital of Zambia, on September 7.

Joaquim Chissano, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Mozambique appointed by FRELIMO, arrived in Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique, on September 16 to form a provisional government in accordance with the agreement signed with Portugal.

At a press conference shortly after his arrival, he said that FRELIMO has fought for years against fascism and colonialism and will continue to fight in defence of the fruits of victory.

UNITED NATIONS

Soviet Opposition to Charter Revision Thwarted

The General Committee of the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly met on September 19 to discuss the agenda of the current session. Soviet Representative Malik's attempt to exclude from the agenda the item on reviewing the U.N. Charter was foiled.

Nominally defending the principles of the U.N. Charter but actually trying to preserve the Soviet hegemonic position, Malik opposed a discussion on the revision of the Charter. He described the Charter as "one of the most important documents for the maintenance of peace and security," alleging that "it was inadmissible to undermine the basic principle of the Charter, namely, the principle of the veto, which was a realistic principle having regard to the realities of the modern world."

Malik's arrogant and fallacious position was opposed and repudiated by the representatives of many countries.

The Philippines' Jose D. Ingles said that he did not see why the Assembly should be prevented from discussing the question. He emphasized that

the review of specific suggestions regarding the U.N. Charter should take place in the General Assembly this year.

Argentina's Carlos Ortiz de Rozas emphasized: The Charter was almost 30 years old. Since it came into force, the membership of the organization has more than doubled. It is logical to have a debate on the question of review of the Charter.

Chinese Representative Huang Hua pointed out: It is entirely reasonable and proper for many Third World countries now to demand a change in the present state of affairs of the United Nations and the necessary revision of the Charter. The Chinese Government firmly supports their just demand and is ready to join other countries in a serious exploration on the question of the review of the Charter.

He pointed out: The U.N. Charter itself contains provisions that the Charter can be revised. The absurd position of the Soviet representative in opposing any discussion of the question of the review of the Charter is in itself anti-constitutional.

Malik's proposal on the deletion of the item was rejected by the committee by a vote of 19 against, 3 in favour, with two abstentions.

Other items like the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations, the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea were also adopted by the committee.

The General Assembly of the United Nations met on September 17 at New York Headquarters to begin its current session. The General Assembly elected Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, as President of the current session by 133 votes and accepted recommendations from the Security Council and unanimously adopted the draft resolutions for the admission of Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada to membership in the United Nations.

At the September 21 plenary session, the U.N. Assembly accepted the General Committee's proposal and adopted a 110-item agenda of the current session.

ETHIOPIA

Provisional Military Government Set Up

The Ethiopian Co-ordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army issued a proclamation on September 12, announcing the establishment of a provisional military government, the dissolution of parliament, the suspension of the existing constitution and the deposition of Emperor Haile Selassie I.

The proclamation signed by the Co-ordinating Committee says: "Haile Selassie I has been deposed as of today, Meskerem 2, 1967 (September 12, 1974). The Crown Prince, His Highness Merid Azmatch Asfa Wossen, will become the King of Ethiopia," and "the King will be head of state with no power in the country's administrative and political affairs."

It declares, "The Armed Forces Committee has assumed full government power until a legally constituted People's Assembly approves a new constitution and a government is duly established."

The Armed Forces Committee also announced in a statement on September 12 the four guidelines for Ethiopia's foreign policy: strict pursuance of a non-aligned foreign policy; adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and Charter of the Organization of African Unity and respect for all international obligations; doing everything possible to help the people still under colonial rule to gain independence, particularly the people in Africa; maintaining close and friendly relations with all African countries, especially with Ethiopia's close neighbours.

Since February this year, the Ethiopian people have launched a large-scale mass movement, and the

armed forces mutinied, demanding social and economic reforms. The Co-ordinating Committee arrested many high military and government officials and adopted measures step by step to weaken the authority of the Emperor.

"HOLIDAY" (DACCA)

Soviet Revisionism Presses Bangladesh for Repayment of Wheat

Foodgrains were scarce after the floods in Bangladesh. The Soviet authorities, according to a recent issue of the Dacca weekly *Holiday*, took advantage of the situation and pressed Bangladesh for the immediate return of the wheat it had loaned.

Heavy rains hit Bangladesh during last July and August, causing severe floods in many places. Bangladesh officials estimated that in the unprecedented floods there were 1,500 deaths and serious inundation of 1.5 million hectares of farmland. While the country was reeling under the consequence of rain-storm, the Soviet Union, in a protocol signed with Bangladesh, asked the latter to repay in five years, beginning September 1975, the loan of 200,000 tons of wheat contracted in 1973.

The Soviet Union at first demanded an immediate repayment of the entire 200,000 tons. But when the negotiations on foodgrains were making headway between Bangladesh and the United States, it was decided that the return of the Soviet wheat be spread over a period of five years.

"The Soviet Union cannot make out any political or economic justification for such a Shylock-like expropriation," the *Holiday* report says. "This is an example of outrageous political pressure by the Soviet social-imperialists."

It is a general practice of the Soviet social-imperialists to use so-called "assistance" as a means of intervention and exploitation and to force repayment of loans when the recipient countries are in difficulties.

AUTUMN 1974

CHINESE EXPORT COMMODITIES FAIR

Jointly sponsored by

the national foreign trade corporations
of the People's Republic of China

**From October 15 to November 15
Kwangchow**

**Businessmen all over the world are
welcome to visit the fair and
discuss both import and export trade**

**For travel and accommodation arrangements, please contact
China Travel Service (Hongkong) Ltd., which acts for
China International Travel Service**