

# PEKING REVIEW

47

November 24, 1978

北  
京  
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報

**Tien An Men Incident: Completely  
Revolutionary Action**

**"Holy Alliance" of Big and  
Small Hegemonists**

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

BELJING ZHOUBAO

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## Last Rightists Have Their Designation Removed

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua recently decided to remove the designation of Rightist from the sixth and last group of bourgeois Rightists, a label they received in 1957 when they took advantage of the Chinese Communist Party's rectification campaign to attack the Party and oppose the socialist revolution and construction. Now local authorities are assigning appropriate jobs to all those involved, including former Rightists who had had their labels cancelled earlier. They will no longer be called Rightists and will enjoy the same treatment as functionaries and workers in terms of promotions, wage increases, commendations and the conferring of academic and administrative titles.

In 1957, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee led the Party and the people in fighting back against the Rightists in what became a momentous socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. The victory of this struggle consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and advanced China's socialist revolution and construction. In the course of this struggle, the Party Central Committee formulated a series of policies and principles towards the Rightists, designed to help them change their stand, then remove their designation in groups and by

stages so that they could again serve socialism. Between 1959 and 1964, five groups of Rightists had their labels lifted.

In 1975, Chairman Mao and Premier Chou instructed that this designation be removed from all the remaining Rightists. But these instructions were not carried out due to interference by the "gang of four."

The Party Central Committee also gave instructions recently that the correcting of past verdicts for those who were wrongly labelled Rightists should be handled well. The criterion established by the Party Central Committee in 1957 for determining Rightist cases is still the basis for deciding the cases.

The people of all nationalities throughout the country have unanimously supported the decision of the Party Central Committee. Many of those who have had their designation of Rightist removed thanked the Party for educating, remoulding and saving them. They pledged to study hard and contribute to the country's socialist construction.

*Renmin Ribao* in its November 17 editorial entitled "A Major Proletarian Policy" pointed out: "The implementation of the Party Central Committee decision is a great event in the present political life of our country. It is of tremendous significance for us to unite with all those forces that can be united with, bring into play all possible positive factors and

try our utmost to turn the negative factors into positive ones, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and build up a modern, powerful socialist country."

## Major Criminals in Tibet Released

All major prisoners in detention who were members of the reactionary group of the upper strata in Tibet were set free by the public security organ of the Tibet Autonomous Region as an expression of leniency. The People's Government issued certificates of release to them in Lhasa on November 4.

The 24 releasees included officials of the former local government in Tibet, living Buddhas and former commanders of local rebel forces.

In 1959, the reactionary group of the upper strata in Tibet betrayed the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet reached in 1951 between the Central People's Government and the former Tibetan local government. Working hand in glove with the imperialists and other foreign reactionaries, members of this reactionary group launched a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. The released criminals were all chief culprits and masterminds who had plotted, organized and taken part in the rebellion.

After the rebellion was put down in 1959, the local public security organs carried out patient and careful work to-

wards the culprits in the spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism. After many years of education and reform, they gradually realized their crimes and showed willingness to turn over a new leaf. Four groups of such criminals had been given lenient treatment and set free since 1963. The last group of 24 were released this time.

The releasees were all granted rights of citizens and appropriate arrangements were made for them in the light of their specific conditions.

On November 4, a meeting was held in Lhasa during which these criminals were set free. Tien Pao, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region, addressed the rally. He once again called on all Tibetan compatriots living in exile abroad, including those of the upper strata who had fled the country, to have a clear understanding of the excellent internal and international situation and see through the schemes of the social-imperialists and reactionaries to carry out aggression and subversion against our country and split our motherland. He urged them to extricate themselves from their predicament of living on alms and suffering discrimination, and return home to participate in socialist construction. He declared that all patriots belong to one family, whether they come forward early or late, and that all those who are willing to return are welcome, that the People's Government will not punish them for their past misdeeds but will make proper arrangements for their work and livelihood.

## **Peking on the Move**

The C.P.C. Peking Municipal Committee at a recent enlarged meeting of its standing committee issued the call to step up work in Peking and adopted a series of measures designed to tackle various problems afflicting the nation's capital.

