

PEKING REVIEW

48

November 25, 1977

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Delegation Visits China**

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The Theory of Two Points?**

**Mao Tsetung Thought Guides the
Revolution in Tibet**

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Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation Visits China

A VIETNAMESE Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, arrived in Peking on November 20 for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Communist Party and Government of China.

The Vietnamese comrades were accorded a warm welcome at the airport by Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; and several thousand people in the capital.

On the evening of its arrival, the C.P.C. Central Committee and the State Council gave a banquet in honour of the visiting delegation. It was hosted by Chairman Hua and attended

by Vice-Chairmen Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and General Secretary Le Duan spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 5 and 6.)

Accompanied by Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, the delegation paid its respects to the remains of Chairman Mao and presented a wreath on the afternoon of the same day.



Vietnamese comrades warmly welcomed at Peking Airport.



Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and General Secretary Le Duan hold talks.

Renmin Ribao published an editorial that day welcoming the delegation. It pointed out: "China and Viet Nam are friendly, fraternal socialist neighbours linked by rivers and mountains. The people of both countries who are comrades and comrades-in-arms have forged a profound friendship in the long years of revolutionary struggle. It is their common aspiration to safeguard and develop Sino-Vietnamese friendship nurtured carefully by both Chairman Mao Tsetung and President Ho Chi Minh."

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng held talks with General Secretary Le Duan on November 21 and 22. While in Peking the Vietnamese comrades visited the China-Viet Nam Friendship

People's Commune and watched sports performances.

Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien And Comrade Keng Piao Meet Foreign Friends

Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, recently met and had cordial and friendly talks with a number of foreign delegations and friends visiting China.

On November 14, Vice-Chairman Li met and feted the Delegation of the Union of Communist Youth of Romania led by Nicu Ceausescu, Secretary of the Union's Central Committee.

On November 19, Vice-Chairman Li met the Delegation of the

Yugoslav Trade Union Federation led by Milutin Baltic, Member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Member of the Presidency of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation and Chairman of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, recently met and gave a banquet in honour of the Delegation of the Communist Union of Austria headed by Walter Lindner, Secretary of the Union.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's Speech

(Excerpts)

UNDER the leadership of their great leader President Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people waged an arduous people's war of several decades in order to liberate their country from the ravages of colonialism and imperialism. In the long years of war, the heroic Vietnamese people fought steadfastly and dauntlessly, advanced wave upon wave, went through untold hardships and made great sacrifices. Finally they defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors and won national liberation and the unification of their country. The brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people is their outstanding contribution to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist cause of the people of the whole world.

Upon victory in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people plunged into a new struggle to heal the war wounds and to rehabilitate and develop their national economy. The Sixth National Assembly of Viet Nam and the Fourth National Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam were convened successively, at which the late President Ho Chi Minh's lofty aspiration for national unification was realized and the Second Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development was adopted. The industrious and valiant Vietnamese people have achieved by their creative labour marked successes on both the agricultural and industrial fronts. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam won admission to the United Nations, expanded its contacts with other countries of the world and achieved further successes in international affairs.

The Chinese people heartily rejoice at the victories and successes of the fifty million Viet-

namese people. We are sure that the Vietnamese people will be able to turn Viet Nam into a prosperous socialist country with their talents and their own hands.

The situation in China has been excellent in the year or more since the "gang of four" was smashed. The great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is continuing to develop in depth, the gang's pernicious influence is being eliminated and the damage and difficulties it caused are being gradually overcome. The Party Central Committee's strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land has gained initial results. Our Party triumphantly held its 11th National Congress in August. A new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction has been ushered in. Our people are exerting their utmost to achieve new successes to greet the victorious convocation of the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fifth Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to the superpowers, and it is most heartening. The people of the world are further awakening, and the forces against superpower hegemonism are daily expanding. The Chinese people are determined to act according to Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds, uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We will strengthen our unity with the other socialist countries, with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the

world and with the other countries of the third world and ally with all countries subjected to imperialist and social-imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying to form the broadest possible united front against superpower hegemonism.

China and Viet Nam are neighbouring socialist countries linked by common mountains and rivers, and our peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe. In our protracted revolutionary struggles, our two peoples have always encouraged and supported each other. The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Vietnamese people's great leader President Ho Chi Minh painstakingly cultivated our revolutionary friendship based on Marxism-Leninism. Continuing to consolidate and develop this militant

friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples accords with the fundamental interests of our two peoples, with the interests of our countries' causes of socialist revolution and socialist construction and with those of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government and people highly treasure the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between our two Parties, countries and peoples. We will act upon Chairman Mao's behests and continue to make tireless efforts to strengthen this fraternal friendship and militant solidarity. We believe that the current official friendly visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation to China will contribute to enhancing the friendship and solidarity between our two Parties, countries and peoples.

Comrade Le Duan's Speech

(Excerpts)

IT is with great pleasure that we visit China after you have successfully held the 11th Congress of the glorious Communist Party of China. Our delegation is pleased to find itself hand in hand with many Chinese comrades we have known.

Viet Nam and China are two countries having contiguous mountains and watered by the same rivers. Between our two peoples who were both subjected to imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation, and who share the same desire for independence and freedom, deep mutual understanding and friendly relations have been established for a long time now. Since each country had its proletarian party to lead the revolution along the path of Marxism-Leninism and struggle for national independence and socialism, the friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples has been further consolidated and developed. For several

decades, our two peoples sharing weal and woe have unceasingly supported and helped each other and promoted a great militant solidarity as between men who are "both comrades and brothers."

When the Vietnamese revolution was still in its infancy, our respected President Ho Chi Minh and other Vietnamese patriots lived and carried out activities in China with the protection and devoted assistance of the Communist Party and the fraternal Chinese people. It is to be noted particularly that both in our resistance wars against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists and in our endeavour for socialist construction, China's great and many-sided assistance contributed to increase our economic and defence potential and our fighting strength, and strongly encouraged our army and people to flatten all obstacles and heroically march forward to record one victory

after another until the brilliant victory of today. The Vietnamese people will never forget Chairman Mao Tsetung's words full of cordial feelings: "The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people, the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." In the mines, factories, railway stations, ports, villages and schools, everywhere there have been concrete deeds to aid Viet Nam, to express the cordial feelings and determination of the Chinese people to unite with the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors. The projects built in Viet Nam with China's aid are beautiful flowers of Viet Nam-Chinese friendship.

The Vietnamese Communists and people are very proud to have as close comrades-in-arms the Communist Party and people of China, the brothers who always hold that support for the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression and the building of socialism constitutes an international obligation to be fulfilled by the Chinese people, as the late Prime Minister Chou En-lai put it.

Twenty-eight years ago, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of China and after a protracted and hard fight full of brilliant exploits, the Chinese people put to pieces the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and founded the People's Republic of China. This was a tremendous historic victory after the Russian October Socialist Revolution, victory which led the Chinese people who make up one-fourth of mankind into the path of socialism, brought about a radical change in the world balance of forces, and opened up a new brilliant era in Chinese history, that of independence, freedom and socialism.

Since that time, the Chinese people having become masters of their country and destiny have brought into play to a higher degree than ever their industriousness, intelligence and creativeness to build a new socialist China.

Carrying aloft the banner of "Taching" and "Tachai," hundreds of millions of workers, collective farmers and socialist intellectuals eagerly embarking on work on the production and scientific research front have recorded outstanding achievements in the development on industry, agriculture, science, technology, education and public health.

The resolute steps taken by the Communist Party of China to smash the "gang of four" and bring the revolution steadily forward, constitute a political event of great importance, a source of happiness in the life of the Chinese people, at the same time, they are a resounding event and a cause of joy for the revolutionary peoples in the world.

With a new spirit and a new zeal, the Chinese people are now endeavouring to implement the resolutions of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, giving a strong impetus to the production movement, determined as they are to build China into a socialist power with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and technology and modern national defence before the turn of this century.

As brothers and close neighbours, the Vietnamese people who have always considered the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people as their own, greatly rejoice over the big successes that have made China ever stronger and unceasingly heightened the prestige of the People's Republic of China in the international arena.

We are confident that a nation endowed with a glorious history and an ancient civilization, who has gone through periods of glorious victories as well as bitter experiences, and who has risen up to become master of its destiny, will decidedly not allow any exploiting class or reactionary force in the country to raise its head in an attempt to cause New China to change colour. Under the banner of Chairman Mao Tsetung, and under the leadership of the

Communist Party of China headed by esteemed Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people will certainly take their revolutionary cause to new heights, record even greater successes, make China a great, modern and powerful country, and make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the people around the world.

Once again, we affirm the Vietnamese people's resolute support for the Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan — an inalienable part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China, and our firm conviction that this struggle will be crowned with victory.

