

PEKING REVIEW

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September 7, 1973

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Tenth National Congress Of the Communist Party Of China

August 24—28

Press Communique of the First Plenary
Session of the Tenth Central Committee
Of the Communist Party of China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

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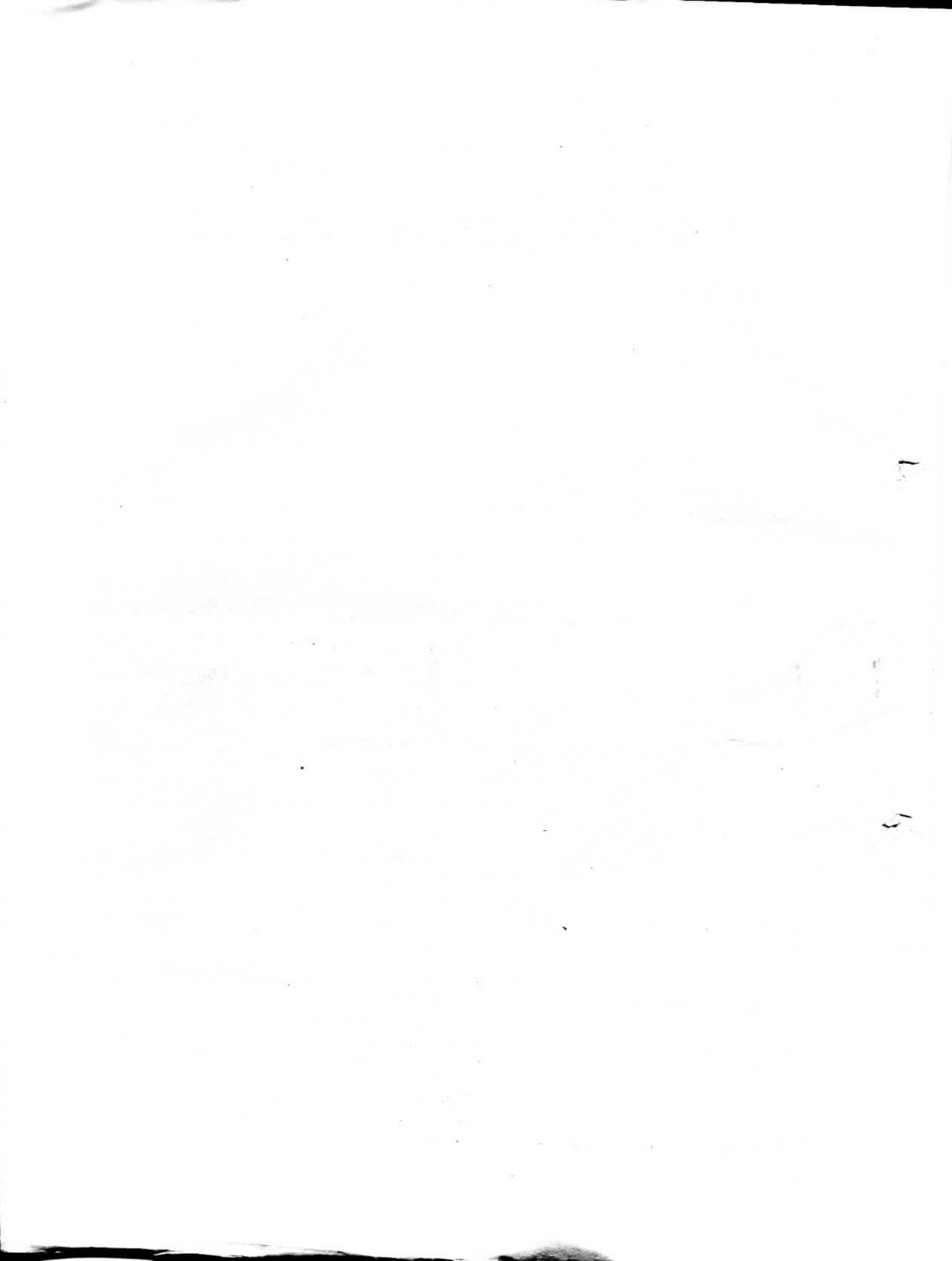
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The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 24 to 28. Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader of our Party, presided over the congress.



PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

August 29, 1973

THE Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 24 to 28. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour.

The great leader of our Party Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over the congress.

The agenda of the congress were: 1. Comrade Chou En-lai delivered the political report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; 2. Comrade Wang Hung-wen delivered the report on the revision of the Party Constitution on behalf of the Central Committee of



Comrades Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen on the rostrum at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

the Communist Party of China and submitted to the congress the "Draft of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China"; 3. The Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was elected.

The congress formally opened on August 24.

When Chairman Mao appeared on the rostrum, cheers resounded through the hall. The delegates excitedly greeted him with prolonged and hearty applause and cheered, "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Chairman Mao warmly waved to the delegates.

The congress elected a presidium composed of 148 delegates.

The congress unanimously elected Chairman Mao Tsetung chairman of the presidium, Comrades Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying and Li Teh-sheng vice-chairmen of the presidium and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao secretary-general of the presidium.

Also seated in the front row on the rostrum were: Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching, Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Tung Pi-wu, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng and Wu Teh.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and comrades throughout the Party made full preparations for this historic congress. A total of 1,249 delegates were elected to the congress at the end of an extensive democratic process, which included repeated deliberations and consultations about the candidates and seeking the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party in the areas or organizations to which the candidates belonged. Prior to the formal opening of the congress, all the delegates had seriously discussed the drafts of all the congress documents. Inspired and joyful, the people of the whole country greeted the Tenth Congress with concrete deeds.

On the day the congress formally opened, the delegates from the four corners of our great socialist motherland entered the stately assembly hall by way of a spacious lobby with huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the wall. Among the delegates were those from the Party membership of the industrial workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, those from the Party membership in the People's Liberation Army, who came from frontier outposts where they vigilantly guarded our motherland, and those from the Party membership of revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other working people. Delegates from among the worker, peasant and soldier Party members accounted for 67 per cent of the total number. Over 20 per cent of the delegates were women Party members. Delegates of fraternal nationalities other than the Hans also constituted a certain proportion of the total. Delegates elected from Party members in various places of our country, who were natives of Taiwan Province, our motherland's sacred territory yet to be liberated, attended a national congress of the Party for the first time. Bearing the mandate

of the 28 million Party members throughout the country and bringing with them the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people of all the nationalities, the delegates worked together with our great leader Chairman Mao in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

On August 28, after serious and lively discussions, the congress unanimously adopted the political report given by Comrade Chou En-lai, the report on the revision of the Party Constitution given by Comrade Wang Hung-wen and also the Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The delegates said with joy that these documents, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, analyse the excellent situation both at home and abroad, fully affirm the great victories won on all fronts under the guidance of the line of the Ninth Congress, sum up the basic experience of the two-line struggle, especially that of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and further define the orientation and tasks of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they constitute the fighting programme for the whole Party, Army and people.

After repeated deliberation and discussion, the congress elected the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China by secret ballot. When the results of the election were announced, thunderous and enthusiastic applause and cheers reverberated again through the hall.

The 195 Members and 124 Alternate Members elected to the Central Committee embody the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Some are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations, who went through the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars in the early years of the Party, some are leading cadres from various fronts, who stood the test of gun-fire in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, others are outstanding fighters in the three great revolutionary movements (i.e. class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) and in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction during the period of socialist revolution, and still others are young comrades who newly joined the Party during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Gathered together, the old, the middle-aged and the young studied side by side and encouraged each other. The delegates said gladly that the composition of the Tenth Central Committee fully demonstrates that our Party is flourishing and has no lack of successors and that it is firmly united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The congress indignantly denounced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique for its crimes. All the delegates firmly supported this resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: Expel Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor, from the Party once and for all; expel Chen Po-ta, principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, anti-communist Kuomintang element, Trotskyite, renegade, enemy agent and revisionist, from the Party once and for all, and dismiss him from all posts inside and outside the Party. The delegates unanimously supported the decisions made and all the corresponding measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with regard to the other principal members of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China called on the whole Party, Army and people to study its documents conscientiously and implement them thoroughly, persist in

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the basic principles "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," and unite to win still greater victories!

The congress pointed out: At present we should continue to put the task of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work above all else. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and people in class struggle and two-line struggle, and should study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook. We should continue to do well the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure including all spheres of culture, work hard to grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war and do our work better in all fields. We should act in accordance with the political line



The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour.

defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, and build our Party into an ever stronger and more vigorous Party, which will lead the people of all nationalities in the country and unite with all the forces that can be united to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The congress pointed out: The present international situation is characterized by great disorder on the earth. Such great disorder is a good thing, and not a bad thing, and it is further developing in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. We must uphold proletarian internationalism, adhere to the consistent policies of our Party, strengthen our unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world, strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the U.S.

and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. The congress called on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the people of all nationalities in our country to strengthen without fail their preparations against wars of aggression, be on guard against the outbreak of an imperialist world war and particularly against surprise attacks by social-imperialism and be ready to wipe out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely any enemy that dare invade us!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the Tenth National Congress of the Party, a congress of unity and victory!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

List of Members of the Presidium of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

(148 Members)

Chairman: Mao Tsetung

Vice-Chairmen: Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Teh-sheng

Secretary-General: Chang Chun-chiao

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

Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching (f.), Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Tung Pi-wu, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh,

Ting Sheng, Ma Tien-shui, Ma Ning, Ma Chin-hua (f.), Yu Hui-yung, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Wang Ti, Wang Chen, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Pi-cheng, Wang Yung-chen, Wang Hsiu-chen (f.), Wang Huai-hsiang, Wang Teh-shan, Pa Sang (f.), Yu Tai-chung, Mao Yuan-hsin,

Wei Kuo-ching, Wei Tsai-yu, Wen Hsiang-lan (f.), Varisjan Turdi, Pai Ju-ping, Pi Ting-chun, Hsuan Shun-chi (f.), Jen Jung, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Ching-tang, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Chun-chiao, Ulanfu, Sun Yu-kuo, Chiang Li-yin, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Ke-chia, Chu Hsiu-feng (f.), Chu Ming-tsang, Hua Lin-sen, Nien Chi-jung, Hsing Yen-tzu (f.), Chen Yun, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsien-jui, Ziya, Tu Ping, Yang Yung, Yang Teh-chih, Li Ta-chang, Li Chih-min, Li Hsiu-lan (f.), Li Su-wen (f.), Li Jui-shan, Chang Feng-ying (f.), Chang Ping-hua, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Ta-chih, Chang Chiang-lin, Chang Yen-cheng, Chang Hsiu-chih (f.), Chang Ti-hsueh, Chang Heng-yun, Chang Tsung-hsun, Chang Hung-chih, Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Tsun-chieh (f.), Wu Hsiang-pi, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Shih Ke-chi, Sung Pei-chang, Yu Chiu-li, Tung Chun-liang, Wang Chia-tao, She Chi-teh, Su Chen-hua, Chou Hsing, Chou Yi-liang, Chou Chien-jen, Chou Li-chin (f.), Pao-jihletai (f.), Hsien Heng-han, Lin Li-yun (f.), Chin Tsu-min, Chao Tzu-yang, Hao Chien-hsiu (f.), Hao

Liang, Keng Piao, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Ching-hsien, Kuo Hung-chieh, Kuo Mo-jo, Ni Chih-fu, Tang Chi-shan, Tang Chung-fu, Tang Wen-sheng (f.), Hai Ka-tzu, Chien Hsueh-sen, Nieh Jung-chen, Chin Chi-wei, Chu Hui-fen (f.), Mei Hsiao-ya (f.), Wei Feng-ying (f.), Huang Lin-ying (f.), Pan Mei-ying (f.), Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Tsao Lien-feng (f.), Kang Chien-min, Liang

Chin-tang, Chi Peng-fei, Peng Chung, Han Ying, Han Hsien-chu, Su Yu, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Hsieh Chen-hua, Hsieh Ching-yi (f.), Tung Ming-hui, Lei Kuei-mei (f.), Tan Chih-lung, Saifudin, Tsai Chang (f.), Tsai Hsieh-pin, Tsai Shu-mei (f.), Pan Shih-kao, Lu Jui-lin, Fan Teh-ling, Wei Ping-kuei.