**Exposing and Criticizing the "Gang of Four."** The work in this city of 8 million had been seriously disrupted during the last decade because the "gang of four" usurped a portion of the leadership in the C.P.C. Central Committee and because the movement to expose and criticize the gang had been going slow during the last two years. To carry out this movement effectively will vastly improve the situation in Peking.

Lin Hu-chia, the newly appointed first secretary of the municipal Party committee, called the meeting and made new arrangements for the movement and stated that it should be launched at a faster tempo so as to pave the way for next year's work.

The municipal Party committee pointed out that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had dominated the city's work in the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution and that great strides were made in those years. It also decided that cadres, workers and intellectuals persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" should be re-dressed and rehabilitated in an earnest way.

**Modernization.** The meeting called on the people to concentrate their main efforts on socialist construction and speed up the tempo of modernization.

Peking industrial and communication departments are making every effort to readjust the enterprises, reorganize industry and import new techniques. The city's iron and steel plants, electronic industry factories will be technically transformed, the general petrochemical plant will be expanded and technical personnel will be more effectively trained.

Agriculture will be modernized according to up-to-date scientific and technical practices. The municipal Party committee called on rural cadres to study modern agricultural science and experience in management.

In the field of education, the teaching quality of the middle and primary schools will be raised and a number of branch schools attached to universities and colleges will be set up so that more youth will receive a college education.

**People's Life.** To solve the critical housing problem as quickly as possible, the city leaders pledged to radically increase the total amount of floor space of living quarters for next year. Many new houses will be built in the industrial areas on the city's outskirts for commuters.

To alleviate the traffic jams in the city during rush hours, several overpasses will be built, and the construction of two major belt roads around the city will be speeded up.

The municipality also adopted measures to deal with the pressing problem of overcrowded restaurants. The city will improve the supply of non-staple

foods to the canteens run by factories, schools and government offices which serve a large part of the population. One hundred state-operated restaurants and 100 canteens run by neighbourhood committees will be opened this year. Stores will provide ready-to-serve or semi-processed foods. More snack-bars and mobile booths can already be seen in Peking. There are 1,400 eateries and snack-counters serving breakfast, a 60 per cent increase from July, and daily customers have also increased from 500,000 to 700,000. A bakery with a daily output of 5,000 kg. of bread was opened in September.

Not long ago, *Renmin Ribao* published a Peking reader's letter complaining that vegetables were in short supply and too expensive. Lin Hu-chia and his colleagues studied the problem and instructed the departments concerned to solve this problem by next year. Lin Hu-chia said, "There must be no more vegetable shortage."

The capital's environmental hygiene will be improved through a food sanitation campaign and a drive to remove bricks and other materials which have cluttered sidewalks for years. More attention will also be paid to the treatment of sewage.

**Public Security.** The municipality stated that the capital's social order will be restored to previous standards within a short time.

Since leading groups to rectify social order and related organs have been set up in the city's nine districts, the number of

criminal cases have already started to decline sharply.

## Vice-Premier Teng Holds Talk With Burmese President

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping held a talk with Burmese President U Ne Win on November 14 at Rangoon Airport. In a very cordial and friendly atmosphere they exchanged views for one and a half hours on international questions of common concern and on the Asian situation in particular. This was followed by a luncheon given by the Burmese President.

Vice-Premier Teng stopped over in Rangoon on his way home after visiting Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore.

### IN THE NEWS

• Chairman Hua Kuo-feng on November 15 met the Friendship Delegation of Members of the Japanese House of Representatives led by Deputy Speaker Shoichi Miyake. He said that with the signing of the China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty, the friendly relations between the two countries have entered a new historical period. He hoped that the people of China and Japan will live in friendship from generation to generation.

On the same day, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping also met the delegation and invited the visitors to a roast Peking duck meal at a Peking restaurant.

• Chairman Yeh Chien-ying of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Hua Kuo-feng on

November 14 sent a message to Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, congratulating him on being elected President of the Republic of Maldives.

• Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on November 11 met Donald T. Regan, Chairman of the Board of the Merrill Lynch and Co. Inc. of the United States, former Secretary of State William Rogers and their party. They discussed the possibility of funds and co-operation for Chinese construction projects from the company.