The great victory of the Chinese revolution and the victory of the revolution in many countries since the end of World War II have evidenced the superiority of socialism and the immense aggregate strength of the world revolutionary forces; at the same time, they have proved that capitalism can by no means escape from its increasingly serious general crisis. At present, the revolutionary peoples are facing a very favourable international situation. The three revolutionary currents of our times — the socialist countries, the national-liberation movement and the workers' movement in the capitalist countries — are in an offensive position and capable of repelling U.S.-headed imperialism and step by step winning victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

These victories have also pointed out that in the new conditions of today and especially with the prodigious growth of the world revolutionary movement, if the Communist Parties and progressive peoples firmly grasp the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, creatively apply a strategy of offensive, strengthen solidarity in a spirit of proletarian internationalism, they are bound to win new victories and to speed up the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

The historic victory of spring 1975 marked the beginning in our country of a new era — that of peace, independence, unity and socialism. In the light of the line worked out by the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people, firmly grasping proletarian dictatorship, are striving to step up the three revolutions: revolution in relations of production, scientific and technological revolution and ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution as the keystone, with a view to building a new regime, a new economy, a new culture and moulding the new socialist man. In face of the poverty and backwardness of our economy, and the present great difficulties, serious legacy of war and colonialism, the Vietnamese people regard as a task of prime importance that of mustering all their forces to heal the wounds of war, develop and transform the economy and culture, to ensure progress and prosperity for the country, welfare and happiness for the people. After so many years of a fight full of sacrifices and hardships, the Vietnamese people have no more earnest desire than to live in peace, to promote and strengthen relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries, and to contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world, at the same time, we are determined not to allow any imperialism and reactionary force whatsoever to encroach upon our independence and freedom.

We are confident that in the new stage of the revolution, the Vietnamese people will enjoy continued support and assistance from the Chinese Party, Government and people, and we deem this an important encouragement to our reconstruction endeavour.

In the future as in the past, the Communist Party of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people will always have at heart the Viet Nam-Chinese friendship promoted by President Ho Chi Minh and Chairman Mao Tsetung: We are resolved to do everything in our power to make this great friendship everlasting.

Criticizing Eclecticism or Attacking The Theory of Two Points?

by Cheng Hang-sheng

THE "gang of four" was both politically reactionary and theoretically preposterous. In the last few years, this gang and the mass media under its control attacked the materialist dialectical theory of two points under the signboard of opposing eclecticism and directed the spearhead of its onslaught at Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. While the old-line revisionists tried to palm off eclecticism as dialectics, the "gang of four" vilified dialectics as eclecticism. Proceeding from two different extremes, they faked Marxism. In 1974, Chairman Mao severely criticized the gang, saying: "Metaphysics, one-sidedness, is rampant."

What Is Eclecticism?

In raising a hue and cry to "oppose eclecticism," the gang and its mass media often waved the banner of Lenin but actually distorted what Lenin had said on this question, claiming that eclecticism was something that "wiggles between this side and the other side."

Is this really what Lenin meant? No. Lenin made his point very clearly: "An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and unequivocally, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both. . . ." (*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, 1904.) What Lenin said was "two

mutually exclusive points of view," an idea he had stressed on many occasions. He pointed out that "eclecticism, . . . is a senseless jumble of materialism and idealism." (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, 1908.) It is "a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas." (*Review of Karl Kautsky's Book*, 1899.) Hence, eclecticism is to "agree" with both the materialist viewpoint and the idealist viewpoint, with both the Marxist viewpoint and the revisionist viewpoint, with both the viewpoint of putting politics in com-

The "Theory of Two Points"

LIKE "one divides into two," the "theory of two points" is a terse and vivid expression of the law of the unity of opposites—the basic law of materialist dialectics. It appears frequently in Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. This theory holds that within a thing there are two contradictory aspects which are at once opposites and a unity and that one of these aspects is principal and the other secondary. It is opposed to the metaphysical one-point theory and the theory of equilibrium which does not distinguish the principal aspect from the non-principal aspect of a thing.

mand and the viewpoint of putting vocational work above everything else, and so forth; it tries to reconcile **“two mutually exclusive points of view”** and put them on a par, and it appears to be impartial but actually opposes the correct viewpoints to safeguard the erroneous ones.

In contrast, the correct viewpoints of looking at things all-sidedly — such as opposing armchair statesmen on the one hand and pragmatists who have lost their bearings on the other, doing a good job in political and ideological work on the one hand and in economic construction on the other, being both red and expert, as Chairman Mao taught us — are not eclecticism but the materialist dialectical theory of two points.

The “gang of four” and its mass media deliberately confounded the two and evaded the essence of the matter, namely, the **“two mutually exclusive points of view”** as Lenin had clearly mentioned; they labelled anyone using the formulation “on the one hand” and “on the other hand” as “eclecticists who wriggle like a snake.” According to this absurd logic, these expressions should not be used at all and only jargon typical of the gang such as “we’d rather have uneducated labourers than educated exploiters” should prevail.

Members of the gang who were poor “theoreticians” had better read *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War* by Chairman Mao. In this brilliant work Chairman Mao repeatedly emphasized that **“it is entirely wrong to pay attention only to the one side and forget the other.”** There are many more similar statements in Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. Talking about the correct attitude towards those who have made mistakes, he said: **“... this calls for two pre-conditions, serious criticism on the one hand and a forbearing attitude on the other. It is not good to do without the latter, for its absence would lead to unnatural relations.”** (*The Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle*, 1955.) Here, both sides of the viewpoint are correct and not mutually exclusive (not a case of one side being correct and

the other side wrong). This statement, instead of one-sidedly splitting their interrelationship, comprehensively embodies the dialectical relationship between the two. It is, therefore, a manifestation of the unity of two opposites, i.e., the theory of two points and “one divides into two.” The “gang of four,” however, indiscriminately dismissed the formulation “on the one hand and on the other” as an “eclectic jargon.” They were obviously attacking materialist dialectics and Mao Tsetung Thought.

A Distortion of Lenin's Criticism of Bukharin

The “gang of four” and its mass media, moreover, were especially keen on distorting Lenin's criticism of Bukharin's eclecticism to make it appear that Lenin was unconditionally opposed to the “on the one hand and on the other” formulation.

How did Lenin criticize Bukharin's eclecticism in *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin* in 1921? In the big debate within the Russian Communist Party (B) in the years 1920 and 1921, Bukharin made believe he was trying to rise above the controversy between Lenin and Trotsky. On the question of the role of trade unions, Lenin correctly pointed out that they were a school of communism. This was opposed by Trotsky who absurdly claimed that they should be the administrative apparatus for industrial management. Bukharin, on his part, confounded right with wrong and claimed that he saw “no logical grounds for proof that either proposition is wrong; both, and a combination of both, are right.” This was scathingly criticized by Lenin who pointed out that herein lay Bukharin's **“fundamental theoretical mistake, which is substitution of eclecticism . . . for Marxist dialectics.”**

On the question of the relationship between politics and economics, Lenin said in the same work: **“Politics is a concentrated expression of economics”** and **“Politics cannot but have precedence over economics.”** Trotsky opposed Lenin's correct viewpoint and erroneously pro-

posed that the question should be tackled from the viewpoint of "economics" in an attempt to use economics as a cover to push his bourgeois politics, which, Lenin said, "leads to the collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (ibid.) Bukharin, on his part, held that looking at things politically had "the same value" as looking at them "economically" and that both methods could be applied. Lenin sharply pointed out: "The gist of his [Bukharin's] theoretical mistake in this case is substitution of eclecticism for the dialectical interplay of politics and economics (which we find in Marxism). His theoretical attitude is: 'on the one hand, and on the other,' 'the one and the other.' That is eclecticism. Dialectics requires an all-round consideration of relationships in their concrete development but not a patchwork of bits and pieces." (ibid.)

From this it can be seen that the "on the one hand, and on the other" and "the one and the other" formulation criticized by Lenin is eclectic either because the two are mutually exclusive (one of the two sides being correct and the other wrong) or because it is a patchwork of bits and pieces, a farrago without inner connections and not reflecting the essence of a thing. Lenin never repudiated in general the "on the one hand, and on the other" formulation as eclecticism. On the contrary, he himself often used it to illustrate the two sides of a thing. For instance, in *The Tax in Kind* (1921) he used it more than once to illustrate his point. Concerning the conditions for realizing socialism, he spoke of "the economic, the productive and the socio-economic conditions for socialism, on the one hand, and the political conditions, on the other." Then, when he spoke of the need to avoid the two kinds of mistakes which were petty-bourgeois in nature, he pointed out: "On the one hand, it would be a fatal mistake to declare that since there is a discrepancy between our economic 'forces' and our political strength, it 'follows' that we should not have seized power. . . . On the other hand, it would be an obvious mistake to give free rein to ranters and phrase-mongers who allow themselves to be carried away by the 'dazzling' revolutionary spirit, but who are incapable of sustained, thoughtful and deliberate revolu-

tionary work which takes into account the most difficult stages of transition." More examples like these can be found in Lenin's works.

What Is the Theory of Equilibrium?

The "gang of four" and the mass media under its control also vilified the "on the one hand, and on the other" formulation, which requires people to look at things all-sidedly, as the theory of equilibrium, according to which "the principal and secondary contradictions and the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction are placed on a par without differentiating what is primary from what is secondary." They simply did not understand that materialist dialectics first of all requires people to see the two points in a thing, for only then is it possible to compare and study the relationship between the two and distinguish the primary from the secondary. For instance, in analysing the class relations in socialist society, we must not only take into consideration the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but other class contradictions as well, and then go further to ascertain that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction which holds the dominant position in socialist society whereas the other class contradictions are secondary ones. And in analysing the principal contradiction in socialist society, we must not only take into consideration the proletariat which is the ruling class but also the bourgeoisie which is being ruled, thereby clearly recognizing the particularities of both the principal and non-principal aspects of the contradiction and the trend of their development and transformation. This way of analysing and studying the principal and secondary contradictions and the principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction is in conformity with the requirements of the materialist dialectical theory of two points, and it has nothing in common with eclecticism or the theory of equilibrium.