List of the 319 Members and Alternate Members Of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

The 195 Members of the Central Committee

Mao Tsetung

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

Ting Sheng, Ting Ke-tse, Ting Kuo-yu, Ma Ning, Ma Tien-shui, Yu Sang, Yu Hui-yung, Yu Hung-liang, Wang Cheng, Wang Chen, Wang Pi-cheng, Wang Hung-kun, Wang Hsiu-chen (f.), Wang Kuo-fan, Wang Hung-wen, Wang Shu-sheng, Wang Shou-tao, Wang Shu-chen (f.), Wang Huai-hsiang, Wang Chao-chu, Wang Chia-hsiang, Tien Pao, Pa Sang (f.), Fang Yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Yu Tai-chung, Kung Shih-chuan, Kung Chao-nien, Ulanfu, Wei Kuo-ching, Feng Hsuan, Ismayil Aymat, Pai Ju-ping, Tien Hua-kuei, Tien Wei-hsin, Pi Ting-chun, Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Wei, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Po-cheng, Liu Chun-yi, Liu Hsien-chuan, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Sheng-tien, Liu Hsiang-ping (f.), Liu Hsi-chang, Chiang Ching (f.), Chiang Li-yin, Chiang Yung-hui, Chiang Hsieh-yuan, Chu Teh, Chu Mu-chih, Hsu Shih-yu, Lu Yu-lan (f.), An Ping-sheng, Chuang Tse-tung, Hua Kuo-feng, Hua Lin-sen, Chiao Kuan-hua, Jen Ssu-chung, Nien Chi-jung, Chi Teng-kuei, Hsing Yen-tzu (f.), Chen Yun, Chen Yu, Chen Kang, Chen Shih-chu, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsien-jui, Chen Chi-han, Chen Hsi-lien, Chen Mu-hua (f.), Tu Ping, Li Ta, Li Chiang, Li Chen, Li Ta-chang, Li Ching-chuan, Li Shui-ching, Li Jen-chih, Li Hsien-nien, Li Chih-min, Li Shun-ta, Li Su-wen (f.), Li Pao-hua, Li Fu-chun, Li Jui-shan, Li Teh-sheng, Ku Mu, Yang Yung, Yang Chun-fu, Yang Teh-chih, Wu Tao, Wu Teh, Wu Ta-sheng, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Su Ching, Su Chen-hua, Chang Tsai-chien, Chang Yun-

yi, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Ta-chih, Chang Chih-ming, Chang Yen-cheng, Chang Ti-hsueh, Chang Tsung-hsun, Chang Heng-yun, Chang Hung-chih, Chang Shu-chih, Chang Chun-chiao, Chang Wei-min, Chang Fu-kuei, Chang Fu-heng, Chang Ting-cheng, Chang Yi-hsiang, Wang Tung-hsing, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Tsen Kuo-jung, Sung Pei-chang, Yu Chiu-li, Chou Hsing, Chou Hung-pao, Chou Li-chin (f.), Chou Chun-lin, Chou Chien-jen, Chou En-lai, Paojihletai (f.), Tsung Hsi-yun, Lin Li-yun (f.), Lo Ching-chang, Lo Hsi-kang, Hsien Heng-han, Chin Tsu-min, Yao Wen-yuan, Jao Hsing-li, Tuan Chun-yi, Chu Chia-yao, Hu Chi-tung, Chao Tzu-yang, Keng Piao, Keng Chi-chang, Chien Chih-kuang, Chien Cheng-ying (f.), Kuo Yu-feng, Kuo Hung-chieh, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Ching-hsien, Hsia Pang-yin, Tang Chi-shan, Tang Chung-fu, Ni Chih-fu, Nieh Jung-chen, Mo Hsien-yao, Chin Chi-wei, Tao Lu-chia, Chi Peng-fei, Kang Sheng, Huang Hua, Huang Chen, Wei Feng-ying (f.), Lu Tien-chi, Tsao Li-huai, Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Tsui Hai-lung, Liang Chin-tang, Han Ying, Han Hsien-chu, Su Yu, Tung Pi-wu, Tung Ming-hui, Fu Chuan-tso, Chiao Lin-yi, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Peng Shao-hui, Hsieh Chia-hsiang, Hsieh Ching-yi (f.), Lu Jui-lin, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tsai Chang (f.), Tsai Hsiao, Tsai Hsieh-pin, Tsai Shu-mei (f.), Teng Tai-yuan, Tan Chih-lung, Tan Chen-lin, Liao Cheng-chih, Saifudin, Pan Shih-kao, Fan Teh-ling, Wei Ping-kuei.

The 124 Alternate Members of the Central Committee

Pu Ku-hsiang, Chilin Wandan (formerly transliterated as Chilinwangtan), Ma Ming, Ma Hsiao-liu, Ma Li-hsin, Ma Chin-hua (f.), Teng Hua, Wang Ti, Wang Chien, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Kuang-lin, Wang Pai-teh, Wang Chih-chiang, Wang Mei-chi (f.),

Wang Ching-sheng, Wang Teh-shan, Wen Hsiang-lan (f.), Yeh Fei, Yang Tsung (f.), Shih Shao-hua, Li Jih-nai, Feng Chan-wu, Feng Pin-teh, Shen Maokung, Lu Chung-yang, Pai Tung-tsai, Chiang Hua, Chiang Wei-ching, Lu Ho, Lu Tsun-chieh (f.), Jen Jung, Ta Leh (formerly transliterated as Ta Lo), Sun Chien, Sun Yu-kuo, Liu Hsi-yao, Liu Kuang-tao, Liu Chun-chiao, Liu Chen-hua, Hsiang Chung-hua, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Ke-chia, Ruzi Turdi (formerly transliterated as Joutzutuerhti), Juan Posheng, Hsiao Ke, Wu Chung, Wu Tsung-shu, Wu Yu-teh, Wu Hsiang-pi, Wu Chin-chuan, Yang Kuei, Yang Ta-yi, Yang Po-lan (f.), Yang Chun-sheng, Yang Fu-chen (f.), Chen Yu-pao, Chen Tai-fu, Chen Ho-fa, Chen Chia-chung, Chen Pei-chen (f.), Li Hua-min, Li Shou-lin, Li Ting-shan, Li Tsu-ken, Li Yao-sung, Chang Ling-pin, Chang Huai-lien, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Chiang-lin, Chang Ying-tsai,

Chang Lin-chih, Chang Kuo-chuan, Chang Ssu-chou, Chang Chi-hui, Sung Shuang-lai, Sung Ching-yu, Sung Shih-lun, Lu Chin-lung, Wang Chia-tao, Wang Hsiang-chun (f.), She Chi-teh, Cheng San-sheng, Lin Li-ming, Lo Chun-ti (f.), Hu Wei, Hu Liang-tsai, Hu Chin-ti (f.), Chao Feng, Chao Hsing-yuan, Chao Hsin-chu, Yao Lien-wei, Yao Yi-lin, Hsu Chih, Tang Liang, Tang Ke-pi (f.), Tang Wen-sheng (f.), Tieh Ying, Janabil, Chien Hsueh-sen, Kao Shulan (f.), Chu Hui-fen (f.), Kuo Yao-ching, Kang Lin, Kang Chien-min, Huang Wen-ming, Huang Cheng-lien, Huang Tso-chen, Huang Chih-chen, Huang Ping-hsiu (f.), Huang Jung-hai, Lung Kuang-chien, Tsui Hsiu-fan, Pan Mei-ying (f.), Peng Chung, Peng Kuei-ho, Lu Ta-tung, Chiang Pao-ti (f.), Hsieh Chia-tang, Hsieh Chen-hua, Hsieh Wang-chun (f.), Liao Chih-kao, Pei Chou-yu, Li Yuan, Fan Hsiao-chu (f.), Hsueh Chin-lien (f.).

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

August 30, 1973

THE Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its first plenary session on August 30.

The central organs were elected at the session. The results of the election are as follows:

Chairman of the Central Committee:
Mao Tsetung.

Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee:
Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Teh-sheng.

Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee:

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

Mao Tsetung, Wang Hung-wen, Wei Kuo-ching, Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching (f.), Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Hua Kuo-feng, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh, Wang Tung-hsing, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Li Teh-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Chou En-lai, Yao Wen-yuan, Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu.

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Saifudin.

Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Mao Tsetung, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chu Teh, Li Teh-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu.



Comrade Mao Tsetung on the rostrum at the congress.



From the left: Comrades Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng and Li Teh-sheng on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Wang Hung-wen and Yeh Chien-ying on the rostrum.



From the left: Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Chu Teh and Chen Hsi-lien on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching on the rostrum.



From the left: Comrades Yao Wen-yuan, Chi Teng-kuei and Hua Kuo-feng on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Hsu Shih-yu, Li Hsien-nien and Tung Pi-wu on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Wang Tung-hsing and Wu Teh on the rostrum.



On the rostrum at the congress.



On the rostrum at the congress.



On the day the congress formally opened, the delegates from four corners of our great socialist motherland entered the stately assembly hall by way of a spacious lobby with huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the wall.



When Chairman Mao appeared on the rostrum, cheers resounded through the hall. The delegates excitedly greeted him with prolonged and hearty applause and cheered, "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Report to the Tenth National Congress of The Communist Party of China

(Delivered on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973)

Chou En-lai

Comrades!

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

On the Line of the Ninth National Congress

The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, "**Unite to win still greater victories.**" At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated: "**Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**" "**We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat.**" In addition he predicted: "**Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years.**" Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted

at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society." Naturally, this draft by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Piao secretly supported Chen Po-ta in the latter's open opposition to the political report drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Piao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the con-



Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work has been launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of Lin Piao and other swindlers like him, and settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organizationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to **"unite to win still greater victories."**

gress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Piao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, then in March 1971 he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571"*, and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader

Thanks to the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a time impaired by Lin Piao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of twenty-eight million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither

external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and Government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries and our cooperation with friendly countries have been further strengthened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored.

The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalized their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favourable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

On the Victory of Smashing the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China, and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and ranted about "struggling . . . for bringing it back to the road of internationalism." (*Pravda*, January 14, 1967) In March 1967 another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive

say," "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country." (*Pravda*, March 4 and 10, 1967) What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism and all the exploiting classes; what they meant by "their decisive say" is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state; what they meant by "victory of ideas" is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the "road of internationalism" is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictator-

ship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that "all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Chairman Mao has made "working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world" one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. Lin Piao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China's new-democratic revolution. Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after the Kutien Meeting [December 1929 — *Tr.*], Chairman Mao wrote a long letter "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" to Lin Piao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remoulded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thoroughgoing, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism

over capitalism, Lin Piao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their positions, overestimating their own strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his "decisive say" in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said. "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles. . . . And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out. . . ." (Frederick Engels' letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882)

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, re-

flecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piao will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to "have everything under his command and everything at his disposal," but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers

another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated "all alliance, no struggle" covered Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism which advocated "all struggle, no alliance." The rectification of Wang Ming's "Left" deviation covered Wang Ming's Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-chi's revisionism covered Lin Piao's revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, **"Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle."** In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that **"this Party of ours has a bright future."** Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, **"If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population."** So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience, and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

On the Situation and Our Tasks

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined "imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism." Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat," and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, "Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution." This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analysed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples' struggles

against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples' struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that "an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony." Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. The declaration of this year as the "year of Europe" and the convocation of the European Security Conference indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat is very tough, and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Piao the "super-spy" has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west," and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intransquillity. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries. It has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resentment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — find the

going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, "Flowers fall off, do what one may," they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the U.S.-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it could not but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar and its reactionary nature, namely, **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds."** The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two — for in-

stance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in order to show that we favour relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of principle should not hinder the normalization of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack"** — this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Lenin put it well: **"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot."** (*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*) The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970: **"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."** It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a worldwide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian interna-

tionalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two super-powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings that we should **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and should **"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,"** maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the shortcomings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies

in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historical experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to **"read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism,"** try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts **"the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism."**

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health, and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7 cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the gen-

eral line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**, grasp revolution and promote production. We should continue to implement the principle of **"taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor"** and the series of policies of walking on two legs, and build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and frugality. Marx pointed out that **"the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself."** One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. In order to learn from Taching in industry and to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, vigorously launch mass movements and give full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses. On this basis, planning and co-ordination must be strengthened, rational rules and regulations improved and both central and local initiative further brought into full play. Party organizations should pay close attention to questions of economic policy, concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and strive effectively to fulfil or overfulfil the state plans for developing the national economy so that our socialist economy will make still greater progress.

We should further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. **Of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.** Party committees at all levels should study "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," "Methods of Work of Party Committees" and other writings by Chairman Mao, sum up their experience and further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party ideologically, organizationally as well as through rules and regulations. At the same time the role of revolutionary committees and mass organizations should be brought into full play. We should strengthen the leadership given to primary organizations in order to ensure that leadership there is truly in the hands of Marxists and in the hands of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people, and that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled in every primary organization. Party committees at all levels should apply democratic centralism better and improve their art of leadership. It should be emphatically pointed out that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying

no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. It is hoped that comrades throughout the Party, leading comrades in particular, will guard against such a tendency and earnestly change such a style of work.

The experience with regard to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership, which the masses created during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has provided us with favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Party organizations at all levels should keep on the agenda this fundamental task which is crucial for generations to come. Chairman Mao says: **"Revolutionary successors of the proletariat are invariably brought up in great storms."** They must be tempered in class struggle and two-line struggle and educated by both positive and negative experience. Therefore, a genuine Communist must be ready to accept a higher or lower post and be able to stand the test of going up or stepping down many times. All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance.

Comrades! The Tenth National Congress of the Party will have a far-reaching influence on the course of our Party's development. We will soon convene the Fourth National People's Congress. Our people and the revolutionary people of all countries place great hopes on our Party and our country. We are confident that our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, will uphold his proletarian revolutionary line, do our work well and live up to the expectations of our people and the people throughout the world!

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. Let our whole Party unite, let our people of all nationalities unite, **be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Constitution of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

Chapter I

General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

Through more than fifty years of arduous struggle, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Revolutions like this

will have to be carried out many times in the future.

The Party must rely on the working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lead the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; lead the people in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and lead them in preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

The Communist Party of China has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines. Comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practising Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigues and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handling them, must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, and must train millions of suc-

cessors for the cause of proletarian revolution, so as to ensure that the Party's cause will advance for ever along the Marxist line.

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Chapter II

Membership

Article 1 Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of eighteen and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organization and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2 Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3 Members of the Communist Party of China must:

(1) Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism;

(2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;

(3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;

(4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;

(5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

Article 4 When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organizations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures — warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated and who does not change despite repeated education may be persuaded to withdraw from the Party.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien-class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted.

Chapter III

Organizational Principle of the Party

Article 5 The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall be elected through democratic consultation in accordance with the requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members

have the right to criticize organizations and leading members of the Party at all levels and make proposals to them. If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate. It is essential to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Article 6 The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of Party organizations in the localities, in army units and in various departments are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party congresses at all levels are convened by Party committees at their respective levels. The convening of Party congresses in the localities, in army units and in various departments and their elected Party committee members are subject to approval by the higher Party organizations.

Party committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dispatch their representative organs in accordance with the principles of close ties with the masses and simple and efficient structure.

Article 7 State organs, the People's Liberation Army and the militia, labour unions, poor and lower-middle peasant associations, women's federations, the Communist Youth League, the Red Guards, the Little Red Guards and other revolutionary mass organizations must all accept the centralized leadership of the Party.

Party committees or leading Party groups may be set up in state organs and popular organizations.