• Vice-Premier Li on November 15 met the Delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association led by Tokuma Utsunomiya, Vice-President of the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association.

• Vice-Premier Li on November 16 met the U.S. Congressional Delegation led by Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee Edmund Muskie. They exchanged views on Sino-U.S. relations and international issues of common interest.

• Vice-Premier Li on November 19 met the U.S. Congressional Delegation led by John M. Slack, Democratic Representative from West Virginia. He gave the American guests an account of China's economy before and after liberation. He said: We are determined to work hard for the four modernizations. We are building our country by relying on our own efforts. At the same time we are also willing to accept some foreign loans and help and co-operation in other forms so long as our state sovereignty is not harmed.

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# Tien An Men Incident: Completely Revolutionary Action

**T**HE Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China declared recently at an enlarged meeting of its standing committee: The mass actions honouring the memory of Premier Chou En-lai, and denouncing the "gang of four" at Tien An Men Square during the *Ching Ming* Festival (a day in early April for traditional observances in commemoration of the dead — *Tr.*) in 1976 were completely revolutionary. The late Premier, respected and loved by the people of the whole country, had passed away on January 8 that year.

It was announced at the meeting that large numbers of people at Tien An Men Square on that day had gone there to demonstrate their boundless love for the Premier, honour his memory and unburden their sorrow, and also to express their deep hatred for the towering crimes bringing disaster to the country and the people by the "gang of four." This conveyed the

feelings of the hundreds of millions of people all over the country. All these comrades who were persecuted for honouring the memory of Premier Chou and opposing the gang should be rehabilitated.

Results of an all-round work to recheck the cases which was started last May by the Peking Public Security Bureau prove that no one of the 388 people arrested during the Tien An Men Incident is a counter-revolutionary.

Recently, the Provincial Committees of the C.P.C. of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Honan declared respectively that the mass actions honouring the memory of Premier Chou and denouncing the "gang of four" in these provincial capitals of Nanking, Hangchow and Chengchow as well as other places before and after the *Ching Ming* Festival were completely revolutionary, and that comrades who were persecuted for taking part in these activities would be rehabilitated.

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Tien An Men Square during the *Ching Ming* Festival in 1976.



# The Might of the People

“Renmin Ribao” published on November 16 an article entitled “The Wish of the People, the Might of the People” by its Special Commentator. The article, which is a comment on the play “Where the Silence Is,” is in three parts: (1) artistic expression of the revolutionary mass movement in Tien An Men Square; (2) new approach in depicting characters; and (3) greeting a new upsurge in proletarian revolutionary literature and art. Following are excerpts from the first part. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

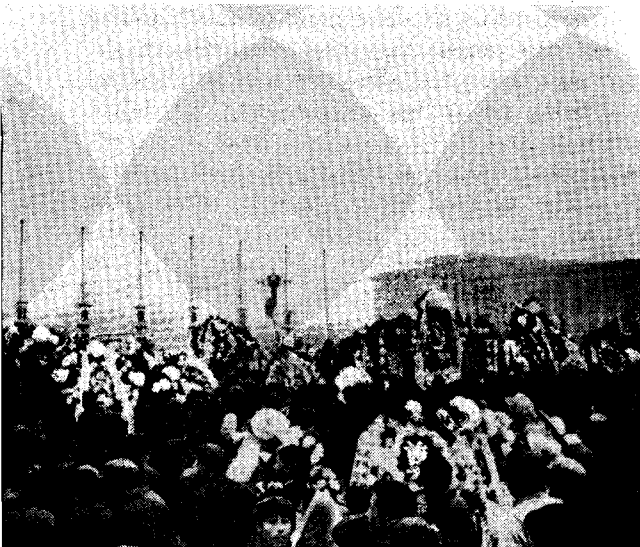
THE play *Where the Silence Is* (translated as *Pent-Up Wrath* in our last issue) has produced strong repercussions in society. Tens of millions of people have read the script, while others watching the play on the TV or on the stage have joined Ouyang Ping, one of the characters in the play, in shouting: “The people will not remain silent for ever!” Rarely has a play struck such a responsive chord in the hearts of the masses and win their praise in such a short time after its appearance.