Basing himself on the theory of two points, Chairman Mao always taught us to correctly handle the relationships between politics and

vocational work, between politics and technique and between revolution and production, laying emphasis on the commanding role of politics and the exceedingly great importance of grasping revolution and at the same time telling us to do a good job in socialist production and construction. He clearly pointed out: "Politics and the professions form a unity of opposites, in which politics is predominant and primary, and while we must fight against the tendency to ignore politics, it won't do to confine oneself to politics and have no technical or professional knowledge." (*Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution*, 1957.) He further pointed out: "We should be on guard against those who have no faith in giving prominence to politics but feign agreement with it while spreading eclecticism (that is, opportunism)." These important instructions from Chairman Mao opposed both the eclectic theory of equilibrium and the wrong tendency of going in for professional knowledge and ignoring politics, or confining oneself to politics but having no professional knowledge and ignoring production.

A Typical Case of Attacking the Two-Point Theory

In 1976, taking advantage of Chairman Mao's serious illness, the "gang of four" started a campaign to criticize an outline report on the work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences submitted by the academy to the Party Central Committee*. It was a typical case of their attack on the theory of two points under the pretext of criticizing eclecticism.

The outline report, first of all, stressed the need to resolutely carry out the Party's basic line and persist in putting proletarian politics in command; then it proceeded to make a correct exposition of the following five questions which were messed up by the gang.

(1) On the relationship between politics and technique, the tendency to ignore politics

* See "The Struggle Around the Outline Report on Science and Technology" in issue No. 44.

must be criticized and it is wrong not to struggle against it; on the other hand, it is equally wrong not to put a demand on and encourage scientific and technical personnel to study professional knowledge for the cause of the revolution.

(2) On the question of scientific and technical personnel integrating with the workers and peasants, the tendency of belittling the role of the masses in scientific research must be criticized and it is wrong not to earnestly encourage scientific and technical personnel to integrate with the workers and peasants and learn from them; on the other hand, it is equally wrong not to give full play to the role of specialized scientific research organizations and specialists.

(3) On the relationship between scientific research and production, the tendency of separating scientific research from the reality must be criticized and it is wrong not to actively call on scientific and technical personnel to do research and solve urgent problems in actual production; on the other hand, it is equally wrong to overlook or deny the importance of research work in basic theory and the necessity of laboratory work.

(4) On the question of remoulding and enlisting the service of intellectuals, the remoulding of their world outlook must be insisted on and it is wrong to assume that the remoulding of their ideology has more or less been completed; on the other hand, it is equally wrong to talk abstractly about remoulding and maintain that intellectuals cannot be of any use until they have remoulded themselves completely.

(5) On the question of the relationship between Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences, the guiding role of Marxist philosophy in relation to the natural sciences must be emphasized and it is wrong to deny this; on the other hand, it is equally wrong to think that philosophy can supersede the natural sciences and that concrete conclusions on specific scientific problems can be reached simply by

applying the general principles of philosophy without hard work in scientific research supported by accurate and valid proofs.

In the light of the historical background at that time when the metaphysics of the "gang of four" was rampant, it was truly praiseworthy that the said outline report raised the foregoing issues. It was in conformity with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and took into consideration all the aspects as required by materialist dialectics. The two erroneous tendencies in each of the questions mentioned in the document should be opposed by all means. The viewpoints elucidated in the outline report are certainly not eclecticism but are in accord with the materialist dialectical theory of two points. This document is not a poisonous weed but a fragrant flower!

Of course, in applying the general principles to a specific problem, one must make concrete analysis of concrete conditions, which is the living soul of Marxism. On the question of opposing erroneous tendencies, Chairman Mao taught us that **"we must wage a struggle on both fronts, combating both 'Left' and 'Right' deviations."** (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, 1955.*) Chairman Mao also taught us that what must we emphasize at a given time should be determined by the actual conditions, not by subjective conjecture. But even when it is already clear what is the main erroneous tendency at a given time, we must, while opposing the chief erroneous tendency, be on the look-out and guard against another erroneous tendency which is being covered up. It must also be pointed out that in the course of the development of a thing, whether in nature or in human society, to grasp the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction is by no means easy; very often it can be achieved only through repeated practices and a long process of cognition. This is because the conditions involved are complex, the scientific knowledge so far acquired is limited and the investigations and study done are not adequate enough. Under certain con-

ditions, because it is hard to differentiate the principal from the non-principal, we should not jump to hasty conclusions but should make further studies so as to determine which is the principal and which is the non-principal. This is a prudent and scientific attitude. The "gang of four," however, labelled this as eclecticism or a case of the theory of equilibrium; actually, it was members of the gang who were clinging to a metaphysical viewpoint.

What Was Behind This Nonsense?

Feigning that it was "criticizing eclecticism," the "gang of four" dished up many absurd statements. You want to make revolution? Then forget about production, otherwise you will be charged with following the "theory of the all-importance of productive forces"! You wish to be politically-minded? Then you have to forget about the professions, or else you will be charged with "putting the professions in command"! And so on and so forth. We all know that revolution and production, politics and economics, and politics and the professions form a unity of opposites. When we stress the commanding role of revolution and politics, we do not mean to say that production, economics and the professions are not important, still less that they are dispensable. In his *On New Democracy* (1940), Chairman Mao pointed out that economics is the basis while politics is the concentrated expression of economics. This is our basic viewpoint on the relationship between politics and economics. The consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a guarantee for socialist economic construction, while achievements in economic construction in turn strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "gang of four" negated the unity of the two, tore politics and economics apart and held that politics could exist in isolation, independent of economics. All this conceals the gang's malicious political intent: By disrupting production, the "gang of four" intended to sabotage socialist revolution, and by making a mess of the economy they aimed at messing up proletarian politics, so that they could seize the opportunity to usurp Party and state power.

Mao Tsetung Thought Guides The Revolution in Tibet

UNDER the leadership of Chairman Mao, Tibet leapt from feudal serfdom to socialist society in a little more than 20 years. Basing himself on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and taking into consideration the concrete conditions in Tibet, Chairman Mao not only clearly set forth the line, principles, policies and strategic plans for the revolution in Tibet, but also laid down the specific tactics, steps and methods of struggle at crucial moments in the revolution. Chairman Mao's teachings on the Tibetan question have developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question.

Road to Liberation

For centuries the people in Tibet groaned under the reactionary and barbarous rule of feudal serfdom. The three kinds of estateholders — the local government, the monasteries and the nobles — that accounted for only 5 per cent of the population, controlled all the land and most of the livestock in the region. The serfs, who had neither the means of production nor personal freedom, lived like beasts of burden. This feudal serfdom was a politico-religious dictatorship by the monks and nobles, with the religious head as Tibet's supreme ruler. The serfs not only suffered from political oppression and economic exploitation, but also were mercilessly enslaved mentally by the reactionary religious authority. As a result, the whole society stagnated for a long time, its economy declined, culture was backward and the population dwindled drastically.

Moreover, the policy of national oppression and exploitation pursued by the reactionary ruling classes over the centuries created grave estrangement and antagonism between the

Tibetan and the Han nationalities. In the second half of the 19th century, imperialist forces intruded into Tibet and sowed discord between Tibet and the rest of China in an attempt to sever Tibet from our motherland. At the same time, the struggle within the ruling clique of the upper social stratum in Tibet was also very acute.

Chairman Mao, after making scientific analyses of the various contradictions in Tibet, made his wise decisions on the basic principles, steps and policies with regard to the revolution there. He pointed out that the revolution in Tibet must be carried out in two steps. **"The first step is to take the democratic road, and the second step is to take the socialist road."** As to the democratic revolution in Tibet, Chairman Mao defined, in the light of the specific conditions there, that the revolutionary task of combating imperialism and feudal serfdom was to be accomplished in two stages: First, unite with all the patriotic forces that could be united and concentrate our attacks on imperialism and its lackeys, the pro-imperialist splittists; second, transform feudal serfdom step by step. Chairman Mao stated: **"In considering any question in Tibet, we should first of all have two things in mind, the national and the religious questions, and then carry out all work with care."**

Shortly after the founding of New China in 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The Tibetan people love the motherland and oppose foreign aggression; they are dissatisfied with the policies of the reactionary Kuomintang government and want to become a member of the big family which is New China — a unified, prosperous and powerful country in which all nationalities are equal and work in co-operation. The Central People's Government and the Chinese People's Liberation Army can surely**

This is an abridged translation of an article by the C.P.C. Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee.

meet this aspiration of the Tibetan people." Following this, the Central People's Government notified the then local government of Tibet to send its representatives to Peking to negotiate measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

At that time, the imperialists stepped up their conspiratorial activities of aggression in a vain attempt to sever Tibet from the motherland and reduce it to their colony.

Tibet is China's territory. No foreign aggression or carving up of our country will be tolerated. In the spring of 1950, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, acting upon the order of Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh, began to march into Tibet to drive out the imperialists and accomplish the unification of the mainland of China. In October, in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic plan, the P.L.A. successfully fought the Chamdo campaign (Chamdo, 600 kilometres east of Lhasa, is the economic centre in eastern Tibet), thereby opening the path to Lhasa. This smashed the scheme of the pro-imperialist splittists and quickened the disintegration within the ruling clique of the upper social stratum in Tibet. The local Tibetan government had to send a mission to Peking for negotiations with the central authorities on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. Chairman Mao received the representatives of the local Tibetan government. Under his concern and guidance, the 17-article agreement on the methods for the peaceful liberation of Tibet* was concluded.