Chapter IV

Central Organizations of the Party

Article 8 The National Party Congress shall be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

Article 9 The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau

of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a number of necessary organs, which are compact and efficient, shall be set up to attend to the day-to-day work of the Party, the government and the Army in a centralized way.

Chapter V

Party Organizations in the Localities And the Army Units

Article 10 Local Party congresses at the county level and upwards and Party congresses in the People's Liberation Army at the regimental level and upwards shall be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they may be convened before their due date or postponed.

Party committees at all levels in the localities and the army units elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries.

Chapter VI

Primary Organizations of the Party

Article 11 Party branches, general Party branches or primary Party committees shall be set up in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighbourhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units in accordance with the requirements of the revolutionary struggle and the size of the Party membership.

Party branches and general Party branches shall hold elections once a year and primary Party committees shall hold elections every two years. Under special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed.

Article 12 The main tasks of the primary organizations of the Party are:

(1) To lead the Party members and non-Party members in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and criticizing revisionism;

(2) To give constant education to the Party members and non-Party members concerning the ideological and political line and lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy;

(3) To propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle so as to keep Party life vigorous;

(5) To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline and constantly consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution

(Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973)

Wang Hung-wen

Comrades!

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now give a brief explanation of the revision of our Party's Constitution.

In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee concerning the revision of the Party Constitution, a working conference of the Central Committee which was convened last May discussed the question of revising the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress. After that conference, the Party committees of the provinces, the municipalities directly under the central authority, and the autonomous regions, the Party committees of the greater military commands and the Party organizations directly under the Central Committee all set up groups for the revision of the Party Constitution, extensively consulted the masses inside and outside

the Party and formally submitted 41 drafts to the Central Committee. At the same time, the masses inside and outside the Party in various places directly mailed in many suggestions for revision. The draft of the revised Constitution now submitted to the congress for discussion was drawn up according to Chairman Mao's specific proposals for the revision and on the basis of serious study of all the drafts and suggestions sent in.

In the discussion on the revision, all Party comrades were of the view that since the Party's Ninth National Congress, the whole Party, Army and people, guided by the line of that congress, which was formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, have done the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a deep-going way, smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and won great vic-



ories in all aspects of the domestic and international struggles. Practice over the past four years and more has fully proved that both the political line and organizational line of the Ninth Congress are correct. The Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress upholds our Party's consistent and fundamental principles, reflects the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and has played a positive part in the political life of our whole Party, Army and people. The stipulations in the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress regarding the nature, guiding ideology, basic programme and basic line of our Party have been retained in the general programme of the present draft. Some adjustments have been made in the structure and content. There are not many changes in the articles. The number of words has been slightly reduced. The paragraph concerning Lin Piao in the general programme of the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress was completely deleted. This was the unanimous demand of the whole Party, Army and people. It was also the inevitable result of Lin Piao's betrayal of the Party and the country and his own final rejection of the Party and people.

Compared with the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress, the present draft is mainly characterized by its richer content with regard to

the experience of the struggle between the two lines. This was a common feature of all the drafts sent in. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has been victorious in the ten major struggles between the two lines and accumulated rich experience of defeating Right and "Left" opportunist lines, which is most valuable to the whole Party. Chairman Mao says, **"To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization."** All the comrades of our Party must pay close attention to the question of line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen our Party building and ensure that the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism is carried through.

What has been added in the draft in this respect?

One. Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and it is also a deep-going Party consolidation movement. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the whole Party, Army and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters, the one headed by Liu Shao-chi and the other by Lin Piao, thus striking a hard blow at all domestic and international reactionary forces. **The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.** The draft fully affirms the great victories and the tremendous significance of this revolution and has the following statement explicitly written into it: "Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future." Historical experience tells us that not only will the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in society at home inevitably find expression in our Party, but imperialism and social-imperialism abroad will inevitably recruit agents from within our Party in order to carry out aggression and subversion against us. In 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was just rising, Chairman Mao already pointed out: **"Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters**

and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out." The living reality of class struggle has confirmed and will continue to confirm this objective law as revealed by Chairman Mao. We must heighten our vigilance and understand the protractedness and complexity of this struggle. In order to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and seize new victories for the socialist cause, it is necessary to deepen the socialist revolution in the ideological, political and economic spheres, to transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not conform to the socialist economic base and carry out many great political revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Two. Adherence to the principles: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** Of these three principles — "the three dos and three don'ts" — put forward by Chairman Mao, the most fundamental is to practise Marxism and not revisionism. If one practises Marxism and wholeheartedly serves the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world, one is obliged to work for unity and be open and aboveboard; if one practises revisionism and exclusively serves the small number of exploiting class elements, one will inevitably go in for splits, intrigues and conspiracy. Revisionism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. Revisionists are agents whom the bourgeoisie, and imperialism, revisionism and reaction plant in our Party by means of sending them in or recruiting them from our ranks. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and similar careerists, conspirators, double-dealers and absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders, though they manifested themselves in somewhat different ways, were all essentially the same; they were all chieftains in practising revisionism and thoroughly turned bourgeois ideologically, politically and in their way of life. They were rotten to the core! Chairman Mao says, **"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."** This is absolutely true. The principles of "the three dos and three don'ts" have been entered into the general programme of the draft in accordance with suggestions sent in. In Point (1) under Article 3 concerning the requirements for Party members and in Point (1) under Article 12 concerning the tasks of the primary Party

organizations, the words "criticize revisionism" have been added in accordance with the views expressed by the worker, peasant and soldier comrades at the forum held by the Peking Municipal Party Committee on the revision of the Party Constitution as well as suggestions from some provinces and municipalities. Revisionism remains the main danger today. To study Marxism and criticize revisionism is our long-term task for strengthening the building of our Party ideologically.

Three. We must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.** During the discussions on the revision of the Party Constitution, many comrades, reviewing the Party's history and their own experiences, held that this was most important in the two-line struggle within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, there were several occasions when wrong lines held sway in our Party. In the later period of the democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution, when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao has been predominant, there have also been lessons in that certain wrong lines or wrong views were taken as correct for a time by many people and supported as such. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against those errors and won out. When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine.

Of course, in the face of an erroneous trend there is not only the question of whether one dares go against it but also that of whether one is able to distinguish it. Class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism are extremely complex. When one tendency is covered by another, many comrades often fail to note it. Moreover, those who intrigue and conspire deliberately put up false fronts, which makes it all the more difficult to discern. Through discussion, many comrades have come to realize that according to the dialectic materialist point of view, all objective things are knowable. **"The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military**

matters." So long as one diligently studies the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and those of Chairman Mao, takes an active part in the actual struggle and works hard to remould one's world outlook, one can constantly raise the ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and differentiate between correct and wrong lines and views.

In waging struggle, we must study Chairman Mao's theory concerning the struggle between the two lines and learn from his practice; we must not only be firm in principle, but also carry out correct policies, draw a clear distinction between the two types of contradictions of different nature, make sure to unite with the vast majority and observe Party discipline.

Four. We must train millions of successors for the cause of the proletarian revolution in the course of mass struggles. Chairman Mao said, "In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution." As stated above, those to be trained are not just one or two persons, but millions. Such a task cannot be fulfilled unless the whole Party attaches importance to it. In discussing the revision of the Party Constitution, many elder comrades expressed the strong desire that we must further improve the work of training successors, so that the cause of our proletarian revolution initiated by the Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao will be carried forward by an endless flow of successors. Many young comrades on their part warmly pledged to learn modestly from the strong points of veteran cadres who have been tempered through long years of revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle and have rich experience, to be strict with themselves and to do their best to carry on the revolution. Both veteran and new cadres expressed their determination to learn each other's strong points and overcome their own shortcomings. In the light of the views expressed, a sentence about the necessity of training successors has been added to the general programme of the draft, and another sentence about the application of the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies at all levels has been added to the articles. We must, in accordance with the five requirements

Chairman Mao has laid down for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, lay stress on selecting outstanding persons from among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and placing them in leading posts at all levels. Attention must also be paid to training women cadres and minority nationality cadres.

Five. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership and promote the Party's traditional style of work. The political party of the proletariat is the highest form of the organization of the proletariat, and the Party must exercise leadership in everything; this is an important Marxist principle. The draft has incorporated suggestions from various units on strengthening the Party's centralized leadership. It is laid down in the articles that state organs, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary mass organizations "must all accept the Party's centralized leadership." Organizationally, the Party's centralized leadership should be given expression in two respects: First, as regards the relationship between various organizations at the same level, of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership; the Party is not parallel to the others and still less is it under the leadership of any other. Second, as regards the relationship between higher and lower levels, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. This has long been a rule in our Party and it must be adhered to. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, and a Party committee's leadership must not be replaced by a "joint conference" of several sectors. But at the same time, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the revolutionary committees, the other sectors and organizations at all levels. The Party committee must practise democratic centralism and strengthen its collective leadership. It must unite people "from all corners of the country" and not practise mountain-stronghold sectionalism. It must "let all people have their say" and not "let one person alone have the say." The most essential thing about the Party's centralized leadership is leadership through a correct ideological and political line. Party committees at all levels must, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.

The style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism has been written into the general programme of the draft. Communists of the older generations are familiar with this fine tradition of our Party as cultivated by Chairman Mao; however, they still face the question of how to carry it forward under new historical conditions, whereas for the many new Party members, there is the question of learning, inheriting and carrying it forward. Chairman Mao often educates us with accounts of the Party's activities in its years of bitter struggle, asking us to share the same lot, rough or smooth, with the broad masses. We must beware of the inroads of bourgeois ideology and the attacks by sugar-coated bullets; we must be modest and prudent, work hard and lead a plain life, resolutely oppose privilege and earnestly overcome all such unhealthy tendencies as "going in by the back door."

Now, I would like to discuss with special emphasis the question of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of working people are the masters of our country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres of all ranks of our Party and state organs. This concept has taken deeper root throughout the Party, thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, there are still a small number of cadres, especially some leading cadres, who will not tolerate differing views of the masses inside or outside the Party. They even suppress criticism and retaliate, and it is quite serious in some individual cases. In handling problems among the people, Party discipline absolutely forbids such wrong practices as resorting to "suppression if unable to persuade, and arrest if unable to suppress." In the draft, the sentence that "it is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate" has been added to the articles. We should approach this question from the high plane of two-line struggle to understand it, and resolutely fight against such violations of Party discipline. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them, constantly use the weapons of arousing the masses to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates and strive **"to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline**

and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to facilitate our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, enable our country to build a modern industry and modern agriculture at a fairly rapid pace, consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress."

Six. It is our Party's consistent principle to uphold proletarian internationalism. This time we have further included "Oppose great-power chauvinism" in the draft. We will for ever stand together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and at present to oppose especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The danger of a new world war still exists. We must, without fail, prepare well against any war of aggression and guard against surprise attack by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Chairman Mao says: **"In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."** Our country has a large population, vast territory and abundant resources. We must make our country prosperous and strong and we are fully capable of doing it. However, we must persist in the principle of **"never seek hegemony"** and must never be a superpower under any circumstances. All Party comrades must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings that we must never be conceited, not even after a hundred years, and never be cocky, not even after the twenty-first century. At home, too, we must oppose every manifestation of "great-power" chauvinism, and further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all the nationalities of the country to speed up our socialist revolution and socialist construction and strive to fulfil our due internationalist obligations.

Comrades! Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. We are confident that the whole Party, acting according to the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, can surely build our Party into a stronger and more vigorous one. Let us, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, **unite to win still greater victories!**

Gala Opening of A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament



PEKING played host on the evening of August 25 to the gala opening of the Asian-African-Latin American (A.A.A.) Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament, a grand occasion unprecedented in the table tennis history of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the fruit of the joint efforts of friends and enthusiasts of the game in the three continents.

Table tennis delegations from 86 countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America and other friends from overseas, totalling more than 1,100 people, were gathered to take part in this great and significant event.

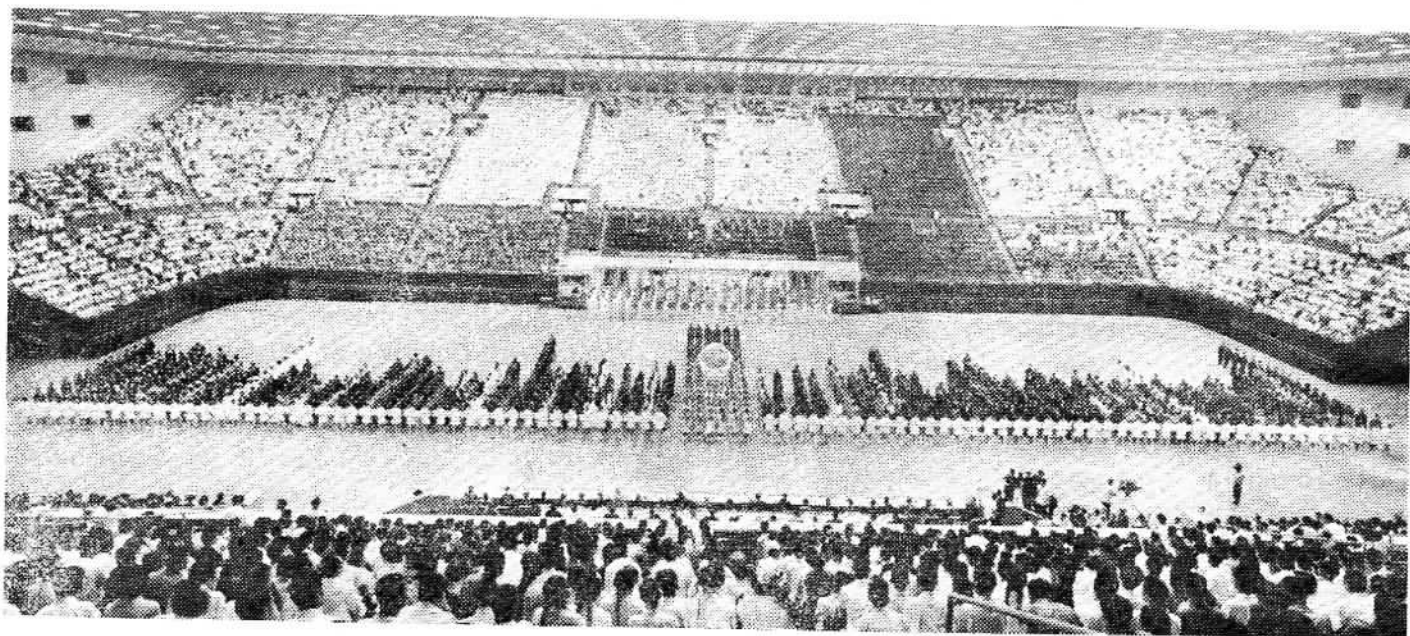
The competition hall in Capital Gymnasium where the opening ceremony took place was decked out with a huge tournament emblem formed by three A's and huge streamers with slogans such as "Warm welcome to friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America!" in Chinese, English, French, Arabic, Spanish and Japanese.