Everyone who has seen it cannot help asking: What accounts for its impact on the people?

## The Tien An Men Incident

Before and after April 4, 1976, a great revolutionary movement took place in Peking’s Tien An Men Square and in many other cities across the land. Hundreds of millions of people turned out in deep grief to honour the memory of the late Premier Chou and to denounce the “gang of four.” How did all this come about? This has been a question deep in the hearts of China’s 800 million people over the last two years; they have been seriously pondering over it for a long time, unable to remain calm. Presented in artistic form reflecting the reality of those days, the play *Where the Silence Is* has answered this question. The slanderous charges levelled against the Chinese people by the “gang of four” have thus been blown to pieces and the gang’s outrageous distortion of history has been set to rights.

From the moment the gang appeared, it was irrevocably antagonistic towards the Chinese people. The process in which it gradually usurped a portion of Party and state power was indeed one of mounting attacks on the entire Chinese people. The contradiction between the masses and the gang permeated the entire course of development of Chinese history over the last dozen years. In fact, the struggle waged, to varying degrees and in different forms, by the people against the gang had been going on for a long time. But until the outbreak of the incident in Tien An Men Square, these struggles were scattered and had not converged to become a mass movement powerful enough to deal telling blows at the gang. The most advanced elements among the people, like Mei Lin and her son Ouyang Ping in the play, had





long seen through the gang and realized the gravity of the struggle. Mei Lin has put it well: "The Party is not 'theirs,' it will defeat 'them.' Wasn't Lin Piao smashed by the Party? 'They' will soon end up the same way!" Other people, like Ho Wei, Ho Yun and Liu Hsiu-ying in the play, were temporarily in a state of uncertainty and were patiently waiting. In 1975 when Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was in charge of the day-to-day work in the Party Central Committee, he earnestly implemented Chairman Mao's three directives on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, bringing about stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward, and at the same time carried out the work of consolidation in all fields of endeavour. This gave the people hopes for the future. But as Comrade Hua Kuo-feng pointed out in his Report on the Work of the Government delivered at the Fifth National



Copying poems honouring the memory of Premier Chou En-lai.

People's Congress early this year: "To our deep grief our beloved Premier Chou passed away in January 1976. About this time, the 'gang of four,' in their anxiety to seize all power in the Party, the government and the army, mounted a ferocious counterattack. This touched off another struggle that was fraught with serious consequences." The contradiction between the people and the gang was so sharp that it could explode at any moment. So when the gang went all out to attack the late Premier Chou and resorted to fascist means in cold-bloodedly cracking down on the people for paying tribute to his memory, the people could no longer tolerate the situation.

### Revolutionary Mass Movement

Comrade Chou En-lai was Comrade Mao Tsetung's close comrade-in-arms. He was most faithful to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and most courageous in defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. His life was closely bound up with the victory of the Chinese revolution and the happiness of the Chinese people. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou was the mainstay in resisting and staving off the interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." He devoted all his energy to promoting the development of both revolution and production along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The magnificent plan for bringing about the four modernizations put forward by him at the Fourth National People's Congress embodied the aspirations of the 800 million Chinese people. To safeguard the Party and the socialist cause from destruction by the "gang of four" and to protect the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and the masses of people who were being persecuted by the gang, he defied hardships and hazards, fell ill from overwork and dedicated the last few years of his glorious life. The people highly respected and loved him, and pinned their hopes on him for realizing the lofty ideal of the four modernizations and making their motherland strong and prosperous. The "gang of four," however, regarded Premier Chou as a thorn in their flesh and an obstacle to their seizing Party and state power. They cast aspersions on him when he was alive and were even more unbridled in slinging mud at him after his death. By that



time, the struggle between the Chinese people and the gang and the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the gang's counter-revolutionary line had developed to the point that the attitude towards Comrade Chou En-lai had become a touchstone for distinguishing revolution from counter-revolution and genuine Marxism from sham Marxism. This is a fact which no one can deny. The profundity of the theme of the play *Where the Silence Is* lies precisely in revealing this truth.