According to the agreement, the P.L.A. entered Tibet by different routes and arrived in Lhasa, Gyantse, Shigatse, Yatung and the Ari Prefecture, thereby planting the red banner on the Himalaya Mountains. However, as Chairman Mao had foreseen, the pro-imperialist splittist forces waged intense struggles against us after the P.L.A. entered Tibet. Taking advantage of the difficulty in transport in Tibet and in the replenishment of supplies for the P.L.A., they refused to implement the stipulation in the agreement on giving active assistance to the P.L.A.'s entry into Tibet and consolidating the national defence. They forbade the patriotic people of the upper stratum and the masses to sell grain and fodder to the P.L.A. and, working hand in glove with

persons abroad, forced grain prices to rise five- or sixfold. They alleged that the rise in prices was due to the P.L.A.'s entry into Tibet in an attempt to sow discord in the relations between the army and the Tibetan people.

Making an analysis of the situation and the balance of forces at the time, Chairman Mao said: "We depend solely on two basic policies to win over the masses and put ourselves in an invulnerable position. The first is strict budgeting coupled with production for the army's own needs, and thus the exertion of influence on the masses; this is the key link." "The second policy, which can and must be put into effect, is to establish trade relations with India and with the heartland of our country and to attain a general balance in supplies to and from Tibet so that the standard of living of the Tibetan people will in no way fall because of our army's presence but will improve through our efforts."

Economically, we followed Chairman Mao's instruction that "as the army marches, it should also carry on production and construction." We organized the P.L.A. units in Tibet to speed up the building of the Szechuan-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways and reclaim wasteland and undertake production for their own needs. As a result, many food crops and vegetables that had never before been planted on the Tibetan Plateau were successfully grown.

* The main contents of the agreement (also called the 17-article agreement) are: The local government of Tibet shall unite the Tibetan people to drive out the imperialist forces and actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate national defence; under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government, the Tibetan people have the right to exercise regional national autonomy; the Tibetan troops shall be re-organized by stages into the People's Liberation Army and shall become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China; the local government of Tibet shall carry out social reforms of its own accord; the central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet and officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual; the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected; economy and culture in Tibet shall be developed step by step and the people's livelihood shall be improved gradually in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet; the Central People's Government shall conduct the centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet.



A provisions store in Lhasa.

Efforts were made to develop communications and trade with the hinterland of the country. New transport routes were opened and Tibet's foreign trade expanded. This stimulated the economy and stabilized the market in the region. After two to three years of arduous work, the difficulty in ensuring supplies and other economic problems was overcome. And politically, we won the initiative. In 1956, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was founded. This represented a great victory for the Party's nationality policy in Tibet.

Democratic Reform

To carry out democratic reform and change the old Tibet under feudal serfdom into the people's democratic new Tibet constituted an important part of the 17-article agreement on the methods for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. They were also the ardent aspirations of the million serfs in Tibet. Though representatives of the clique of the upper stratum in Tibet headed by Dalai signed the agreement, they were unwilling to put into practice the article on reforming the social system. The clique even went so far as to plot an armed rebellion.

As early as April 6, 1952, in *On the Policies for Our Work in Tibet—Directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, Chairman Mao pointed out the two possibilities that could arise during the social reform in Tibet and put forward the policy of combating counter-revolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual tactics. He said: **"We must do our best and take proper steps to win over the Dalai and the majority of his top echelon and to isolate the handful of bad elements in order to achieve a gradual, bloodless transformation of the Tibetan economic and political system over a number of years; on the other hand, we must be prepared for the eventuality of the bad elements leading the Tibetan troops in rebellion and attacking us."**

To wait until the people of the upper stratum in Tibet came round to understand the need for social reform, Chairman Mao time and again patiently educated the leaders of old Tibet in order to transform them. He said: **"The old system is no good. It does not benefit the Tibetan people. Under it neither the population nor the economy thrives."** He hoped that they would work with the central authorities for the common goal of running affairs in Tibet well.

To enlighten them, Chairman Mao cited the example of Sakyamuni, founder of Buddhism. He pointed out: **"Sakyamuni was also an aristocrat. He was a prince. But he carried out reform together with the people and thus won their support. Therefore, the people honour his memory."** He added: **"We can't have you making no progress at all." "Sitting on the volcano of serfdom is not very safe. You feel the earth quake every day."**

Chairman Mao warned them that if they were to persist in their reactionary stand they would bring harm to the Tibetan people and they themselves would eventually be deserted by the people. Later, in 1956, Chairman Mao proclaimed that in the six years beginning from 1957 the democratic reform would not be carried out in Tibet. When the reform would be carried out would depend on the actual conditions in the future and be settled through consultations between the upper social stratum and the people in Tibet. Chairman Mao's instructions were intended to educate the people of the upper

stratum and aimed at creating favourable conditions for carrying out the reform in the future.

The P.L.A. units and the cadres who went to work in Tibet strictly carried out the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention*. They developed trade, built roads, gave free medical treatment to the local people, opened schools and issued interest-free loans to the peasants and herdsman. All this was in sharp contrast to the three estate-holders' cruel exploitation and oppression of the people. The broad masses of serfs in Tibet said that Chairman Mao was their liberator and that Jimdrub Marmed (meaning People's Liberation Army) was indeed good. They expressed the hope that the democratic reform would be carried out at an early date.

However, the reactionary upper stratum headed by Dalai clung to the feudal serf system, clamouring that it was the "most wonderful and sacred system" and that it should never be changed. In March 1959 the reactionary elements in Tibet openly violated the 17-article agreement and staged a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion.

The situation in Tibet developed as Chairman Mao had foreseen. He said: **"Be prepared to handle possible full-scale rebellion there, the bigger the trouble the better. If the reactionaries in Tibet dare to launch a full-scale rebellion, without doubt the labouring people there will be liberated at an earlier date."**

The history of Tibet was created by its labouring people. In the struggle to quell the rebellion, the million serfs, who for generations had been trampled underfoot, fought shoulder to shoulder with the People's Liberation Army to swiftly put down the rebellion, and many distinguished themselves with heroic deeds. In line with Chairman Mao's strategy, re-

* The Three Main Rules of Discipline are: 1) Obey orders in all your actions. 2) Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses. 3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention are: 1) Speak politely. 2) Pay fairly for what you buy. 3) Return everything you borrow. 4) Pay for anything you damage. 5) Don't hit or swear at people. 6) Don't damage crops. 7) Don't take liberties with women. 8) Don't ill-treat captives.

forms were carried out at the same time as the rebellion was put down and serfdom was done away with in a planned way. Different policies were carried out with regard to the members of the upper-social stratum. In regard to those serf-owners who had taken part in the rebellion, their means of production were confiscated; for those serf-owners who did not take part, the buying-out policy was adopted, which meant that the Central Government bought their excess means of production and distributed them to the serfs; towards the patriotic personages among the serf-owners, the policy of unity, education and remoulding was followed and they were consulted on all major matters in the reform.

In the democratic reform, Chairman Mao's policy on freedom of religious belief was strictly adhered to. The policy stressed political unity, separation of religion from politics and strict distinction between political questions and religious beliefs, and the firm abolition of the system of feudal exploitation, oppression and special privileges of the monasteries. At the same time, the people's right to carry out proper religious activities was protected. Thanks to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, the rebellion was quelled within two years, and democratic reform was brought to completion within three years, thereby burying once and for all the most reactionary and the most barbarous feudal serf system in the contemporary world.

Socialist New Tibet

After the reform, Tibet advanced to the period of socialist revolution. Chairman Mao timely pointed out that conditions in Tibet differed from those in other parts of China. He said: **"After the social system has undergone reform and feudal serfdom has been transformed into individual ownership by the peasants, a period of stability is needed."** He also clearly stated that for a certain period of time after the democratic reform, only mutual-aid teams should be organized to help develop production, bring about stability and improve the peasants' livelihood.

This instruction of Chairman Mao's, which took the actual situation in Tibet into consideration, was extremely correct. Since Tibet was

a frontier area inhabited by minority nationalities with outstanding national and religious problems and a very backward economy and culture, it needed a period of stability after the acute struggles in quelling the rebellion and in carrying out the reform. This would enable the emancipated serfs, who had just received land, to devote themselves to production, enjoy the benefits brought by the democratic revolution and gradually accept socialism. Thus the way would be paved for the co-operative movement.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we concentrated our efforts, in the few years after the completion of the democratic reform, to deal with the remnant forces of the reactionary serf-owning class and its restorationist activities so as to consolidate and develop the achievements of the democratic revolution. We also made active preparations for the socialist transformation, widely organized mutual-aid teams of a rudimentary socialist nature, led the emancipated peasants and herdsmen to develop production and improve their livelihood, and carried out on an extensive scale education in class struggle, patriotism and the bright prospects of socialism. After several years of hard work, more than 20,000 mutual-aid teams had been established by 1965 for farming and livestock-breeding, and notable achievements had been made in the rehabilitation and development of agriculture and animal husbandry. Meanwhile, a great number of cadres of Tibetan nationality had come to the fore. The socialist consciousness of the peasants and herdsmen had been greatly raised and the Party's leadership strengthened. Thus the subjective and objective conditions for socialist transformation were ripe.