When the march-in began, a contingent of girls, with bouquets in hand and a big model of the tournament emblem in their midst, strode smartly into the competition hall. They were followed by a forest of red flags and a corps of umpires. Then came the sportsmen and representatives from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Yu Pu-hsueh, chairman of the tournament's organizing committee, extended a warm welcome to all friends present. Speaking on behalf of the organizing committee, he said that the holding of the tournament represented the fruitful result of the common efforts made by the people and table tennis circles of the three continents. He expressed the conviction that through joint efforts the tournament would achieve every success set out in its aims.

The leader of the table tennis delegation of Nigeria Dr. A.A. Efunkoya spoke in the name of member nations of the tournament's preparatory committee. He said that the formal opening of the tournament was a historic, unique and significant milestone in the development and consolidation of the bonds of friendship, unity and co-operation between the youth and people of the three continents. He added: "I hope this torch lit in Asia today will be passed on to Africa and Latin America for the complete accomplishment of our declared aims: Friendship and unity first, competition and promotion of skills second. Long live the friendship and unity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America!"

A.M. Vitullo from Argentina spoke on behalf of the players. She said: "The friendship among the



The opening ceremony.

Among Those Present at the Opening Ceremony

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia; Samdech Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Penn Nouth; and Ieng Sary, Special Envoy of the Interior Part of Cambodia;

Chinese leaders Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Li Teh-sheng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wang Hung-wen, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh, Chen Yun, Li Fu-chun, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Kuo Mo-jo, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Chou Chien-jen; and Chi Peng-fei, Wang Meng, Chuang Tse-tung, Lin Hui-ching, Chang Hsieh-lin, Cheng Min-chih and others;

Representatives of the member nations of the Preparatory Committee for the A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament: Plutarco Zuniga Caro (Chile), Yang Su Bong (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), Luis Rodriguez Rendon (Ecuador), Amin Abou Heif (Egypt), Hisao Kido (Japan) and his wife, Chintaman Rambocus (Mauritius), Nripendra Singh (Nepal), A.A. Efun-koya (Nigeria) and his wife, Henry M.O. Clemens (Tanzania), and Chen Hsien (China);

Leaders and deputy leaders of the table tennis delegations and delegates from Asian, African and Latin American countries and regions;

Roy Evans, President of the International Table Tennis Federation, and his wife; Jaime Munoz Campozano, Vice-President of the I.T.T.F. and President of the Table Tennis Confederation of South America; A.K. Vint, Honorary General Secretary of the I.T.T.F., and his wife; Jean Mercier, Honorary Treasurer of the I.T.T.F., and his wife; Rabie Hafez El Turk, Vice-President of the Asian Table Tennis Union; Tan Sock Kern, Honorary Treasurer of the A.T.T.U.; Juan Velasco Gonzales, son of Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado; Omer Salih Eisa, Sudanese Vice-Minister of Culture and Information in Charge of Youth Work and Sports; Yositomi Wemura, deputy leader of the Delegation of the Japanese Organizing Committee of the Second Asian Table Tennis Championships; Kiyotaro Hasegawa, leader, and Keisuke Sumita and Kimiyo Kurimoto (nee Matsuzaki), deputy leaders, of the Delegation of Japanese Veteran Table Tennis Players;

Ministers of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia Thiounn Mumm, General Duong Sam Ol and his wife, Keat Chhon and his wife, and Thiounn Prasith;

Other Asian, African and Latin American friends in Peking; and diplomatic envoys and officials of various countries in Peking.

players of Asia, Africa and Latin America is like a beacon guiding the tournament to success. We sincerely hope that the brotherhood of the three continents will grow daily."

Immediately after the march-in, Chinese art and physical cultural workers and the youth and children of Peking put on a programme of songs and dances, acrobatics and mass callisthenics for their Asian, African and Latin American friends. The performance ended with the children waving their bouquets to the guests, who repeatedly waved back to them.

Grand Reception

The evening before the opening ceremony, China's Physical Culture and Sports Commission gave a grand reception, attended by over 3,000 people, in the Great Hall of the People to warmly welcome the table tennis delegations and friends who had come to take part in the tournament.

At the reception, Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission, extended a warm welcome to

the guests from Asia, Africa and Latin America when he proposed a toast on behalf of the Chinese Government and people. He said: "We believe that by learning from one another for common progress in this friendship tournament, the great unity of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will surely be strengthened."

Yeh Chien-ying also extended affectionate greetings to the compatriots from Taiwan Province residing in foreign countries who had returned to the motherland for the first time to take part in the A.A.A. tournament.

The reception began with a speech by Wang Meng, Minister of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission. He said: "The Chinese people and sportsmen value highly their unity and friendship with the people and sportsmen of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Following the principle of 'friendship first, competition second,' the Chinese players at the tournament will learn from the spirit of equality and friendship and the excellent skill of our friends from countries and regions

(Continued on p. 42.)

A.A.A. Team Events Scoreboard

CUPS and medallions were presented to the winners and runners-up and those taking 3rd to 16th places in the men's and women's team events which lasted from August 26 to 30.

Results of the men's team event: China, Japan, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Hongkong, Thailand, Egypt, Republic of South Viet Nam, Cambodia, Iran, Ghana, Peru and Chile.

Results of the women's team event: China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan, India, Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Malaysia,

Burma, Trinidad and Tobago, Nigeria, the Philippines, Chile, Egypt, Peru, Republic of South Viet Nam, Colombia and Cyprus.

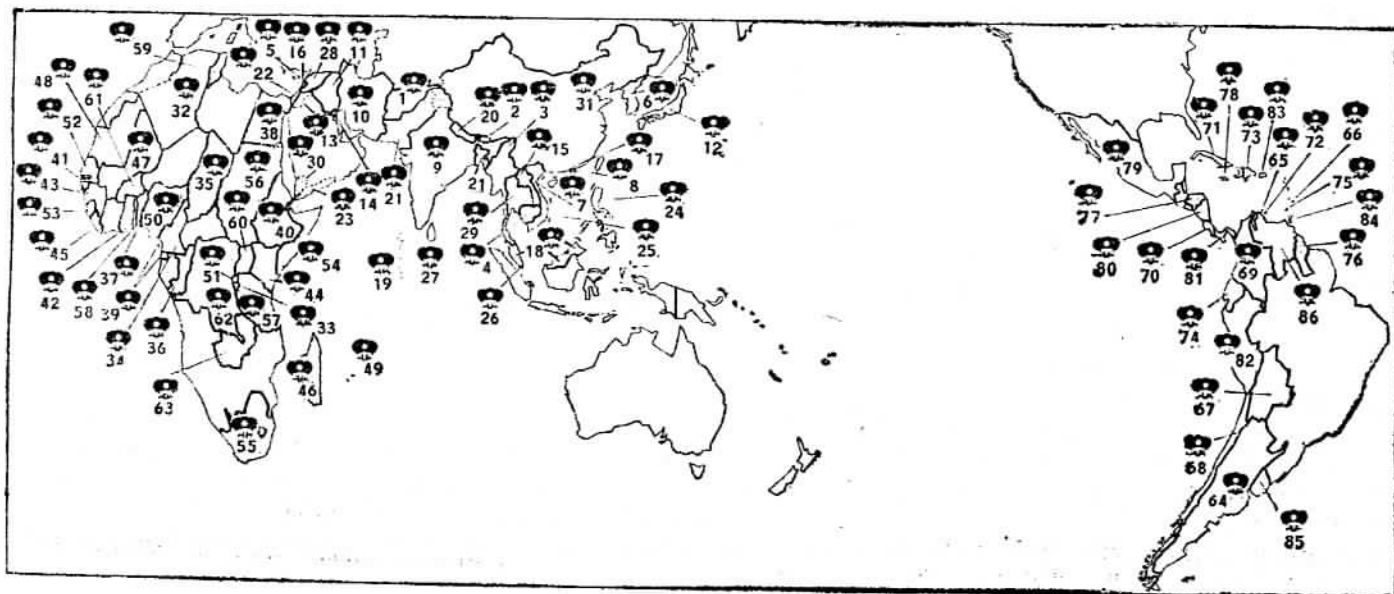
Altogether 520 matches were played during the 5-day competition with the contesting teams playing each other in separate groups on a round robin basis in three stages. In the men's team event each team played against at least 7 other teams, while in the women's team event each played against at least 6 other teams. This arrangement gave the players wide contacts to exchange experience and learn from one another as well as make more new friends.

Countries and Regions Participating in A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament

ASIA (31): 1. Afghanistan, 2. Bhutan, 3. Burma, 4. Cambodia, 5. Cyprus, 6. Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 7. Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 8. Hongkong, 9. India, 10. Iran, 11. Iraq, 12. Japan, 13. Jordan, 14. Kuwait, 15. Laos (Lao Patriotic Front), 16. Lebanon, 17. Macao, 18. Malaysia, 19. Maldives, 20. Nepal, 21. Pakistan, 22. Palestine, 23. People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 24. the Philippines, 25. Republic of South Viet Nam, 26. Singapore, 27. Sri Lanka, 28. Syria, 29. Thailand, 30. Yemen Arab Republic, 31. China;

AFRICA (32): 32. Algeria, 33. Burundi, 34. Cameroon, 35. Chad, 36. the Congo, 37. Dahomey, 38. Egypt, 39. Equatorial Guinea, 40. Ethiopia, 41. Gambia, 42. Ghana, 43. Guinea, 44. Kenya, 45. Liberia, 46. Madagascar, 47. Mali, 48. Mauritania, 49. Mauritius, 50. Nigeria, 51. Rwanda, 52. Senegal, 53. Sierra Leone, 54. Somalia, 55. South Africa (Non-Racial Table Tennis Board), 56. the Sudan, 57. Tanzania, 58. Togo, 59. Tunisia, 60. Uganda, 61. Upper Volta, 62. Zaire, 63. Zambia;

LATIN AMERICA (23): 64. Argentina, 65. Aruba, 66. Barbados, 67. Bolivia, 68. Chile, 69. Colombia, 70. Costa Rica, 71. Cuba, 72. Curacao, 73. Dominican Republic, 74. Ecuador, 75. Grenada, 76. Guyana, 77. Honduras, 78. Jamaica, 79. Mexico, 80. Nicaragua, 81. Panama, 82. Peru, 83. Puerto Rico, 84. Trinidad and Tobago, 85. Uruguay, 86. Venezuela.



A Grand Rally of Unity and Friendship

— Greeting the opening of the Asian-African-Latin American Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament

THE Asian-African-Latin American (A.A.A.) Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament opens today in Peking, capital of China. Taking part in the tournament are more than 1,100 players, coaches and friends from table tennis circles of more than 80 countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Invited to the tournament are leading members of the International Table Tennis Federation, the Asian Table Tennis Union, the African Table Tennis Federation, the Table Tennis Confederation of South America, the Caribbean Table Tennis Federation and the Arab Table Tennis Federation and other distinguished guests. They have taken the trouble to come from afar to this joyous gathering, for the friendship and unity of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the promotion of physical culture and sports on these continents. This is an extremely happy occasion for the people of the three continents. With great joy, the Chinese people extend to the friends from these countries and regions their warmest welcome.

The A.A.A. tournament was initiated in Peking during the Afro-Asian Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament in November 1971. Its triumphant opening is the result of the fruitful work over the past year by the preparatory committee composed of the table tennis associations of Chile, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Ecuador, Egypt, Japan, Mauritius, Nepal, Nigeria, Tanzania and the People's Republic of China, as well as the joint efforts and active support of table tennis friends in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The A.A.A. tournament is a grand rally of unity and friendship. In scale and the number of countries and players participating, this tournament is unprecedented in the history of table tennis on the three continents. It indicates the great unity of the people and sportsmen of Asian, African and Latin American countries and reflects the vigorous development of table tennis on the three continents.