Antagonism towards Comrade Chou En-lai and persecution of the revolutionary people who honoured his memory constituted the wildest acts of the gang in trying to reverse the socialist orientation in China and grossly trampling on the people's revolutionary demands. Every upright Chinese could not help asking these questions: Why do they act in this way? What should we do? "They are out to erase Premier Chou who is like a giant tree from the minds of the people! Can we refrain from raising our eyebrows and unsheathing our swords!" This remark by Ouyang Ping is the answer of the Chinese people. Grief-stricken by the death of their beloved Premier, the people throughout the country simultaneously turned their memorial activities into a mass movement of accusation and denunciation of the gang. Hundreds of millions of people took to the streets of their own accord, displaying revolutionary initiative and self-sacrifice that made history. There were no organizers, and no one issued any call. The spontaneous revolutionary movement was based on a high level of consciousness among the people. The incident that took place in Tien An Men Square was an organic or main part of this movement as a whole. It was also the best episode in this movement, full of sound and colour, power and grandeur.

November 24, 1978



Playwright Tsung Fu-hsien (right), director Su Le-tzu (second from right) and some of the actors and actresses.

This mammoth revolutionary mass movement was an inevitable development of history. Engels pointed out: When it is a question of investigating the motive forces which lie behind the motives of men who act in history and which constitute the real ultimate motive forces of history, "then it cannot be the motives of particular individuals, however eminent, so much as those which set in motion great masses, whole peoples, and again whole classes of people among each people; and this, too, not momentarily for the transient flaring up of a straw-fire which quickly dies down, but for a lasting action resulting in a great historical change." (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.*) If we fail to look into the historical motive forces behind this revolutionary mass movement in the above-mentioned way, then it would be inconceivable to us that it had happened.

### Magnificent Prelude to a New Period

The play brings us back to the unforgettable moment in the spring of 1976 which is deeply engraved on the minds of several generations of Chinese people. The epitaph on the Monument to the Heroes of the People written by Comrade Mao Tsetung reads in part: "Eternal glory to the heroes of the people who

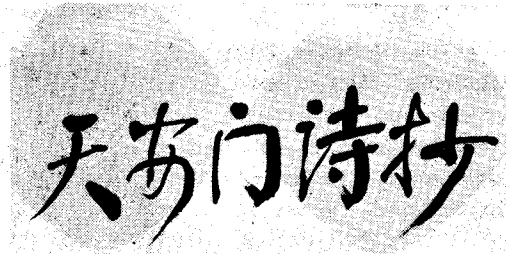
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## Selected Tien An Men Poems

A BOOK of 600 selected poems from among those posted up at Tien An Men Square in April 1976 will come out in print soon. Chairman Hua wrote the title for its cover.

These poems were once confiscated and banned by the "gang of four." Some of them were imputed to be counter-revolutionary, and their writers were branded counter-revolutionaries and persecuted. But people at great personal risks copied them and used all sorts of ingenious means to preserve them and pass them on.

Since the toppling of the "gang of four," people in the capital have edited and printed many books of these poems. One of the collections, a two-volume work edited by Tung Huai-chou of the Peking No. 2 Foreign Languages Institute, was widely circulated among the people. Tung Huai-chou is the pseudonym of a group of Han language teachers at the Peking No. 2 Foreign Languages Institute. Most of the collective's seven women and nine men are pre-Cultural Revolution college graduates. The book of 600 poems now being printed at the People's Literary Publishing House is based on it.



Book title — *Selected Tien An Men Poems* — in Chairman Hua's handwriting.

These Tien An Men poems sincerely expressed the people's mourning for the late Premier Chou En-lai, laid bare the gang's wild political ambitions, reactionary theories, vile practices and infamous past, and gave tremendous encouragement to the people during those difficult days. When the poems appeared at Tien An Men Square in vast numbers, thousands upon thousands of people stayed up all night, copying and reciting them.

Recently many newspapers and magazines have carried poems selected from them. The publication *Poetry* saluted them as "a true record and unique product of the people's opposition to revisionism." And *Wenyibao*, a Chinese literature review, said, "their importance in the history of Chinese literature cannot be erased."