Two experimental people's communes were set up in Tibet in July 1965. By the end of 1970, there were already nearly 1,000 communes. By 1975 when the Tibet Autonomous Region celebrated its tenth anniversary, communes had been generally set up in most parts of the region at a speed not anticipated before and, as Chairman Mao had hoped, production increased while the death rate of livestock dropped greatly. In 1974, the region achieved self-sufficiency in grain for the first time in its history. Grain output in 1975 outstripped that of 1965 by more than 50 per cent and was over 2.5 times that of 1958. Compared with 1958, livestock increased



Commune members building an irrigation canal on the hill slopes.

2.6-fold. In the cities and towns, the socialist transformation of handicrafts and private commerce was carried out. Thus private ownership and the exploitation of man by man were uprooted and Tibet is now advancing on the socialist road.

The Tibetan nationality, one of China's many nationalities with a long history, has tremendously contributed to the development of our great motherland. Chairman Mao had a high appraisal of the Tibetan people and placed great hopes in them. He said: "The Tibetan people are intelligent and industrious." "We have great hope for the Tibetan nationality. In the future it will be a great help to us and to the world." As early as 1952 Chairman Mao pointed out: "Tibet is big but its population is small. Tibet ought to increase

its population." "The economy and culture also should be developed." He also said: "The Communist Party practises national equality. It doesn't oppress and exploit you but wants to help you." "If the Communist Party fails to help you develop your population, economy and culture, it is of no use."

Since its peaceful liberation and particularly since the democratic reform, Tibet has received much aid from the state materially, technologically and in manpower. A large number of cadres, workers, teachers, doctors and other personnel of the Han and other nationalities in China have gone to Tibet and, together with the million emancipated serfs, made their contributions to Tibet's socialist construction. The region, which had no modern industry before,

now has some 250 medium-sized and small factories and mines. In the past, the labouring people in Tibet did not even have the right to get an education. Now every commune has its own school and there are 200,000 students studying in the colleges, middle and primary schools. In the hundred years or so before the democratic reform, the population in Tibet had gone down 60 per cent. But in the decade since the reform, it has increased by some 25 per cent.

Chairman Mao's contributions to the Tibetan people are immortal. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory for the revolution of the Chinese people, the people of Tibetan nationality included. We are determined to build a thriving and happy socialist new Tibet.

Chairman Mao Led Us to a Bright Future

ON the first anniversary of the passing of Chairman Mao, a number of important government and ecclesiastical officials, living Buddhas and aristocrats of the old Tibet held a forum in Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The participants pointed out that the feudal serf-owning system in the old Tibet was the most backward and most reactionary dictatorship of the monks and aristocrats and that they all belonged to the upper ruling class of this reactionary system. It was Chairman Mao's great thought and wise policies that gave guidance to the million serfs in transforming the old Tibet, which was a living hell on earth, into a happy socialist new Tibet. It was Chairman Mao's great thought and wise policies that

helped them, members of the decadent class, gradually remould their ideology and follow the emancipated serfs in embarking on the socialist road.

As a high-ranking official and representative of the former local Tibetan government, Thubtan Dandar participated in the negotiations for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. He disclosed that in 1951 the Central People's Government notified the authorities in Lhasa several times to send representatives to Peking to negotiate the peaceful liberation of Tibet, but the local Tibetan government and the reactionary clique of the upper stratum refused to do so. Instead, they worked hand in glove with the imperialists and expanded their army in an attempt to put up a last-ditch struggle. Later,



Pebala Gelleh-Namje (right) studying Chairman Mao's works.

however, they were forced by circumstances to send a mission to Peking.

"I was a representative," said Thubtan Dandar. "When Chairman Mao received us the first time, I was full of apprehensions. He asked our names and age and by what way we had travelled to Peking. Then he said: Are you afraid of revolution? When I replied I had misgivings, he began to explain to us patiently, saying that there was no need for fear, because the revolution was aimed at liberating the people. The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army, he told us, served the people and the P.L.A.'s entry into Tibet was to serve the Tibetan people."

In the course of the negotiations Thubtan Dandar met Chairman Mao on six occasions, and each meeting added to his understanding of the Communist Party's nationality policy and united front policy and made him respect the Chairman more than ever. In his talks, Chairman Mao gave a profound analysis of the cause of disunity between the Han and Tibetan nationalities in the past century and pointed out that it was the result of the reactionary rule of the Ching Dynasty and Chiang Kai-shek's regime as well as the schemes of the imperialists

who had sown the seeds of discord among the various nationalities in China. Now that unity had been achieved, Chairman Mao added, all nationalities in our country could on the basis of this unity achieve progress politically, economically, culturally and in all other fields. Thubtan Dandar said that Chairman Mao's patient education gradually opened his eyes and helped him take the patriotic and anti-imperialist stand. Finally the 17-article agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet was signed.

"After I returned to Lhasa," Thubtan Dandar went on to say, "I selected a fine cushion and sent it to Chairman Mao together with a letter in which I wrote: 'I am full of gratitude to you, Chairman Mao, for you have illumined the whole of Tibet. The big red flower embroidered on the cushion represents our feelings for you. We wish you a long life!' What I didn't expect was that shortly afterwards I got a reply from the United Front Work Department of the Party Central Committee written in Tibetan on behalf of Chairman Mao. It said that Chairman Mao was very happy on receiving the present and expressed the hope that I'd study hard and serve the people. This letter has always encouraged me to go forward."

"I am now 70," Thubtan Dandar continued, "and I am healthy and happy. The Party has asked me to compile and edit material about the history of Tibet and provided me with all the necessary facilities. I have also been invited to



Thubtan Dandar (second from right) with patriotic personages.

be a member of the Tibet Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Not long ago, I toured various parts of the motherland as a member of a delegation of minority nationalities in Tibet and I saw the rapid progress achieved everywhere. This made me cherish the memory of Chairman Mao all the more."

Doje Phagmo, 38-year-old Vice-Chairman of the Tibet Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a former woman living Buddha, said that in 1959 when the Dalai clique staged the counter-revolutionary armed rebellion she was coerced to flee with the traitors to India. There she saw how the young people who had been abducted were forced to build highways, how the old and the weak died of starvation and how the rebels gunned down serfs. She was greatly incensed by all this. When she recalled how Chairman Mao had received her and enlightened her on many questions, she made up her mind to return to the motherland.

When Doje Phagmo arrived in Peking, Premier Chou, following Chairman Mao's instructions, feted her and called various meetings to welcome her. The newspapers published stories about her patriotic action. Later, during the National Day reception and celebrations, she saw Chairman Mao again. With warm tears rolling down her cheeks, she shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

After the rebellion in Tibet was quelled and the democratic reform completed, Chairman Mao continued to exhort personages of the upper stratum in Tibet to stand firmly on the side of the people, strive to remould their ideology and make progress, and contribute to the building of a socialist new Tibet. When Chairman Mao received some of these personages, he told them that since they had sided with the patriotic and progressive people, they were the Left-wing of the serf-owners. There was no need for them to worry about their living after losing their estates, as the government's policy towards the Left and the middle elements of the serf-owners was one of redemption which would ensure that their living standard would be maintained after the reform. Chairman Mao



Doje Phagmo (right, front row) with her family.

also said that we would never abandon those personages of the upper stratum willing to co-operate and that we would not do such things as co-operating with them for a time and dropping them later. Many patriotic personages were moved when they recalled those occasions.

Pebala Gelieh-Namje, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, took out a photograph which was taken when he presented a *hata* to Chairman Mao. He said: "I saw Chairman Mao on many occasions and it was his patient education and wise policies that enabled me to come over to the side of the people and enjoy the confidence of the Party and people."

"In 1972," he continued, "I went to Peking to attend the memorial meeting for Vice-Premier Chen Yi. At the meeting hall I suddenly heard Chairman Mao calling me: 'Pebala, Pebala!' I rushed to him and held his hands tightly in mine. Chairman Mao said to me in a kind voice, 'You have grown up!' I was moved to tears at that moment. It is because of the education and training given me by Chairman Mao that I am now able to do some work for the Party and the people."

Somali People's New Awakening

FOR several days running, mass rallies and demonstrations took place across Somalia. The capital of Mogadishu and major cities and towns throughout the country's 16 regions turned out in force to support the government's decision on November 13 to abrogate the Somali-Soviet "friendship treaty" and to tell the Soviet experts to pack and leave the country.

"Russians, Go Home!"

On November 14, over 100,000 workers, peasants, shop assistants, stock-breeders, students, housewives and people of other strata in Mogadishu took to the streets. At a huge rally and demonstration they shouted "Russians, go home!" "Down with the Russians!" "No Russian and Cuban interference in the Horn of Africa!" Knots of girls in bright costume danced with joy as onlookers smiled, cheered and applauded. One and all, they gathered to

celebrate their victory in rebuffing the Soviet hegemonists.

Hatred for Soviet unbridled behaviour had been simmering in the hearts of the Somali people. The decision to abrogate the Somali-Soviet "friendship treaty" and to give the boot to the Soviet and Cuban experts came in the evening of November 13. When the news was announced, people broke into clapping everywhere and the word soon passed from one to another.

An official of the Somali Foreign Ministry said: "We have long anticipated this decision. We expelled the Western colonialists and soon we found out the Russians are just the same."

President Siad's Speech

Addressing a 100,000-strong mass rally in Mogadishu on November 14, President Siad Barre said that Soviet and Cuban intervention "poses a direct challenge not only to the sovereign states in Africa, in the region and the O.A.U. as an organization but also to the conscience of all peace- and freedom-loving peoples the world over."