Oppression by imperialism and colonialism is an experience common to the people of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who today all face the task of striving for and safeguarding national independence and defending state sovereignty. They are bound by strong ties of traditional friendship. But for various reasons the interflow and development of this friendship was hindered in the past. With more and

more countries becoming independent, intercourse among the people of the three continents is steadily increasing and mutual understanding and friendship are being daily strengthened. We are convinced that the current A.A.A. tournament will surely make new contributions to the further consolidation and strengthening of the friendship and unity among the people and sportsmen of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who account for two-thirds of the world's population are great, industrious and wise people. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries have been energetically developing their national economy and culture after winning independence. Physical culture in these countries has also forged ahead rapidly, gaining still more remarkable achievements in recent years. People can expect new sportsmanship and standards of play from the table tennis players of the three continents at the current A.A.A. tournament. By sharing their technique and exchanging experience at the tournament, they will give great impetus to the promotion of table tennis in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese people always treasure their friendship and unity with the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The fact that friends from various Asian, African and Latin American countries have come to Peking for the A.A.A. tournament is a support and encouragement to the Chinese people and also provides a good opportunity for the Chinese people to learn from the people of other countries. We are glad that the table tennis team of compatriots from Taiwan Province of the People's Republic of China now residing in Japan and the United States of America is here in the motherland to take part in the tournament and, alongside the compatriots in the country, will contribute to the promotion of friendship among the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Chinese players will adhere to the principle "friendship first, competition second," be modest and prudent, and learn with an open mind from the players of various countries their fine ideology, sportsmanship and skills so as to draw on each other's merits and raise the level of play together. We wish our friends from the three continents a pleasant stay in our country. We wish the A.A.A. tournament complete success.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, August 25)

China Signs Additional Protocol II to Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America

ON behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, Hsiung Hsiang-hui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of China to the United States of Mexico, signed on August 21 Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. The ceremony took place in the Mexican Foreign Ministry in Mexico City. On signing the protocol, he read the following statement on behalf of the Chinese Government:

"The Latin American countries proposed the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America with a view to countering the policy of nuclear threat and blackmail pursued by the superpowers and safeguarding the peace and security of Latin America. The Chinese Government respects and supports this just position and, complying with the request of the United States of Mexico and other Latin American countries, has decided to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America in Mexico City on August 21, 1973.

"The Chinese Government has always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and maintained that, as the first step, all nuclear countries should first of all undertake not to use nuclear weapons, particularly not to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones. The Chinese Government has repeatedly declared that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. On behalf of the Chinese Government, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Chi Peng-fei gave a specific undertaking in regard to the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America on November 14, 1972. The Chinese Government will now reiterate this undertaking: China will never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear Latin American countries and the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone; nor will China test, manufacture, produce, stockpile, install or deploy nuclear weapons in these countries or in this zone, or send her means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to cross the territory, territorial sea or air space of Latin American countries.

"It is necessary to point out that the signing of Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America by the Chinese Government does not imply any change whatsoever in

China's principled stand on the disarmament and nuclear weapons issue and, in particular, does not affect the Chinese Government's consistent stand against the "treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" and the "partial nuclear test ban treaty," which have been used by certain countries possessing huge numbers of nuclear weapons in an attempt to establish their nuclear monopoly, nuclear superiority and nuclear hegemony in the world. China is developing nuclear weapons solely because she is compelled to do so, and she is developing them entirely for defensive purposes as well as for breaking the nuclear monopoly and proceeding from there to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

"What merits attention in the view of the Chinese Government is that, behind the smokescreen of 'détente,' the superpowers, which possess huge numbers of nuclear weapons, are now continuing to intensify their nuclear arms race and their contention for spheres of influence, thus gravely threatening the peace and security of non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones. The Chinese Government holds that, in order that Latin America may truly become a nuclear-weapon-free zone, all nuclear countries, and particularly the superpowers which possess huge numbers of nuclear weapons, must first of all undertake earnestly not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Latin American countries and the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone, and they must be asked to undertake to observe and implement the following: (1) dismantling of all foreign military bases in Latin America and refraining from establishing any new foreign military bases there; (2) prohibition of the passage of any means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons through Latin American territory, territorial sea or air space.

"The Chinese Government hopes that the Latin American countries will strengthen their solidarity and advance together in their struggle against the policy of nuclear threat and blackmail pursued by the superpowers and for the establishment of the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone. The Chinese Government will continue to make unremitting efforts together with the Latin American countries and all other peace-loving countries for the attainment of the great, long-range objective of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons throughout the world."

Support the Just Stand of Latin American Countries

"Renmin Ribao" published on August 23 a commentary entitled "Support the Just Stand of Latin American Countries." Excerpts follow:

ON August 21, 1973, the Government of the People's Republic of China signed in Mexico City Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. In a statement made on the signing of the protocol, the Chinese Government expounds China's respect and support for the just stand of the Latin American countries for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America, and reiterates China's specific undertaking in regard to this zone. The statement of the Chinese Government gives full expression to the Chinese people's consistent position in resolutely supporting the Latin American people's struggle against the nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail of the superpowers and for safeguarding the cause of peace and security in Latin America.

At present, the two superpowers are still locked in a fierce nuclear arms race, scrambling for spheres of influence and practising nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones. They have not only produced and stockpiled large quantities of nuclear arms at home but also set up nuclear bases on the territory of other countries. Their aircraft with loads of nuclear weapons are making wild flights over other countries and their nuclear-armed warships are prowling around in the oceans of the world, thus posing a grave menace to the security of the people of all countries. Therefore, to make Latin America a nuclear-weapon-free zone, all nuclear countries and particularly the superpowers possessing huge numbers of nuclear weapons must undertake in a practical way not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Latin American countries and the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone. The Latin American countries have every right to ask them to undertake to observe and implement the following: (1) dismantling of all foreign military bases in Latin America and refraining from establishing any new foreign military bases there; (2) prohibition of the passage of any means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons through Latin American territory, territorial sea or air space. If these two points

cannot be materialized, then the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone will not be ensured.

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism talks glibly about "a permanent ban on the use of nuclear weapons," "prevention of nuclear war," "support for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones" and so on and so forth. But what it does is to the contrary. It has kept playing with its "nuclear disarmament" fraud and, behind the smokescreen of "detente," it is doing all it can to expand its nuclear armament both quantitatively and qualitatively while contending and colluding with the other superpower in a vain attempt to dominate the world. It refuses to agree to the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons, nor does it dare to commit itself to the undertaking that at no time and in no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons. To this day it has failed to give any effective assurance that it will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against Latin American and other non-nuclear countries, and so far it has not signed Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, not to speak of dismantling nuclear bases on the territory of other countries and withdrawing all nuclear weapons and their means of transportation and delivery. This lays bare ever more fully the true features of this nuclear superpower before the people of Latin America and of the world.

In the last analysis, the attainment of peace and security must depend on the struggle of the peoples. The Latin American people are still facing arduous tasks in their struggle against the nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat of the superpowers and for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. We are convinced that the Latin American countries will surely win new victories so long as they strengthen unity in this just struggle. Together with all peace-loving countries and people in Latin America and other parts of the world, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, continue to make concerted efforts, persist in struggle and fight to the end for the attainment of the great objective of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

For Your Reference

The Treaty for the Prohibition Of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America

Twenty-one Latin American countries signed February 14, 1967 the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Since the treaty was signed in Tlatelolco, a district of Mexico City, capital of Mexico, it has come to be known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

Consisting of a preamble, 31 articles and two additional protocols, the treaty prohibits the signatories from testing, using, manufacturing, producing or obtaining nuclear weapons within their respective territories. It also prohibits them from receiving, stockpiling, in-

stalling, deploying or possessing in whatever forms any nuclear weapons. However, the treaty permits signatories to use nuclear materials and devices for peaceful purposes. To this end it stipulates the establishment of an organization to supervise implementation. Two additional protocols are appended to the treaty. Additional Protocol I calls on all countries outside the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America which have assumed "international responsibility" for that zone to recognize the stipulations of the treaty. Additional Protocol II demands that nuclear countries respect the provisions on the denuclearization of Latin America and refrain from taking any actions in violation of the stipulations of the treaty and desist from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against the signatory countries.

To date, 22 Latin American countries have put their signatures on the treaty which came into force in May 1969.

A Black Line Running Through Two Dynasties

— On new tsars justifying aggression and expansion by old tsars

IT is common knowledge that tsarist Russia perpetrated unbridled aggression and territorial expansion for a long time in history. These atrocities of aggression were indignantly exposed and condemned by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat. But today, the Soviet revisionist leading clique openly adulterates and fabricates history and strives to reverse the historical verdict on the old tsars in an effort to justify its social-imperialist policy of aggression.

I. It denies the scramble for world domination by tsarist Russia and describes its seizure of colonies as an effort to prevent expansion by other countries and to enable the indigenous people to free themselves from foreign enslavement.

Speaking of the policies of tsarist Russia, Marx pointed out in his time, "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the polar star of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star." Engels also said that tsarist Russia "uses the continually changing goals of competing great powers for the attainment of its own single, never-changing, never lost-sight-of objective: the domination of the world by Russia." In his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin showed in a table that in 1914, tsarist Russia was second only to Britain in the size of its colonies with

a total area larger than all the colonies of France, Germany, the United States and Japan put together. However, an article in this year's first issue of the Soviet magazine *Modern and Contemporary History* maintains that "there is no evidence" in support of "the assertion that tsarist Russia's goal was to achieve world hegemony." It says, "In the entire world history before 1917, Russia had been erroneously described as a major, and almost the only, force of aggression."

Referring to the scramble for colonies among the imperialist countries, Lenin said, "The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate is the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." He also pointed out that the rivalry between tsarist Russia and Britain in Central Asia was a "division of the spoils" between imperialist powers. But the *History of the U.S.S.R.* published by the Soviet revisionists in the 1960s maintains that tsarist Russia's invasion of Central Asia was to "resist British colonial expansion in the Middle and Near East." Volume 12 of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* published this year declares that thanks to tsarist Russia's annexation of Kirghizia, "the working people of Kirghizia shook off the cruel oppression by the

feudalists of Khokand Khan and were saved from the enslavement of other eastern backward countries and the threat of British expansion."

II. Tsarist Russia's encroachments upon and attempts at conquest of other countries are described as pursuance of a policy of "good-neighbourliness" and support for "liberation." Tsarist Russia is even described as "a victim of aggression."

Referring to tsarist Russia's seizure of vast tracts of Chinese territory south of the Outer Khingan Mountains, Marx said: "From Czar Alexey Michaelovitch down to Nicholas, she (Russia) has always attempted to get it." Lenin also pointed out that "the policy of the tsarist government in China is a criminal policy" and that "the European governments (the Russian government among the very first) have already started to partition China." However, the *Modern History of China* published by the Soviet revisionists in 1972 openly asserted that "unlike the Western powers, the Russian Government pursued another kind of policy towards China, striving to establish good-neighbourly relations with it" and that "the tsarist government had not imposed on its own initiative unequal treaties on China, nor had it upheld of its own accord the treaties signed after 1860." The *History of the U.S.S.R.* published by the Soviet revisionists in the 1960s holds that after the Treaty of Aigun and the Treaty of Peking had been signed, "tsarist Russia's policy towards China remained unchanged, that is, on the basis of peace."

Marx said: "The destruction of which (the Romanian nation) has never ceased to form an object of her (Russia's) intrigues and her wars." But the *History of the U.S.S.R.* asserted: "A Romanian kingdom emerged with the support of Russia, merging Moldavia and Walachia." Tsarist Russia is thus presented as the great benefactor of the Romanian nation! Engels in his time denounced tsarist Russia's vaunted "liberation" of Bulgaria as a "tsarist variety of liberation" and a "conquest under the cover of liberation." Yet the *History of the U.S.S.R.* stressed that "the Russians have shed much blood to help the Bulgarians gain liberation from the Turkish yoke."

On the relations between Russia and Persia (Iran), Marx pointed out that Russia had "invaded Persia"; tsarist Russia had not only "stripped Persia of several additional districts" through the Gulistan Treaty and the Turkmanchai Treaty, but also "interdicted her from the navigation on her own shores along the Caspian Sea." Engels pointed out: "The Turkmanchai Treaty has turned her (Persia) into a Russian dependency." Volume 49 of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1941 also points out clearly that the deterioration of Russo-Persian relations sprang from tsarist Russia's "expansion of her frontiers," "her effort to take possession of the Caspian Sea" and her "invasion of Persia." It says that the Gulistan Treaty and the Turkmanchai Treaty are "unequal treaties," the achievements of tsarist Russia's "colonial policy of

plunder in Persia." But the *World History* published by the Soviet revisionists attributes the war to Persia's "anti-Russia actions" and to its "aggression" against tsarist Russian territory. When touching on the above-mentioned treaties, the book avoids mentioning that they were unequal treaties; on the contrary, it virtually turns them into equal and mutually beneficial treaties by laying emphasis on "the right to free trade enjoyed by merchants of the two sides."

III. The forcible annexations carried out by tsarist Russia are described as "voluntary incorporation."

As is known to all, many union republics and autonomous republics of the Soviet Union today were annexed by tsarist Russia by force. Referring to tsarist Russia's territorial expansion, Marx pointed out "the acquisitions of Russia" since Peter the Great. Engels said: "Although Russian chauvinism may still have had a few pretexts — I will not say justifications — for the conquests of Catherine II, this was certainly no longer true for the conquests of Alexander . . . Here we are dealing with the naked conquest by force of foreign territories, with robbery pure and simple." He also pointed out tsarist Russia's "conquest of Central Asia." But the Soviet revisionists allege in their press and other publications that among the Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Bashkir, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Georgian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Moldavian and other peoples, some "joined in the Russian empire of their own free will," others "applied for Russian nationality" and still others even waged a "struggle for incorporation into Russia again." It sounds like invitations coming right and left for invasion and occupation by tsarist Russia! Nevertheless, Volume 30 of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1937 has long exploded this lie. The so-called "Kazakh people's 'voluntary subordination,'" it writes, was only a "palpable lie" and a "myth feverishly spread by the great-nation chauvinists and Kazakh bourgeois nationalists." This has hit the Soviet revisionists of today squarely on the chin.