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from 1840 laid down their lives in the many struggles against domestic and foreign enemies and for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people!"

Today, heroes of the younger generation have again gathered around this monument, as the script has so aptly described: "A mountain of wreaths and milling crowds. The evergreen pines and cypresses are covered with small tear-soaked white paper flowers. Standing at attention before the world's solemnest and purest drapes, people call softly: Premier Chou, where are you? The majestic Monument to the Heroes of the People is plastered

with pledges written in blood. Faced with brute force and danger and ghosts and demons on the rampage, people cry out at the top of their voice: To hell with that handful of evildoers who have committed crimes against the motherland! The people honour the memory of the Premier in tears and pledge to take punitive action against those traitors at the cost of their blood. Day and night, an endless stream of people, hundreds of thousands, no, millions of them, come to the site."

These young people who have grown up together with New China have lived up to the expectations of their great era and the expecta-

tions of our great Party and great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung who have nurtured and brought them up. They have courageously taken upon themselves the stupendous task of saving the socialist motherland and defending the people's democratic rights and carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by revolutionaries of the older generation. Meeting head-on and bare-handed the "gang of four's" bludgeons, they have, with wrath and blood, written a brilliant chapter in Chinese history amidst the heroic strains of *The Internationale*, adding lustre to the Monument to the Heroes of the People towering over the square.

In the history of mankind, no true emancipation of the masses from oppression and despotic rule has ever been brought about in the absence of their own independent, valiant and conscious struggle. "Creative activity at the grass roots is the basic factor of the new public life." (Lenin: *Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee*.)

The revolutionary mass movement centring around the incident in Tien An Men Square was a general eruption of the pent-up wrath burning in the hearts of the people against the "gang of four" and a general outbreak of the prolonged

struggle waged by the Party and the people against that gang. That those scoundrels could maintain power for as long as a decade and more was because the people had not universally come to an awakening. But once they had awakened and pitched into the battle, it meant imminent doom for the gang. This revolutionary movement was a tooth-and-nail struggle between people's democracy and the "gang of four's" fascist autocracy and between Marxist scientific socialism and the gang's feudal socialism. It fully demonstrated what the people love and hate, their wish, will and might. It was a pride of the Chinese nation. Its occurrence prepared the most important condition — the masses — for the final collapse of the gang. It is the people who, through their own struggle, have written a magnificent prelude to the advent of a new period in Chinese history marked by the smashing of the gang.

In artistic form, *Where the Silence Is* highly condenses and accurately generalizes the whys and hows of the revolutionary mass movement in Tien An Men Square. It shows how the various classes and political forces in China acted in this struggle and what their respective political endings were as presaged by this struggle.

## The Modern Play "Where the Silence Is"

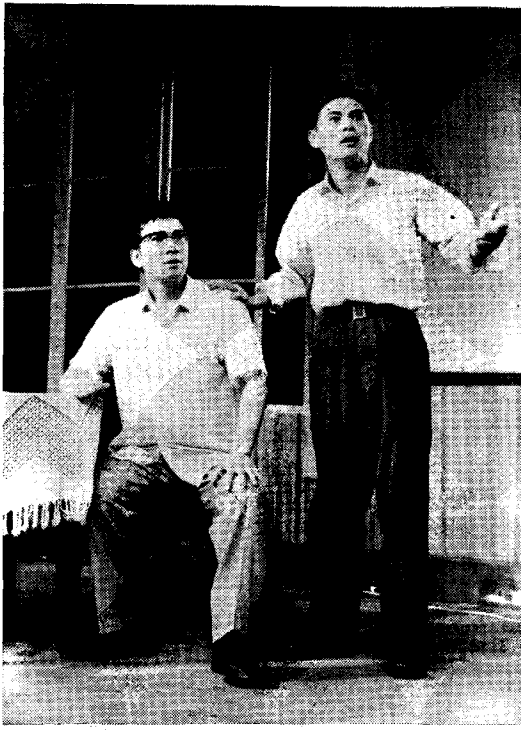
**T**HUNDER comes from where the silence is" is a famous line from a poem written by Lu Hsun, a great Chinese writer, in the 1930s. At that time, the reactionaries rode roughshod over the Chinese people who suffered in silence. Aware of the pent-up wrath of the people, the poet predicted that the thunder of revolution was bound to strike soon.