Explaining Somalia's decision, he said: "First of all the Soviet Union has levelled false and baseless accusations against the Somali Democratic Republic; secondly, for the past several months she has been conducting an intensive political, diplomatic and propaganda campaign against the Somali Democratic Republic throughout the world, in Africa, the Arab world and in all international organizations of every nature; thirdly, as explained earlier, she is presently pouring massive and highly sophisticated armaments on an unprecedented scale into the region, an act which can only be regarded as a prelude to an all-out invasion of the Somali Democratic Republic; fourthly, she has mobilized and sanctioned the commitment of Cuban and other troops in the area against the Somali Democratic Republic; fifthly, she has brought



pressure on some allies to take a position inimical to the interests of the Somali Democratic Republic in the present conflict in the Horn of Africa."

"And finally," he said, "she has unilaterally terminated the supply of legitimate defensive arms to the Somali Democratic Republic in direct contravention of the existing agreements between the two countries. The implication of all these actions can only be interpreted as constituting a unilateral abrogation of the friendship agreement of July 1974 and other agreements between the two countries in letter and spirit."

The Somali leader told the masses at the rally: "I am fully confident that you will prove to them, and to the rest of the world, that you are a proud and courageous nation that will never submit to arrogance, that will give up everything to defend its dignity, sovereignty and unity. We are neither weak nor friendless. We are not intimidated by modern weapons or political deceit. We shall courageously build our nation and defend our independence."

What Has Moscow Done in Somalia?

To contend with the United States for hegemony in the Indian Ocean, Soviet social-imperialism began to throw its weight about in the Horn of Africa in the 1960s. In the early 60s, Moscow built a "fishing port" in Somalia in the name of "aid." Then, using the pretext of "friendship and co-operation" and "military assistance," it sent thousands of "experts" to the country to build military installations.

Reports say that in recent years the Soviet Union had built in Somalia wharves, ship-repair facilities, a naval communications centre, barracks, oil storage installations, missile storages, airfields, etc., to beef up its expansionist capabilities in the Indian Ocean region. Soviet military expansion in Somalia became particularly unscrupulous after the conclusion of the Somali-Soviet "friendship treaty" in 1974. Soviet vessels operating in the Indian Ocean sailed in and out of Somali ports at will to replenish supplies and carry out repairs. The Soviet navy's long-distance communications system installed in Somalia became the nerve centre of its activities in the Red Sea, Persian

Gulf and Indian Ocean. Soviet aircraft took off and landed freely in Somali airfields on missions to keep the vast region adjacent to the Indian Ocean under observation. All this made grave inroads on Somalia's sovereignty. There was strong resentment among the Somali people.

Although the Soviet Union has always taken great pains to disguise itself as the "natural ally" of African countries and people, the tactic never works for long. Harsh facts have opened the eyes of the Somali people. Now they see more and more clearly the real features of Soviet social-imperialism.

China Resolutely Supports Somalia

On November 15, Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua met with Mohamed Ismail Kahin, Ambassador of the Somali Democratic Republic to China, at the latter's request. The Ambassador apprised the Foreign Minister of the Somali Government's decision to abrogate the "treaty of friendship and co-operation" between Somalia and the Soviet Union, to withdraw immediately all facilities of military nature hitherto available for use by the Soviet Union in Somalia and its territorial waters, to ask all Soviet experts, military and civilian, to leave Somalia within a specified time limit, and to reduce the number of the diplomats and staff of the Soviet Embassy in Somalia. Foreign Minister Huang Hua expressed appreciation of and support for the resolute and righteous stand the Somali Government had taken to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and oppose superpower interference in African affairs.

Commentator writing in *Renmin Ribao* on November 16 said the decision was a just action taken by the Somali Government and people to safeguard their country's sovereignty and independence and to oppose the Soviet policies of interference and expansion.

The article said: "The Chinese people resolutely support this just action of the Somali Government and people and highly appreciate the Somali people's indomitable spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle. Justice belongs to the Somali people; victory belongs to the Somali people!"

"This is not the first time that Soviet social-imperialism's aggressive forces have been driven out of an African country," the article pointed out. "All countries that have dealings with the Soviet Union will sooner or later, through their own experience, come to see through the Soviet Union—a superpower with hegemonic ambitions, Egypt's abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty and expulsion of Soviet military experts and the Sudanese Government's termination of the contracts of Soviet military experts serving in the Sudan have made this abundantly clear too. There is no question that history will prove that more countries will un-

mask the wild ambitions of Soviet social-imperialism and take resolute measures to oppose its aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying. Of course, Soviet social-imperialism is not going to give up. It is sure to resort to open and underhand tactics to engage in disruption and make desperate attempts to gain its way. However, we are convinced that so long as the African countries and people firmly unite and jointly stand up to the enemy, they are certain to lop off the superpower talons reaching into Africa and win new victories in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty."

Facts on File

A Record of Soviet Defeats in Africa

IN its contention with the other superpower for hegemony over Africa, Soviet social-imperialism sent mercenaries in early 1976 to carry out armed aggression against Angola. Subsequently, it engaged in infiltration and expansionist activities in other parts of Africa, interfering with the affairs of the African people.

The African people today are waking up and seeing the new tsars of the Kremlin for what they are. They are closing their ranks and are waging a tit-for-tat struggle to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty against the Soviet Union. This has inflicted one ignominious defeat after another on Soviet social-imperialism, a colossus fierce of visage but faint of heart.

Below are some major examples:

On March 15, 1976, the Egyptian People's Assembly adopted a bill proposed by President Sadat to abrogate the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation." Egypt thus rid itself of the shackles with which the Soviet Union tried to control and enslave the country and dealt a heavy blow at Soviet policies of hegemonism. Egypt also cancelled port facilities for the Soviet navy, ordered all Russians

to leave Port Alexandria within a month of the abrogation of the treaty.

President Sadat declared on October 26, 1977 that Egypt will not pay, within 10 years starting January 1, 1978, military debts owed the Soviet Union or supply it with Egyptian cotton.

On July 2, 1976, the Sudanese Government declared that the Sudanese people's armed forces had smashed a plot to overthrow the government by armed subversion. The conspirators had been trained in the use of various kinds of Soviet-made arms before their attack.

On March 8, 1977, when mercenaries hired, trained and armed by Soviet social-imperialism invaded Shaba, Zaire, the Zairese people rose up in resistance. Other African countries and people supported and aided the just struggle of Zaire by every means. On May 26, Zaire won a great victory in fighting aggression by recovering all its occupied territory.

At the conference attended by heads of state of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia and Somalia in Aden on March 20, 1977, the Soviet proposal that these countries be combined to set up a confederation was immediately rejected. Two days later, heads of state of the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Sudan and Somalia met in Taiz and announced that the Red Sea region must for ever be an area of peace and harmony. To this end, they noted, the coastal countries should enter into consultations and co-ordination. Red Sea countries be-

fore and after the meeting expressed the need to safeguard peace and security in the region and oppose superpower contention for hegemony there.

On May 12, 1977, the Sudanese Government decided to terminate the contracts of Soviet military experts working in the Sudan. At the same time it closed the Soviet military experts' office attached to the Soviet Embassy and ordered all these "experts" to leave the country within a week.

Afterwards, the Sudan ordered the expulsion of 40 staff members of the Soviet Embassy in Khartoum and decided to close a Soviet cultural centre there.

Sudanese President Nimeri said that what the Soviet Union is doing in Africa is to interfere with the internal affairs of African countries, and that the Soviet Union is a neo-colonialist country.

On November 13, 1977, the Somali Government declared that it has decided to abrogate her treaty of "friendship" with the Soviet Union and ordered the Soviet Union immediately to withdraw all its military installations from the country. It also ordered all Soviet "experts," military and civilian, to leave the country within a week and demanded that the Soviet Union reduce the number of its diplomats and staff in the Soviet Embassy and its subsidiaries in Somalia.

Angola After Two Years

IT is two years since Angola declared its independence. What is the situation there now?

Twenty thousand foreign mercenary troops occupy Angola's capital Luanda and other cities and slaughter people at will. Foreign "advisers" control Angola's domestic and foreign affairs including its political, economic and military departments. Angola is divided; national solidarity and unification of the country are just empty words. The economic situation is deteriorating. This year, only six out of 15 provinces in the country are just managing to keep production going. Angola formerly ranked fourth in the world production of coffee, but in the 12 months from 1976 to 1977 output was only 30 to 35 per cent of the normal yield. Angola's sisal output was the second largest in Africa, but only 18 per cent of the normal yield was gathered this year. At present, factories are operating at about one-third of the capacity. Labour productivity has gone down 50 per cent.

With acute shortages of materials, soaring prices and insufficient grain, while the land was falling to waste, many people are struggling on

the verge of starvation. A million Angolans have left their homes and are living in misery.

Arch Criminals

Who are the arch criminals that have brought such grave disasters to the Angolan people? The Soviet social-imperialists.

Two years ago, when the Angolan people, after protracted heroic struggles, put an end to the 500-year-long Portuguese colonial rule and were about to achieve independence, the Soviet Union stretched out its claws to seize the Angolan people's fruits of victory. At first, taking advantage of differences among the Angolan national-liberation organizations, Moscow sowed discord, created and expanded splits. Then it dispatched some 10,000 mercenary troops and shipped large quantities of modern weapons to stir up a civil war on a large scale and this newly independent, rich country was laid waste and weakened.