IV. The colonies ruthlessly oppressed by tsarist Russia are described as "a happy paradise."

In his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin pointed out in a table that out of Russia's total area of 22,800,000 square kilometres in 1914, 17,400,000 square kilometres were colonies. He pointed out more than once that tsarist Russia "is a prison of peoples" and "set a world record for the oppression of nations." Stalin also pointed out that "the aggressiveness of Russian nationalism" had been combined with "tsarism's role of executioner in regard to the non-Russian peoples." The *History of the U.S.S.R., Turkmenistan and Dear Ukraine* published by the Soviet revisionists, however, claim that "Russia brought an era of happiness to the land (Central Asia)," that tsarist Russia was "the saviour and protector" of Turkmenistan, and that the annexation of the Ukraine by tsarist Russia enabled "the Ukrainians to free themselves from miseries and begin a new period of happy life." In order to present tsarist Russia as "a

happy paradise" for the people of various nationalities, the Soviet revisionists have openly adulterated history. It was pointed out in Volume 32 of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1936 that "the colonial policy of tsarist Russia has brought growing poverty and destruction to the Kirghiz. The population of Kirghizia decreased by 7-10 per cent in the decade from 1903 to 1913." But a Soviet revisionist chieftain asserted in a public speech in 1964 that tsarist Russian domination of Kirghizia "freed the Kirghiz from the threat of extermination as an independent nation." The *History of the U.S.S.R.* published in 1954 admitted that after its annexation by tsarist Russia, a "one-sided agricultural economy" took shape in Moldavia and its "industrial development was very weak" because it was "conditioned by its status as a colony." But the Soviet journal *Historical Problems* alleged in 1968 that the annexation of Moldavia by tsarist Russia "ensured the Moldavians the possibility of a faster economic and cultural development." On the basis of such fabricated history, the new tsars reach the conclusion that "incorporation (into tsarist Russia), be it by force, might still be progressive in history" (No. 11, 1963, of the Soviet journal *Historical Problems*). This is indeed a typical instance of the logic of colonialism and an undisguised justification for aggression.

Instances of the Soviet revisionists negating the theses of the teachers of revolution, adulterating and fabricating history, and justifying the aggression and expansion by the old tsars are too many to be listed here.

Brezhnev and company are fond of painting themselves as "Marxist-Leninists," "students of and successors to Lenin." But their utterances about the Russian tsars are as far removed as can be from Marxism-Leninism. The lies of the Soviet leading clique are no different from the utterances of the old tsars and their generals, ministers and hack writers. If today's new tsars of the Kremlin are any different from the old tsars, it is that the latter gave the show away in certain circumstances whereas the former

are unashamed in telling lies. Speaking about the tactics of conquering Kazakhstan, Peter the Great said, "If a mere treaty may lead to the acceptance of protection from the Russian empire, we would not grudge the spending of huge sums, even if it amounts to millions." This revealed the truth about "voluntary incorporation." And yet Brezhnev and company continue to cling to "voluntary incorporation." Tsarist Russia's minister to China Putyatin admitted that the area south of the Outer Khingan Mountains "indisputably belongs to China in accordance with the treaty." N. Muravyev, tsarist Russia's Governor of Eastern Siberia, also admitted that there were "Chinese officials and posts" in the area. But Brezhnev and his like asserted that the inhabitants in the area "were not under the jurisdiction of anyone," that "the land south of the Oudi River had not been demarcated," that "there were no administrative organs of the Ching government there," and so on and so forth. This is truly a case of "pupil outdoing his teacher," the new tsars outdoing the old tsars!

Why are the new tsars so eager to justify the aggression and expansion by the old tsars? The answer is, as Engels pointed out, "Any Russian who is a chauvinist will sooner or later fall on his knees before the tsar." Two dynasties — the Romanov dynasty and the Khrushchov-Brezhnev dynasty — are linked by a black line, that is, the aggressive and expansionist nature of great Russian chauvinism and imperialism. The only difference is that the latter dons a cloak of "socialism," and is "social-imperialism" in the true sense of the word.

However, history is an objective reality which allows no adulteration and which cannot be adulterated in any case. In their attempts to reverse the historical verdict on the old tsars and follow their path in seeking world domination, the new tsars Brezhnev and his cronies will only meet a more ignominious end than that of the old tsars.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent,
August 25)

(Continued from p. 35.)

of these continents. We are convinced that, on the basis of unity and co-operation among friends, the current tournament is sure to achieve complete success."

Helios Farrell, leader of the Mexican table tennis delegation and President of the Mexican Table Tennis Federation, spoke on behalf of the table tennis delegations from various countries and regions. He said: Though countries of the third world are different in geography and in the development of their economy and sports, we have common sufferings, worries and hopes.

Let us strengthen our hopes with our daily work, and overcome our sufferings by relying on our own efforts, on our persistent labour.

"At the A.A.A. tournament," he continued, "to win or lose is not the main thing. The most important thing at this great event is the victory of friendship and unity through table tennis."

He urged all to exert themselves for the development of table tennis in their countries and work to enhance the solidarity, fraternity and progress of their peoples.

From Manhattan to Honolulu

— A trip through the U.S.A.

by Wang Hsi

YOU should've come years ago to see the States. If it hadn't been for the U.S. Government's policy of not recognizing New China for more than 20 years, how could contact between the people of our two countries have broken off? The people want to have contact and get to know each other."

With these words an American career woman in her prime welcomed me to the United States. She was with us when the Chinese Journalists' Delegation did a sightseeing tour of Manhattan Island on a launch.

Our thanks are due to our hosts, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, who made all the arrangements for us. The 21 of us who made up the Chinese Journalists' Delegation visited ten cities in eight states, covering some 8,000 miles during a one-month trip. We had contact with people of many walks of life. The reception everywhere was warm and we enjoyed the hospitality accorded us by our American friends.

And yet the journey has been a hurried one. There were those we wished to see but didn't — American workers and other working people. We promised to make up for the missed opportunity when we visit the United States next time.

"What are your impressions of America?" people asked us scores of times.

Our Air France airliner touched down at New York's J.F. Kennedy International Airport on May 17. Before we had time for a good look at this biggest city in the United States, we were off again on our peregrination, landing in another equally strange city. My memories are crowded with New York's cotton exchange — I have only a vague idea of how it operates — with San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge — I don't remember how long it is — with farming in the United States — about which I know next to nothing — and many other things. But one thing stands out, and that is the friendship of the American people for the Chinese people, which has made a vivid and indelible impression on me.

In our conversations with Americans from various circles whom we were meeting for the first time at luncheons, dinners and receptions, questions came up in rapid succession. Questions from our American

friends ranged from the Chinese family to how our delegation was formed, the status of women, acupunctural anaesthesia, the "May 7" cadre schools. . . . People showed a great interest in China. They wanted to know about the new happenings in China and to come and see China for themselves. We met people eager to find out how they could make a trip to China at the earliest date possible.

During our stay in Boston, we visited Lexington and Concord — historical sites of the American War of Independence. On April 19, 1775, the people of Lexington fired the first shot against the British colonialists, proclaiming the start of the War of Independence. During our two-hour leisurely stroll in these two towns, a young man unknown to us went specially to the Great North Bridge to see us. He had learnt of our arrival in the papers. In halting Chinese, he told us he was not very happy at the university. At the Minute Man statue, a computer programmer rode up to greet us on his motor-cycle. He had with him a placard bearing Chinese characters saying: Welcome to Chinese friends. He had been to China two months ago and when he met us, he had an olive green satchel (something Chinese students and grown-ups often carry) embroidered with the red characters "Serve the People" slung over his shoulder. We gathered round him and thanked him for his good wishes.

Our trip took us to a big ranch near Denver, a typical hill city in America's west. The owner had dozens of his friends over to have lunch with us and keep us company on a tour of his ranch afterwards.

I soon found myself chatting with two young men.

They were brothers-in-law who had come from Colorado Springs some 60 miles away. One taught palaeontology at college while the other was once a building worker, had been to Europe and now hoped to take a course in Chinese at college. The two ran a sort of family bookstore.

"We're not out for money but to sell books to people to read," they explained. They told me books on Taoism and Buddhism were selling fast.

This puzzled me and they offered an explanation. Young Americans, they said, are dissatisfied with so-



An American friend welcomes the Chinese Journalists' Delegation.

ciety and do not know what they live for. They want to escape into Taoism where you do not have to exert yourself and where everything is natural and peaceful.

With society in a ferment, it is almost impossible for young people not to be confused.

Narcotic addiction in the United States is like a contagious disease. Many grade-school youngsters are taking marijuana and even heroin, the hard drug.

"Why are so many young people on drugs?" I asked.

"Some of them crave for the thing because of insecurity and frustration in life. Some young drug addicts, if they aren't too deep in the habit, can still get out of it by themselves."

Later, I made it a point to ask many Americans about this problem. Some replied: Though the government prohibits trafficking in drugs, who can control the pushers? Others said that as long as there was big money in drug trafficking (prices are high and the profits big), people would do everything to keep their business going and bans are of no use. . . .

San Francisco on the west coast is across the Pacific opposite China's Shanghai. It is a city that grew with gold mining and where the old mines were soaked with the blood and sweat of many Chinese labourers.

One fine morning, we went to meet the longshoremen gathered at an employment centre waiting for work. Across the main hall of the centre was a streamer in Chinese reading: "Long live the friendship of the American and Chinese peoples." Some of the longshoremen had been to Shanghai and some had just

returned from a visit to China. Our arrival caused quite a stir.

When we went for a look round at the containers and container-ships, the workers told us that in recent years, adoption of the advanced technique of using containers for shipping goods has saved a lot of labour power in transportation, loading and unloading. At the same time, however, it has put a lot of longshoremen out of work or has kept them only semi-employed. The men in this trade union worked only three or four days a week, that is, 30 hours a week or seven months of employment a year.

At the University of California in Berkeley we were taken to the Institute of Chinese Affairs — one of the four big China research centres in the United States. The deputy director in her 40s briefed us on the institute in the visitors' room. Though in size and the number of books in its library it cannot compare with the other institutes we saw, Berkeley is noted for its speciality of concentrating its research on post-1949 China.

The university was holding its summer examinations at the time of our visit. Some faculties were just through with their graduation exercises, and the university journal carried the valedictory message to the class of 1973 in big type.

What had the future in store for the graduates? Were the chances of employment good?

A student of art history told me that he might become a factory worker after graduation.

"Would you like that?" I asked.

"Both my family and I hope I can find a job in my line but the chances look pretty slim," he replied glumly.

He told me that finding a job in the past was not difficult with a B.A. degree, but this is no longer the case. To find a position where you can apply what you have learnt is even more difficult.

"Once I found the driver of my taxi was a man with a Master's degree," he said.

This reminded me of the remark by a post-graduate student in the University of Denver doing research in the economy of socialist countries on our visit to that

university several days earlier. After chatting for a while, I had asked him:

"What are you going to do after you get your M.A.?"

"Perhaps be a taxi driver," he grinned.

Quite a number of the 9 million university students in the United States are haunted by the threat of unemployment.

But every day the media, the papers, radio and television, feed the young with tales of the poor becoming rich. We ourselves heard more than once such talk as that the American system provides opportunities for the ordinary guy as well as for the rich.

However, the words of a young technician bared the essence of this propaganda. It's a kind of drug, it's opium, he said. "Anyone with any sense knows how a lottery works. But we must not underestimate the eroding effect such propaganda has on the people," he added.

Finally we arrived in Hawaii where flowers blossom all the year round. We were welcomed to Honolulu, capital of the 50th state of the U.S.A., by the Hawaii-China People's Friendship Association and a hundred or so Chinese-Americans who held aloft a big banner with the slogan: "Long live the friendship of the American and Chinese peoples." Aloha and Hawaiian music filled the air. Well-wishers garlanded us with leis. Soon everyone on the delegation had three or four fragrant leis draped round their necks.

Only after visiting Hawaii did I get a deeper understanding of the time-honoured friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

Compared with continental U.S.A., Hawaii has a distinct oriental influence on its culture. About the middle of the 19th century when the Hawaiian Islands were being opened up, Chinese, mainly from south China's Kwangtung Province, sailed the Pacific to Hawaii. There they played their part in the islands' development and settled down for good. Now we saw their third or fourth generations. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the forerunner of China's bourgeois democratic revolution, carried out his early revolutionary activities in Hawaii where he had studied and organized the Hsing Chung Hui

(Society for the Revival of China), a revolutionary organization.

American official and non-official circles often like to dwell on the fact that China has an ancient civilization dating back some 3,000 years. Many American scholars on China do research on Chinese history — cultural, philosophical and political. Many Americans are collectors of Chinese curios and antiques. Even those who do not consider themselves collectors often have a few Chinese antiques, be they genuine or not, in their drawing rooms or studies.

One American scholar doing research on China told me that young Americans often take a critical attitude towards their older generation. They are dissatisfied with the older generation's views on China and want to see the U.S. policy towards China revised.

I was guest, together with two other members of our delegation, at the home of the director of the International Research Institute of the University of Denver. A teacher who could speak Chinese told us quite candidly that many social problems had cropped up in recent years in the United States — pollution, crime, drugs, etc. These have set Americans thinking. . . . And they have found a great interest in China.

It is not merely because the West knows very little about the East that the American people are now taking this interest in China, a professor at Berkeley's University of California told me. "It is because sections of the American youth, those serious-minded young people, know that China has a completely different type of society. They want to understand China, study China and draw their own conclusions," he said.



The delegation in Hawaii.

Photos by Hsinhua's Chang Ya-hsin

Tapping the Potential of Industrial Enterprises

by Wen Chao-hsin

A CAMPAIGN to increase production and practise economy is today surging ahead on China's industrial front.

Following Chairman Mao's teachings, China has consistently developed its industry by "stressing both production and economy." We have published an article about practising economy in an earlier issue ("Practising Economy: A Principle of Socialist Economics," *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1973). Now this article deals mainly with production. It explains how the potential of existing enterprises is tapped by relying on the working class and giving full play to the initiative and creativeness of the workers, technical personnel and revolutionary cadres. This is an important way of raising China's industrial production.

Two Ways of Developing Industrial Production

There are two important ways to develop socialist industrial production. One is to carry out planned capital construction, adding more factory buildings and equipment and thereby increasing new productive capacity. Another is to fully tap the production potential of existing industrial enterprises.