*Where the Silence Is*, the first Chinese play with the Tien An Men Incident of 1976 as its background, got its title from this poem.

Those were the unbearable days just before the downfall of the "gang of four." The play describes what happens between two families

over a span of nine hours in the summer of 1976.

On their way to Peking, veteran revolutionary cadre Mei Lin, who has been persecuted by the "gang of four," and her son Ouyang Ping stop over in Shanghai and call at the house of Ho Shih-fei, an old colleague whose life Mei Lin once saved during the years of war. But Ho turns out to be the man who gave false testimony during the Great Cultural Revolution, labelling Mei Lin as a renegade. He did this out of selfish motives — currying favour with the "gang of four" in an attempt to acquire a high official post and wealth.



Ouyang Ping (right) tells Ho Wei how the people mourn the late Premier Chou En-lai and denounce the "gang of four" in Tien An Men Square.

The curtain rises when Mei Lin and her son arrive at Ho's house. There are only six characters in the play — Ho Shih-fei, Ho's wife Liu Hsiu-ying, their son Ho Wei and their daughter Ho Yun, Mei Lin and her son Ouyang Ping — and all are vividly depicted and true to life.

Ho Yun is a public security worker assigned to detect an "active counter-revolutionary" who has disseminated revolutionary poems mourning the late Premier Chou En-lai in Tien An Men Square during the *Ching Ming* Festival in 1976. This "counter-revolutionary" turns out to be her boy friend Ouyang Ping, whom she loves and from whom she has not heard for nine years.

Ho Wei is a surgeon, honest and progressive. But under the fascist rule of the "gang of four," he is disillusioned with the world around him and he often makes sarcastic remarks which make the audience laugh and at the same time sympathize with him.

Ho Shih-fei's wife, a gentle and kind-hearted primary school teacher, has throughout the years devoted her energy to teaching child-

ren to be honest. She was shocked when she unintentionally found that her husband had sold out Mei Lin. She has been tormented by this for nine years. Every time she plucks up courage to speak out the truth, her husband would interrupt her and smear her as a neurotic.

By depicting such complicated relationships between the two families, the playwright has succeeded in vividly presenting on the stage the serious struggle and severe test experienced by the Chinese people at that time in their political and family life as well as in love.

Towards the end of the play Ho Shih-fei sells out Ouyang Ping to the followers of the "gang of four." Infuriated, his wife summons her courage, makes known his vileness and exposes him for what he is. Their son and daughter, jolted to an awakening, brace themselves up and bid farewell to Ouyang Ping who will soon be thrown into prison. They tell each other to keep well and pledge to meet again when victory comes. Now only Ho Shih-fei is left on the stage, spurned by one and all. When the curtain falls, the spectators cannot help pondering what Ouyang Ping has said again and again in the play: "The people will not remain silent for ever!"

The playwright is Tsung Fu-hsien, a 31-year-old worker of the Shanghai Heat Treatment Plant. Since its first performance in Shanghai by an amateur modern drama group of city workers in late September, the play has been presented nightly to packed houses. Invited to perform in Peking since November 16, this amateur group has received a very warm welcome from the audiences.

Influenced by Mei Lin and Ouyang Ping, Ho Wei (first from right) takes part in the struggle.





authorities and thus gives rise to the mistake of issuing arbitrary orders based on subjective wishes.

Secondly, economic management will have just as many levels and involve just as many aspects as the administrative organs; this will easily lead to organizational overlapping and to the process of having to consult too many organs, with documents circulating too slowly and things long remaining unsettled. As a result, the efficiency of economic work will be greatly impaired and the opportune moment for economic activities missed.

Thirdly, the administrative structure, whether it comes under central or local authorities, would often be out of joint with the structure of the supply, production and marketing of products as well as detached from the objective needs of other economic activities. When administrative division is made to substitute for economic division, this may result in chaos in the flow of commodities and materials, over-stocked inventories, and sometimes may even cut off rational economic ties, cause artificial economic separation and blockade, hamper the circulation of commodities and allocation of products to the detriment of normal economic development.