Engels said that tsarist Russia had brought to the invaded countries not freedom but slavery, not development but destruction, not progress but savagery. This is also exactly what the Soviet new tsars have brought to the Angolan people.

The Soviet invasion and occupation of Angola is not only aimed at looting Angola's abundant resources, but also at making use of its strategic position. It is an important move in Moscow's global strategy for the contention for world domination with the United States. It uses Angola as a strategic stronghold for expansion into southern Africa in an attempt to build military bases from which to menace Western Europe's sea routes off the coast of southern Africa, establish its control over the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans and tighten up its encirclement of Western Europe. To hoodwink others and also to avert a direct clash with the United States, the Soviet Union resorted to the new tactic of aggression with the use of mercenaries.

Thinking that it now has Angola well in hand, the Soviet Union, applying the same trick, has been expanding in other parts of Africa too during the last two years. It directed the invasion of Zaire by its mercenaries, stepped up its infiltration into southern Africa, and in the mean time, plotted coups d'etat and whipped up clashes in the Red Sea area. In carrying out these activities of aggression and expansion, the Soviet Union intended to throw Africa into turmoil and undermine unity among the African countries.

However, the Soviet social-imperialists, like all other reactionaries, always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the strength of the people. All the evils perpetrated by the Soviet Union in Africa further reveal its true colours and arouse the wrath and resistance of the African people.

Extensive Guerrilla Areas

The Angolan people's struggle against Soviet neo-colonialism and mercenaries has been continuously developing. Demonstrations against foreign occupation broke out repeatedly in Luanda and other cities. The participants shouted, "Oppose Soviet rule!" "Angola belongs to the Angolan people!" Guerrilla activities against foreign occupation have spread over extensive areas of the country. These guerrillas have destroyed railways and taken control over the highways, cutting off almost all the main communication lines. Cities like Luanda, encircled by the guerrillas, are virtually isolated islands and communications between Luanda and

other places have to be maintained by air. The guerrillas deal heavy blows at the Soviet mercenaries, who can do nothing but hole up in the strongholds and cities. Supplies are meagre, morale is low and many of them have deserted. At present, the Angolan people's angry flames are rising continuously. Angola has turned into a noose around the neck of Soviet social-imperialism.

More People Taking Up Struggle Against Hegemonism

An increasing number of African countries and people have come to realize the insidiousness and ruthlessness of Soviet social-imperialism. They point out that intervention by the Soviet Union is the root cause of the divisive civil war in Angola. They advocate solution of Angolan problems by the Angolan people themselves in unity free of outside interference. The invasion of Zaire by the Soviet Union through its mercenaries has given rise to even wider opposition by the African people. A new awakening of the African countries and people has been demonstrated by the resolutions against outside intervention and for prohibiting the activities of the mercenaries recently adopted by the Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity. A new look has appeared in the struggle against subversion, control and interference by the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea areas. The abrogation of the Somali-Soviet "friendship treaty," the expulsion of Soviet experts and the dismantling of all Soviet military establishments in Somalia are new developments in this direction.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend. The Angolan people's struggle for national independence is a part of this great historical current. Going against the tide of history, the Soviet Union will never succeed in its attempts to enslave for long the Angolan people who have just rid themselves of the rule of the Portuguese colonialists. At present it is bogged down in the quagmire of Angola. In order to get out, it is playing a new trick. However, no matter how desperately it struggles, final victory will certainly belong to the Angolan people.

— by Fei Chou

For Your Reference

Following is the fourth and concluding instalment of the supplementary notes to the article "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism," which appeared in our issue No. 45. — Ed.

The Uneven Development Of Imperialism

(See p. 11.)

The law of uneven development of imperialism is an important component of Lenin's thesis on imperialism. He pointed out: "**Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism.**" This law was further borne out in the period when capitalism had entered the stage of imperialism.

Under the capitalist system, private capitalist ownership of the means of production and the fierce competition for profits threw production in society into a state of anarchy and uneven development between capitalist enterprises and between capitalist countries became a natural phenomenon. In the period of non-monopoly capitalism, this uneven development was very slow. But with the coming of the stage of imperialism, the basic contradictions of capitalism sharpened, the competition under the sway of monopoly intensified, and anarchy in production grew still more serious. This made the uneven development among the capitalist countries more pronounced. In addition, large amounts of capital export caused differences in the rate of development among the imperialist countries, frequent and deepening economic crises dealt blows of varying magnitudes to different countries, the extensive adoption of up-to-date scientific expertise and technology quickened the pace of development in some countries, the wars among the imperialist powers to redivide the world also changed the distribution of power among them — all this inevitably intensified the uneven economic and political development among the powers, so much so that it was possible for some late-comers among the imperialist countries rapidly

to catch up with and surpass the old imperialist powers. The change in the balance of forces among different countries has sharpened the struggle for redividing the world and made war among them inevitable.

Since the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism has fallen from its pinnacle and some West European countries which managed to stand on their feet again have developed apace. The Soviet Union which degenerated into a social-imperialist country has been locked in rivalry with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony. These changes are a striking manifestation of the uneven economic and political development of the imperialist powers. It is certain that the further development of this unevenness will intensify more than ever before the contradictions among the imperialist countries, and sharpen, in particular, the contention for world domination between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and ultimately lead to the outbreak of a new world war.

The Emir of Afghanistan Held Fast to Monarchy as an Institution

(See p. 15.)

Ahmad Shah assumed power in 1747, and for a long time afterwards Afghanistan remained a constitutional monarchy (later to be renamed a republic).

From 1838 to 1919, British imperialism launched three wars of aggression against Afghanistan. When the third war broke out in 1919, Emir Amanullah, supported by the tribes, rose in resistance to the aggressors. At the time, tribal uprisings in the frontier areas threatened British imperialist rule in northern India. In August 1919, Britain was forced to sign an armistice agreement with Afghanistan and recognize its independence and freedom.

Stalin cited Afghanistan to illustrate a point he made in his *The Foundations of Leninism* in 1924. He said: "**The revolutionary character of a national movement under the conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proleta-**

rian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary or a republican programme of the movement, the existence of a democratic basis of the movement." He pointed out: "The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary struggle*, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism."

Eight Principles Guiding China's Economic Aid to Other Countries

(See p. 29.)

From late 1963 to early 1964, Premier Chou En-lai toured 14 Asian, African and European countries on a friendly visit. During the tour, Premier Chou, following Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, enunciated eight principles guiding China's economic aid to other countries as follows:

(1) The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.

(2) In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.

(3) China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.

(4) In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.

(5) The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

(6) The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

(7) In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.

(8) The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

Polish People's Protest Movements

(See p. 30.)

On February 10, 1976, the Sejm (Parliament) adopted the draft amendments to the Polish constitution which had been through a process of writing for five years. A provision on the Polish-Soviet alliance got inserted in the draft. There was nothing about this in the original constitution of 1952. Succumbing to the Soviet pressure, the Polish authorities proposed that such words as "Poland belongs to the socialist community and it will for ever be loyal to its alliance with the Soviet Union" be written into the new constitution. This immediately touched off strong opposition among the Polish public. The authorities were bombarded with letters of protest. A strongly-worded petition of protest signed by 59 intellectuals warned those in power not to forget the "tragic experience" of Poland being partitioned three times in history. They expressed the view that unilateral inclusion in the constitution of a provision on the political alliance with a neighbouring state as a binding internal law would reduce Poland to a state with limited sovereignty. Some others sounded the warning that to base Poland's foreign policy on a Polish-Soviet alliance would empower the Soviet Union

(Continued on p. 30.)

ROUND THE WORLD

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

For Friendly Relations With Thailand

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea on November 11 issued a press communique reaffirming Kampuchea's desire to establish friendly relations with Thailand and principles governing these relations. The press communique expressed the hope that the Thai side would make contacts through the Kampuchean Embassy in Laos to create conditions gradually to improve relations between the two countries.

The communique said: "Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea Pol Pot proclaimed solemnly in Phnom Penh on September 27, 1977 and later Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Foreign Affairs Ieng Sary declared at the 32nd General Assembly of the United Nations on October 11, 1977 that Democratic Kampuchea will not provoke any country and resolutely adheres to the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and equality. Following these sacred principles, the Kampuchean people desire to live in peace, dignity and honour and as the masters of their own country, establish a society conforming to the peoples' profound aspirations and follow a road they choose with complete independence."

It said: "Democratic Kampuchea has made consistent

efforts to establish close relations of friendship with all countries near and far on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit. Democratic Kampuchea has consistently adhered to these principles."

With the sincere aspiration to establish friendly relations, the communique added, Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary received and held talks with Upadit Pachariyangkun, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at the U.N. Headquarters on October 12, 1977.

Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanan and Thai Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Wongse Polnikorn recently said on separate occasions that they welcomed the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea. Wongse Polnikorn said that he would instruct the Thai ambassador in Vientiane to make contact with the Kampuchean ambassador in Vientiane so as to make arrangements for the talks.

U.N.

Aerial Hijacking Condemned

The Special Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on November 1 adopted a resolution condemning acts of aerial hijacking and interference with civil air travel

through the threat or use of force, and all acts of violence directed against passengers, crew and aircraft.

Explaining his voting on the draft resolution, Chinese Representative Lin Chao-nan said: "The Chinese Government has always been opposed to adventurist and terrorist acts of hijacking civil aircraft and assaulting the crew members, because such acts interfere with and disrupt the normal functioning of international civil aviation and seriously jeopardize the life and safety of passengers and crew members."