Led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the Chinese people have embarked on large-scale capital construction since liberation. This has enormously increased industry's technical equipment and productive capacity. Industrial construction in the hinterland has changed the concentration of industries in the coastal areas, thus making for a more rational distribution of our industry geographically. Iron and steel, coal, petroleum, machine-building and other basic industries are constantly being strengthened, while the new industrial branches are turning out motor vehicles, aeroplanes, electronic computers, synthetic fibre and plastics. The groundwork for building a modern industrial system is now initially laid. To turn China in the shortest possible time into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and technology and modern national defence, we are pressing on with our industrial capital construction and will continue to do so.

Stress is also laid on tapping the potential of existing industrial enterprises in developing our industrial production. New investments for capital construction and the number of new projects built each year are

limited and, moreover, it takes time for a new enterprise to be built and put into actual production. However, the potentialities of existing enterprises are productive forces which objectively exist. If we rely on and mobilize the workers and staff members, we can tap these potentialities with a little or no expenditure and with some or no additional equipment, thereby turning out more products for society. Precisely because the large-scale capital construction in the last two decades or so has provided a material basis, the potential is tremendous. If the rate of utilization of the nation's present industrial equipment is raised by 10 per cent, it means the addition of a large amount of equipment whose purchase would cost something like China's annual investments in construction.

Do More With Less Money

A good illustration is the Kailan Coal Mine in Tangshan, eastern Hopei Province, which has a history of over 90 years. As its mining conditions become increasingly difficult, there seems to be not much potential to be tapped. However, following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and adhering to the epistemology of dialectical materialism, Kailan's Party committee organized many investigation groups to look into the conditions of the mines, factories and mining areas and their equipment. The investigators discovered favourable conditions and the potential for raising production. The Party committee, having faith in the rank and file and relying on them, launched a mass movement which brought the miners' initiative into full play. Leading cadres, workers and the administrative staff all pulled their weight. By using the existing work-faces to produce more than what the plan called for, they provided the state with an extra 7 million tons of coal in the last three years. If this amount of coal were to be produced by newly built shafts, several years of construction involving large amounts of investments, equipment and material would be required.

Shanghai is one of China's oldest industrial bases. In a period of more than 50 years from the time when its first steel plant went into operation in 1893 to the eve of liberation in 1949, the city's highest annual steel output was only some 6,900 tons. The mills could only produce three kinds of carbon steel and roll some 40 types of ordinary steel products. In the 24 years since the founding of New China, the workers and staff members of Shanghai's metallurgical enterprises, carry-

ing out Chairman Mao's teaching to "do more with less money," did not merely depend on state investments to build factory buildings and add equipment; neither was the number of personnel increased. By following the principle of self-reliance and hard work, they made full use of the capacity of existing equipment and their technical force, extensively adopted technical innovations and tapped potentials in a deep-going way. As a result, they increased steel output by several hundred times. The city is now capable of making over 1,100 kinds of steel and over 18,000 types of rolled steel. The expenditure has been less than one-fifth of the profits turned over to the state by these enterprises.

Of course, this is no easy achievement. For instance, the wire-rolling workshop of the Shanghai No. 2 Steel Plant had at the time of liberation only five rolling mills and one reheating furnace, all the vintage of the 1930s. Many processes were manually operated and productivity was very low. Making use of the conditions available, the workers have introduced more than 100 technical innovations to their equipment since liberation and brought about complete mechanization in the shop. Compared with the early days after liberation, the number of workers and staff in the shop was reduced by over 40 per cent last year, but its output rose over 140-fold and labour productivity more than 220-fold. The sum spent during the entire course of technical innovations was only 10 or 20 per cent of the cost for building a new modern wire workshop of the same size.

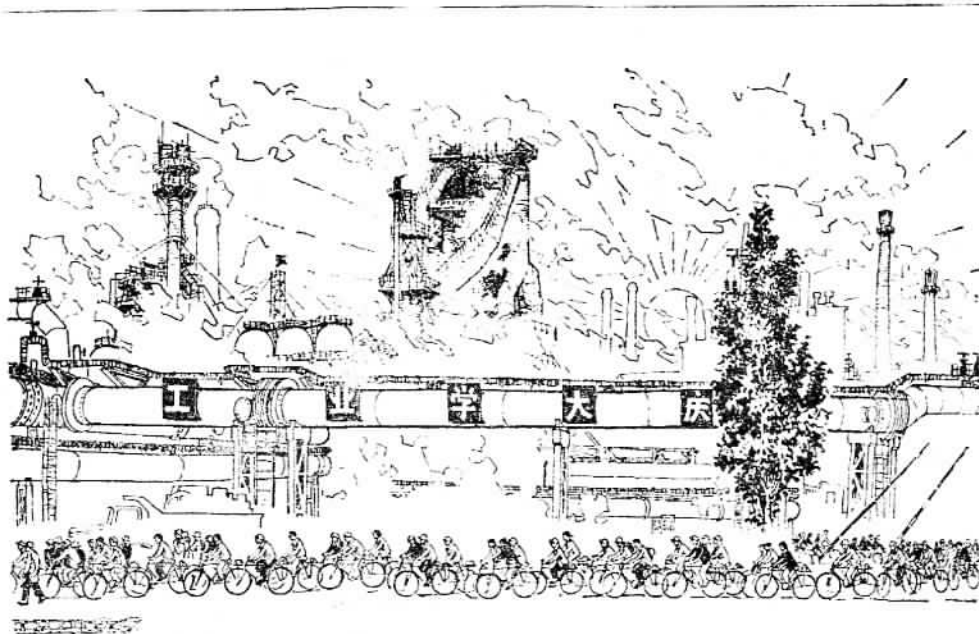
Potentials in Various Kinds of Enterprises

Potentials exist in both old and new enterprises. The mines under the Feicheng Mining Administration in mid-western Shantung Province are new coal mines successively put into production since 1960. Implementing the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" and tapping potentials, the workers and staff have steadily raised coal output. Last year's figure surpassed the designed productive capacity by 69 per cent, an increase equivalent to the output of three pairs of medium-sized shafts. Since this new mining enterprise which has reached its designed capacity still has such a big potential, the newly built enterprises which have not yet reached their designed capacities must have bigger potentials. Workers and staff of these enterprises are making big efforts to tap them.

The big enterprises have potentials, so do the small ones. The Shanghai Irregular-Shaped Tubing Mill was a small plant in 1953 which could only make small metal articles. In 1958, the year of the Big Leap Forward, it trial-produced its first small-diameter seamless tube by an indigenous method. Then, after working hard for more than a decade, its workers are now producing over 2,700 types of steel tubes, including a number of important products which require very high techniques. The profits the mill turned over to the state in these years are nine times as big as the state investments in the mill.

The industrial enterprises can be generally divided into three groups—the advanced, the middling and those lagging behind. There are tremendous potentials in the last group which could enormously raise their production if they would raise their labour productivity to the national average. But even the advanced enterprises still have potentials to be tapped. Steel output in the No. 1 workshop of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant in 1971 exceeded its designed capacity by 80 per cent. Some cadres at that time thought the shop's production had reached its ceiling and that there was no potential left. Later on, after studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's writings, they criticized idealist apriorism, changed the erroneous conclusion of exhausted potential drawn without investigation and study and fostered the idea of knowledge coming from practice. By the combined efforts of the workers and cadres, the shop increased its steel output by 30 per cent in 1972.

Many more cases can be cited. As a matter of fact, the history of China's industrial development since



Morning scene in an industrial district.

Sketch by Tu Yu-hsi

liberation is one of persevering in putting proletarian politics in command, and constantly tapping potentials, adopting innovations and creations, improving techniques and making advances. The state of potential tapped reflects the level of man's knowledge about the law governing production at a given period of time. With the progress of society, man's knowledge will never remain at the same level. Rising political consciousness, improvement in techniques, and perfection in the management of enterprises will continuously push production forward. Progress contains potential, continuously creates new potential and helps people spot potential. We can tap and find potential every year and it increases year by year. By tapping potentials we spur on the progress of industrial production which in turn creates endless new potentials. This is an objective law governing the growth of socialist industry.

To satisfy the ever increasing needs of the state and the people, China, a socialist country, is constantly tapping potentials and raising the production of its socialist industry. The picture is entirely different in capitalist economy. Owing to the development of its inherent contradictions, there is "over-production" in periods of economic crisis and depression, with large amount of equipment lying idle and productive forces being vitiated. The question of tapping potentials does not exist at all under such conditions. Even in cyclical periods of economic recovery and upswing, under-capacity operation and idle equipment still exist in some industrial departments.

The Line Is the Key Link

Besides the socialist system, a correct line is needed in fully tapping the potential. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** Tapping the potential of an enterprise seems to be a production problem involving many contradictions in the production field. These contradictions actually reflect the relationship between people and are full of struggles between the two kinds of ideology and between the two lines. Take the work of tapping the potential as an example. Whether to persevere in putting proletarian politics in command and strengthen the Party's leadership or to grasp production for production's sake and weaken or give up the Party's leadership; whether to mobilize the masses freely and launch mass movements or merely rely on a few persons and go about it without verve or vigour; whether the workers and staff do the work themselves or rely on investments by the state—all these involve struggles between the two kinds of ideology and between the two lines. The key link in fully tapping the potential of industrial production lies in firmly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, grasping well the class struggle in the realm of the superstructure, thoroughly criticizing the various revisionist fallacies of Lin Biao and other political swindlers in the field of industrial production, adjusting

in good time the production relations in the enterprises which do not correspond to the productive forces, and giving powerful support to and carrying forward the advanced things of the working class which embody the spirit of the general line of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The decisive factor in tapping the potential in an enterprise is the worker masses. If they are mobilized to put their heads together and work out methods, the ways of tapping the potential will become increasingly broad and the gains will steadily grow. When the production plan of the No. 1 Blooming Mill of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company came up for discussion early last year, some people thought it was very difficult for production to go further up because improvement of the equipment had been exhausted and all the potential tapped. The leadership made public the plan to all the workers and staff and asked them to give it a thorough discussion after explaining the tasks and difficulties involved. On the basis of their investigation and study, the workers and staff collectively tackled the major problems in industrial management and worked out methods to improve production organization and equipment management. As a result, the amount of steel ingots rolled last year exceeded the 1971 figure by more than 100,000 tons and far surpassed the original designed annual capacity.

Great Political Significance

Tapping fully the production potential of the existing industries is of great significance economically as well as politically. By tapping potentials to raise labour productivity, industrial production can be accelerated. And speed is a matter of great significance in quickening the pace of socialist construction, implementing Chairman Mao's great strategic principle **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** in a better way, consolidating proletarian dictatorship and strengthening the economic base of this dictatorship.

Factory building, equipment and material are important factors in the rapid development of production, but Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"It is people, not things, that are decisive."** The tremendous achievements in tapping industrial potential reflect the revolutionary mental outlook of the Chinese workers. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work, the Chinese working class has greatly raised its consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and its socialist initiative and creativeness have reached a new high. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese workers are carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work. To thoroughly transform China's backwardness in industry and make a greater contribution to humanity, they are making a big effort to tap industrial potential so as to steadily raise China's industrial production to a higher level.

Medical Network in a Mountain County (II)

by Our Correspondent Ling Yang

This is the second of two articles about the medical and health services in Tsincheng County: the co-operative medical system.

TSINCHENG County, like many places, in China has a co-operative medical system in its people's communes. Here the peasant pays only a small part of his medical expenses with the rest covered by the production brigade's collective welfare fund.

First in the County

This system operates at the production brigade level. The Tungszuyi Production Brigade was the first in Tsincheng County to use this form of medical care system, and also one of the first in China to do so.

It began in 1959 when the commune was one year old and had just got its own health clinic off the ground. Three doctors were sent to this brigade by the commune to set up a health centre. This made medical care much more convenient to everyone in the brigade who fell sick, but those patients with lower incomes or the severely ill could not easily meet the expenses. For example, a couple were laid up with some serious illness at the same time and they had to borrow more than 100 yuan from the government to pay their medical bills.

Someone asked whether it was possible to solve this problem within the collective itself as the commune was a socialist collective unit.

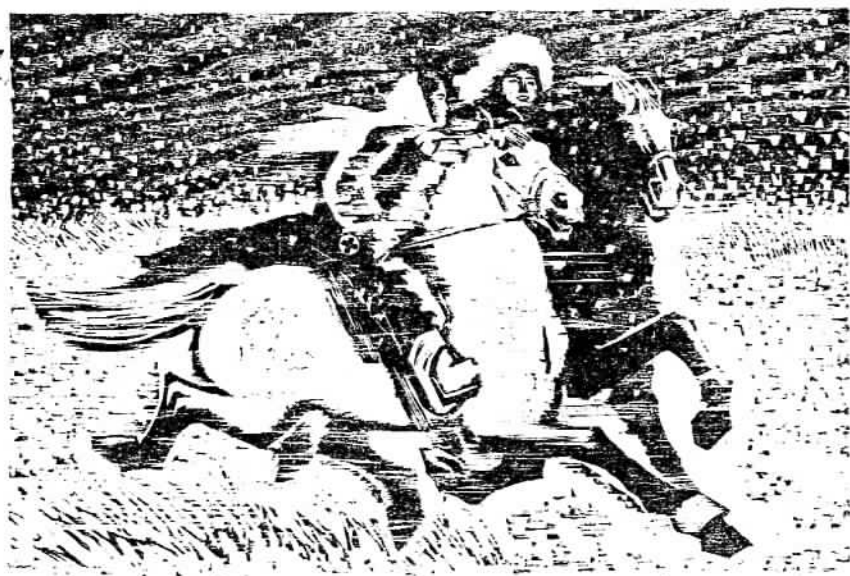
The brigade's Party branch organized a discussion, and everyone agreed to pay one yuan a year into the brigade's medical care fund. In this way, the brigade of 2,000 inhabitants collected 2,000 yuan a year. In addition, it allocated a subsidy from the collective welfare fund, and the system proved that it could work.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution this co-operative medical system was popularized throughout the country.

The Tungszuyi Brigade's co-operative medical system became better and better. The doctors of the brigade's health centre extensively used traditional Chinese medicine and acupuncture to treat ailments and greatly reduced expenses. They gathered medicinal herbs in the locality and even cultivated them. Surpluses were sold to the state commercial department and the income earned was used to buy various medicines and apparatuses. So with additional sums allotted from its collective welfare fund, the brigade solved the problem of medical expenses. Since 1970 no Tungszuyi Brigade member has had to pay for medical treatment.

Tungszuyi is a forerunner in this field. Now, the 605 brigades in all the people's communes of this county have followed suit and instituted the co-operative medical system. But since the brigades differ in economic resources and the requirements of brigade members vary, there are of course differences in practice. In most brigades, like the rest of the countryside in China, the commune member pays a fixed annual sum (generally one yuan, but 0.5 or 1.5 yuan is also common). The brigade subsidizes a part of the expenses so that a sick member need not pay anything for treatment.

There are also places where the brigade members pay in an annual sum and the brigade grants subsidies. But because of the brigade's limited financial resources, a portion of the medical expenses will have to be borne by the patient. For example, some brigades stipulate that expenses under 50 yuan are recoverable in full from the co-operative system, expenses above 50 but



Riding through the snow to answer a call.

Woodcut by Li Mu

not exceeding 100 yuan by 80 per cent and 60 per cent for anything above 100 yuan.

Brigade Health Centre

Where a brigade has a co-operative medical system, there is a management group composed of representatives of the brigade members, brigade cadres and medical and health workers. Day-to-day outlays are managed by the brigade health centre.

The co-operative medical system in the Lingtung Brigade to the southeast of the county town was set up in 1969. The brigade's health centre is housed in a small clean brick building. In it I saw a glass and wood cabinet containing scores of Chinese and Western medicines. Inside a leather case marked with a red cross are a stethoscope, thermometer, sphygmomanometer, commonly used medicines and instruments for minor surgical operations and intravenous drips.

Chang Lien-tai, a comrade in charge, gave me an account of the centre as follows: There is a total staff of four "barefoot doctors" (including himself) who had studied for one year in the health school run by the commune. The centre keeps a health record of every member of the brigade and gives them a check-up twice a year. Those with chronic ailments are treated in a planned way. These "barefoot doctors" know each member's blood group and what the peasants intend to do about family planning. Besides working in the centre, they take turns to visit peasant families or give first aid out in the fields. During the spring ploughing they set up business in the fields. During the busy summer season they brew medicinal drinks and deliver them to the people working in the fields or to their homes so as to prevent summer diarrhoea and sun and heat stroke.

Chang Lien-tai said that the young "barefoot doctors," after several years of practice, now feel confident in treating common ailments with traditional Chinese and Western medicines and with acupuncture. Suturing small wounds, excising boils and extracting teeth are all in their day's work. They can also give transfusions of saline solution or glucose to the very sick and emergency cases. In this way many of the more common ailments are treated without the patients having to leave the brigade. More difficult cases beyond their ability are transferred to the commune health clinic. The "barefoot doctors" often go along to take care of the patient and also to learn.

Chang Lien-tai said: For the "barefoot doctors," their most important task, besides trying diligently to improve their proficiency professionally, is to persevere in taking part in collective productive labour, as this is the way to preserve the fine qualities of working people. One-third of their time is spent in physical labour. The four "barefoot doctors" have also set up a small



Commune chairman discussing cultivation of medicinal herbs with commune members.

apothecary to make the medicinal herbs they have gathered into ready-for-use pills, powders and decoctions. On top of this they also cultivate a herb garden.

Like the commune members, the "barefoot doctors" are all paid according to work-points. A small monthly cash allowance is made to them by the brigade but, taking it all in all, their income is about the same as that of an average brigade member.

Extensive Use of Medicinal Herbs

The "barefoot doctors" rely on the masses to consolidate the co-operative medical system. One example is the Lingtung Brigade which extensively uses traditional Chinese medicines and acupuncture to treat the sick and prevent diseases with little or no outlay in money.

There is a herbarium in the brigade. On its four walls are hung specimens. The 178 kinds of herbs found in the locality are mounted on cardboard and covered with transparent plastic sheeting, with text giving the name of the herb, where they are found and its medicinal properties. On a display shelf are the actual herbs growing in basins. On a long table are dishes of pieces or slices of dried herbs. The purpose of all this is to teach the commune members how to recognize and use these herbs. The masses have much faith in traditional Chinese medicines but most of them do not know that right in their mountainous locality there is a profusion of medicinally useful herbs. After visiting this exhibition the commune members become enthusiastic collectors and cultivators of herbs. Many peasants pick the herbs on their way to and back from work, cowherds and shepherds gather them when they

are out pasturing their animals, teachers and students organize herb-collecting outings during the holidays and even militiamen in training do not forget to bring back herbs for the brigade. The brigade has put 18 *mu* of land under herbs, some are indigenous, like the *Tang-shen* (*Radix codonopsis*) and some are introduced. Growing in many commune members' homes are peonies and chrysanthemums, both highly decorative and medicinally useful.

"Barefoot doctor" Chang Lien-tai said: "The results have been fine. Last year alone, the brigade gathered in 4,000 kilogrammes of herbs and added to this was the harvest from the brigade's herb garden. There was more than we could use, so we sold some to the county herb company and in exchange we got Western and Chinese medicines which we did not produce ourselves." He made up a balance sheet. There were 1,780 persons in the brigade and so there were 1,780 yuan in the kitty for co-operative medical care (each brigade member paid in 50 fen and a matching sum came from the collective welfare fund). Because of energetic efforts in collecting and growing herbs and extensive use of herbal medicine (three-quarters of the prescriptions were for herbal medicines), only 1,100 yuan were spent on buying medicines. "We bought extra equipment and also put aside a little nest-egg," he ended.

Using traditional Chinese methods and Chinese medicines to treat and prevent diseases is also a mass activity. The brigade members can recognize many herbs and collect and grow them and have gradually learnt to use them. For colds, flus and other minor ailments they brew themselves herbal drinks and get well. On rainy days when field work is suspended, the "barefoot doctors" call on the peasants at home to teach and initiate them into the art of acupuncture. After learning the use of the needle to treat ailments such as headaches and backaches, they no longer have to call on the services of a "barefoot doctor."

Stress on Prevention

The "barefoot doctors" of many brigade health centres said that in their work they put the stress on prevention. Through popularizing knowledge on health among the masses, mobilizing them to improve environmental hygiene, the incidence of many complaints has dropped.

In the above-mentioned Lingtung Brigade, for instance, people recalled that over 20 years ago the streets of the mountain villages were so strewn with rubbish and dung that the surfaces were invisible. Flies were everywhere in the summer. No wonder various epidemics swept unchecked through the area each year.

Today the animal pens in Lingtung have been moved out of the villages. There is no litter or dung in the streets. The well-heads are at least a metre above ground level and some are roofed over. The "barefoot

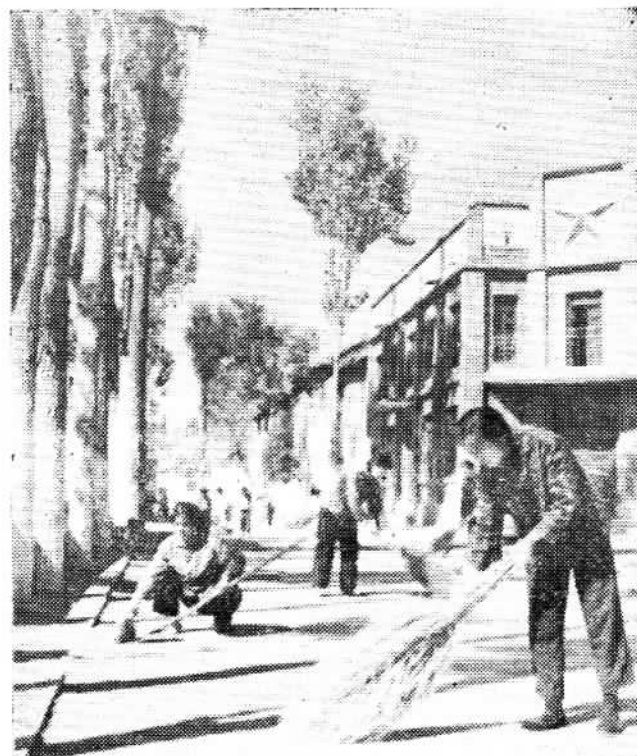
doctors" put bleaching powder into the wells twice a month. The environment has been completely transformed.

The Tungszuyi Brigade mentioned earlier as the founder of the co-operative medical system in Tsincheng has been an advanced health unit for many years. It has an effective system in operation covering management of wells and animal pens, the disposal of dung and night-soil, as well as family and public sanitation. The following figures point to some of the achievements resulting from health movements. Incidence of infectious diseases before liberation in Tungszuyi was 45 per cent. There was an epidemic of typhoid one year and nearly a third of the population perished. In the past 15 years there had been very little occurrence of infectious diseases. There are 67 persons over the age of 70 in the village.

There is a man-made lake by the village with a tree-shaded walk around it. On the lake there is a little pavilion. Leaning over the iron railing around the lake one can see fish swimming in the water and lotus blooms everywhere. In the distance are the jade-green mountains, close by are fields of sturdy wheat.

Thirty years ago, old folk told me, this was a stretch of stagnant, stinking water where rubbish and even bodies of infants (infantile mortality was high in those days but no one made any records) were dumped.

Now it is a clear little lake — an ode to the happy life the people of Tungszuyi are leading in the new society.



Commune members sweeping the streets.

CAMBODIAN PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

6-Week Battle Record

Many towns including Prek Kdam, Skoun and Tang Kauk were liberated by the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia in 45 days of fighting ending August 15.

Phnom Penh's puppet troops wiped out on various battlefields in the country totalled 36,000. Of these 30,000 were killed or wounded, including 168 senior and junior officers, and 2,000 captured. Four thousand crossed over to the people.

In these operations, the liberation forces and people also seized 13,000 weapons, 130 transmitters, 63 military vehicles, 5,039 cases of munitions and big quantities of other military supplies. Besides, 85 enemy planes were brought down or damaged, 346 military vehicles destroyed, including 193 tanks and armoured cars, 91 vessels sunk or hit and over 2,000 families liberated.

On the Phnom Penh front, the liberation forces smashed the enemy defence lines around the city, almost completely demolishing all the strongholds, posts and blockhouses to the south, north, east and west of the city. They advanced to points five kilometres, three kilometres, and even only one kilometre from the city. Small units actually effected entry into the capital.

With Phnom Penh in chaos, the traitorous Lon Nol clique is panic-stricken. Embassy personnel's dependents and foreign residents are evacuating the city.

LAO PATRIOTIC FRONT

Plot Behind Abortive Coup Exposed

Setting themselves up as the "revolutionary military committee," putschists in Vientiane staged a coup at dawn on August 20 and declared the overthrow of Prince Souvanna Phouma. A few hours later, however,

the attempt was smashed, with the ringleaders either killed, arrested or fleeing the country. Public opinion in Vientiane and abroad held that the main instigator was none other than the ultra-Rightist Sananikone clique.

A spokesman of the Lao Patriotic Front Central Committee in its August 21 statement on the abortive coup said: "The coup attempt was obviously aimed at blocking the Vientiane talks." "The attempted coup took place at a time when the negotiations between the two sides in Vientiane were drawing nearer and nearer to the signing of a protocol ensuring the implementation of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, but became deadlocked," the statement said.

"As known to all, both the Sananikone clique in Vientiane and the Phoumi Nosavan clique in exile in Thailand are old and obedient servants of the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. Government is bent on maintaining U.S. neo-colonialism in Laos and using its henchmen to carry out this scheme. That is why the U.S. Government cannot shirk its responsibility for this adventurous and sabotaging acts of its henchmen," it said.

The statement severely condemned the ultra-Rightist reactionaries in Vientiane for engineering the coup and other sabotaging acts against the present negotiations on the signing of the protocols to the agreement. It said, "The Lao Patriotic Front reaffirms its unswerving stand and sincere desire for peace and national concord and once again declares that it is resolved to carry on the negotiations and bring them to success. The Lao Patriotic Front demands that the Vientiane side abandon its unreasonable proposals and promptly sign the protocol to the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos on the basis of the draft protocol which the two

sides finally agreed upon on July 27, 1973."

INDONESIA

Serious Anti-Chinese Incident

A serious anti-Chinese incident broke out in Bandung in West Java, Indonesia, on August 5.

The incident was provoked following a collision of an automobile of a Chinese resident with an Indonesian cart that afternoon. Hooligans broke into shops in the Chinese quarter of the city, looting and wrecking, and beating up Chinese nationals and Chinese residents of Indonesian nationality. One Chinese was killed and scores were wounded. All this took place at the instigation of a handful of Indonesian reactionaries.

Indonesian hooligans, the Indonesian authorities admitted, had destroyed or burnt down 914 Chinese shops, 126 cars and 192 motor-cycles. The Indonesian paper *Merdeka*, writing after the incident, acknowledged the seriousness of the case: "It was much more serious than the 'May 10' racial incident ten years ago."

Indonesian officials admitted that "some people manipulated by taking advantage of the incident," which "was carried out according to a well worked-out plan." Indonesian army and air force officers were reportedly involved in it. Similar incidents later occurred elsewhere in Indonesia.

By no means fortuitous, this anti-Chinese incident was an organized action. Great losses have been inflicted on the Chinese residents in Indonesia, who now live in fear for their lives and property. The Bandung incident has stirred public opinion in Indonesia and abroad. Broad masses of people in Indonesia demand that the Indonesian authorities take firm measures to severely punish the ringleaders of the incidents and prevent their recurrence.

UNITED NATIONS

Namibia Day

At a special commemorative meeting to mark Namibia Day on the morning of August 24, the United Nations' Council for Namibia proclaimed August 26 Namibia Day to demonstrate its support for the peo-