However, he declared the Chinese Delegation has reservations on that part of the U.N. resolution referring to the Tokyo, Hague and Montreal conventions on aerial hijacking since they were signed and ratified by the Chiang clique usurping the name of "China." Therefore, they are illegitimate and null and void. The Chinese Government undertakes no obligation whatsoever for them.

Restitution of Expropriated Objets d'Art

The United Nations General Assembly on November 11 adopted a resolution calling for the restitution of objets d'art plundered from other countries. The resolution was carried by 105 votes for, none against, and 12 abstentions (including the United States and some West European countries).

The resolution calls on the member states to take all necessary steps to prevent any illicit traffic in works of art coming from any other country,

especially from territories which were or still are under colonial or foreign domination and occupation.

The question of restitution of works of art to countries falling victims to expropriation was first considered by the General Assembly at its 28th session in 1973 at the request of Zaire. During the debate on November 11, a number of representatives of third world countries demanded the restitution of works of art expropriated by colonialist and imperialist powers since they constitute part of a nation's sovereignty.

SPAIN

Economic Difficulties

The Spanish economy has been deteriorating despite the

government's announcement last February of an economic stabilization plan and an almost 20 per cent devaluation of the peseta in July and its adoption of emergency measures to restrict wages, economize on energy and create more jobs.

Production continues to sag in several important industries. Steel output in August was 671,000 tons, or 7 per cent less than that of the same month last year. Many machine-making and shipbuilding enterprises are idle or producing a lot less.

Foreign trade deficit has been mounting. It was 8,700 million U.S. dollars last year and is expected to exceed 9,000 million this year.

Inflation has gone up from 14 per cent in 1975 to the present 28 per cent and is expected

to reach 30 per cent by the end of the year. Prices have jumped 88 per cent since 1973. Compared with the same period last year, the consumer price index rose 20.8 per cent in the first eight months of this year and continues to show an upward trend. Workers' wages, however, rise at a much lower rate.

The number of unemployed has increased as a result of economic stagnation, enterprises closing down and the capitalists shifting the burden of the economic crisis on to the workers. A total of 1.18 million people, or 7 per cent of the 13 million work force, are jobless.

Workers' strikes and demonstrations have been held recently throughout Spain to protest inflation and price hikes and demand higher wages.

(Continued from p. 28.)

to commit intervention against Poland, just as it did in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The protest campaigns of the Polish people forced the authorities to make concessions. In the end, only such words as strengthening "friendship and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist states" were written into the new constitution.

National Wars Were Still Possible in Europe

(See p. 32.)

After the outbreak of World War I, the Right-wing Social-Democratic Party leaders of the belligerent powers degenerated into social-chauvinists. With "defence of the fatherland" as a pretext, they fanatically supported their

own governments in the imperialist war. This was severely criticized and firmly opposed by Lenin. In 1916, a pamphlet which took the name of Junius was secretly published in Germany. Dealing with questions of the war, this pamphlet refuted the legend of the war being one for national liberation and proved that it was an unjust and predatory imperialist war on the part of Germany as well as on the part of the other great powers. And this was right. But at the same time, the pamphlet held that national wars were no longer possible in the epoch of imperialism. And this was wrong. While affirming that the Junius pamphlet "is a splendid Marxist work," Lenin criticized its erroneous thesis that "national wars were no longer possible." Lenin made a detailed analysis and adduced ample historical facts to prove that national wars were inevitable not only in colonies and semi-colonies but "even in Europe national wars in the imperialist epoch cannot be regarded as impossible."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Postal and Telecommunications Services

CHINA'S postal and telecommunications services are advancing towards modernization.

Since the 70s, China has designed and manufactured a number of sets of advanced telecommunications equipment which have promoted the development of telecommunications services. For example, the Peking - Shanghai - Hangchow 1,800-channel standard coaxial cable carrier communications trunk line has been completed and put into operation. A microwave telecommunication trunk line with Peking as the centre—linking Peking with more than 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions—is transmitting television programmes, facsimiles, telegrams and telephone messages.

Telephone and telegram communications are developing towards automation. Between Peking, Tientsin, Tsinan, Shanghai and Hangchow, a number of telephone subscribers can dial long-distance calls. Decoders have been made to translate code numbers into Chinese characters. A decoder can store 10,000 characters, automatically find the encoded character indicated by four Arabic numerals and print it. Data telecommunication is in its initial stage. Several kinds of speed-rate data transmitters and complete sets of terminal equipment have been made.

In the movement for technical innovations, workers

have designed and manufactured stamp-vending machines, parcel-handling machines and machines for handling newspapers. The computer-controlled parcel-sorting machine can sort parcels, check the parcel voucher and record it.

Postal services and telecommunications in old China were backward. The equipment, sparse and out-dated, was centred mainly in Shanghai and a few other big cities. As for the countryside, much of it was almost completely cut off from the outside. Since liberation, postal and telecommunications services have developed rapidly. Compared with early post-liberation days, there were 15.7 times as many post and telegraph offices throughout China in 1976, and 67 times as many in the countryside. Now 99 per cent of the people's communes are linked by postal routes. And 96 per cent of the communes and more than 70 per

cent of the production brigades are linked by telephone.

China has also established postal and telecommunications relations with the overwhelming majority of countries and regions throughout the world. Now the satellite communications ground stations in Peking and Shanghai have begun operating through the international communications satellites over the Indian Ocean and the Pacific to transmit telegrams, phone-calls, facsimile photographs and television programmes between China and many countries. The sea cable between China and Japan is operating.

Martyr Yang Kai-hui On the Stage

YANG Kai-hui (1901-30) was Chairman Mao's wife and close comrade-in-arms. She was an activist in the student movement, and also did propaganda and organizational work among workers, peasants and women. In 1927, after the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War,



Welcoming the loyal soul with a graceful dance—a scene from the dance-drama.

Chairman Mao led the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army to the Chingkang Mountains. Yang Kai-hui remained in Changsha, capital of Hunan Province, and was engaged in underground revolutionary work of leading the peasants to develop armed struggle. Betrayed by a traitor, she was arrested and executed by the Kuomintang reactionaries in 1930 when she was only 29.

Since the "gang of four" was overthrown, about 100 works portraying Yang Kai-hui's revolutionary struggle have been created in various places throughout the country. The productions include Peking opera, opera, dance-drama, plays, local operas and ballad singing.

One of the earliest works on the stage extolling the martyr is a seven-scene dance-drama created in 1959 by literary and art workers of the Shenyang Units of the People's Liberation Army. Chairman Mao expressed his appreciation after seeing several scenes of the drama.

The dance-drama was revived and re-staged recently in Peking. It draws on this fine Communist's activities in her last few years. Undeterred by the white terror, she led the peasants to persist in underground work. Life was hard and the struggle beset with tremendous difficulties. However, with high morale and strong fighting will they won the support of the masses.

When the heroine was cruelly tortured by the enemy after her arrest, she stood firm and remained unyielding. With full confidence in the final victory, she encouraged the other inmates and her eight-year-old

son who had been arrested with her to continue the struggle. In the end she died a martyr.

Twenty years ago, Chairman Mao wrote a poem, *Reply to Li Shu-yi* — to the tune of *Tieh Lien Hua*. In it, with deep feeling and a free style of imagination, he glorified the memory of Yang Kai-hui and another martyr. The poem is judged a model of integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The dance-drama based on the poem strives to portray its symbolism. The splendid Palace of the Moon in the Ninth Heaven appears on the stage as described in the legend. The loyal soul of the martyr comes here from the human world. The fairies express their esteem for her and welcome her with a graceful dance. Wu Kang, a god, serves her a sweet brew. All of a sudden, coloured balloons soar up amidst booming of the guns of salute and strains of the national anthem of the People's Republic of China — denoting the good news that the tiger has been subdued on earth. Learning this, the loyal soul weeps tears of joy. On the stage, which is flooded with the full moon and lamp light, the martyr and fairies dance joyously together. Great elation prevails in infinite space.

A three-hour Peking opera staged by the China Peking Opera Troupe is now playing. It shows Yang Kai-hui's loyalty to Chairman Mao's revolutionary conceptions, particularly to his idea of seizing political power through armed struggle, her love for the people and the deep feeling of the people for this fine Communist.

Also the capital's stages feature a ballet and another dance-drama on the same theme.

Using specific artistic methods, each of them conveys the allusions of Chairman Mao's poem in a splendid presentation which audiences will long remember.

Peasant Survey and Mapping Teams

THE 17 people's communes of Haiyen County, Chekiang Province, east China, have established their own survey and mapping teams since 1975. The teams are made up of peasants, demobilized army men and middle school graduates who have settled in the countryside.

On the basis of their surveys members draw topographical maps indicating the local physical contours, geomorphology, physical features of the land, rivers, bridges and the position of villages. In the last two years, they have drawn such maps on a scale of 1:2,000 for 186 production brigades.

Peasants of the various communes and production brigades use these topographical maps in drawing up yearly work schedules and long-term plans for farmland capital construction so as to gradually realize agricultural modernization.

The peasant survey and mapping teams of Haiyen County also helped the five nearby counties to map the sites where drainage and water conservancy projects will be built. Some team members even served as technicians in building big water conservancy works.

The county government has supported the teams fully and allocated money for them to buy instruments.