Fourthly, purely administrative means often fails to reflect, correctly and promptly, the material interests of the state, enterprises, workers and staff, and consumers and their inter-relationships; it often fails to reflect, correctly and promptly, the relationship of material interests between the central and local authorities and between different localities. It will often take a fairly long time for the administrative leadership to understand these matters and set

them to rights. An administrative leadership, which is not directly held economically responsible for the enterprises' profit and loss, is not sensitive to whether the en-



terprises are run well or badly; it cannot be greatly concerned about the enterprises or make quick, correct and effective judgments and decisions. This can easily bring losses to the state, enterprises, workers, staff members and consumers.

Fifthly, relying on purely administrative means is not conducive to arousing the enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness of local authorities at the lower levels, the enterprises, the workers and staff. It deprives the enterprises of the powers they are entitled to. It makes their leaders, workers and staff who have enterprising and militant spirit and revolutionary zeal often feel there is no chance for them to do things with a bang, or at least, feel they cannot do things to the best of their ability since all they can do is to wait for the higher-ups to make arrangements and give instructions. How great the resulting losses will be — visible and especially invisible! For all these reasons, it is imperative that we confine management by purely administrative means to an absolute minimum and transfer the greater portion of our economic work from government administration to the field of enterprise management. The enterprises themselves must curb the running of business by purely administrative measures and expand management through economic means.

Expanding the role of economic organizations and economic means calls for carrying out economic reorganization and reforms and solving a series of specific problems. The following proposals put forward here cover only four aspects.

### Promote the Contract System

We have adopted the contract system in many fields of economic work. This has proved fairly effective in practice, therefore it should be widely popularized. The system usually works like this: two enterprises sign a contract directly; they have considered economic interests quite carefully and placed rather detailed, practical obligations on each other; under it, conditions are worked out by both parties on a voluntary basis and each side can keep the other in check; generally, there are no arbitrary orders (the so-called "what-I-say-is-final con-

tract" now in vogue is an abnormal thing born of chaotic economic management, which must be opposed by all means, but this is a different question), and when there are shortcomings, they can be easily surmounted without requiring examination and approval of the authorities at various levels.

The contract system may be applied between grass-roots enterprises, between producers, suppliers and marketers, between big corporations and specialized companies, between big corporations themselves, between specialized companies themselves, between local companies themselves and between various companies and grass-roots enterprises. This will help raise efficiency in economic work, ensure that economic activities are conducted in a planned way, and lessen the burden of the administrative organs at various levels.

Moreover, we are of the opinion that contracts may also be concluded between the state and enterprises (including both industrial and agricultural enterprises, enterprises owned by the whole people or collectively owned), between central and local authorities, between different localities, between localities of different levels and between an enterprise and its staff and workers. The contract system between the state and enterprises especially can play an important role in clearly defining the commitments of the two contracting parties, stimulating the initiative and enthusiasm of the enterprises and helping end chaos in the present economic management.

The practice of putting proletarian politics in command remains the prerequisite for the contract system to play its role fully and correctly although the co-ordination and guarantees of many other economic conditions are also required. But this does not mean that everything will be plain sailing and all problems can be solved automatically once the contract system is introduced. Still, the adoption of this system is conducive to strengthening the planning of the national economy and accelerating its development; it will promote specialization and co-operation in production and makes it possible to meet all kinds of economic and technical targets — first of all targets in respect to

quality, variety and economical use of power, fuel and raw and other materials. It will also help bring the law of value into play, promote business accounting and raise labour productivity and the rate of profit on investment. The introduction of the system will also greatly help overcome bureaucracy, reduce waste, arouse the initiative of the masses, improve economic management and train managerial personnel. All these advantages are certain to accrue.

### **Developing Specialized Companies**

The Party Central Committee's Decision on Some Questions Regarding Acceleration of Industrial Development (Draft) points out: "Organizing specialized production is the inevitable trend of the development of modern industry. Integrated, self-contained factories, both big and small, not only are very wasteful, but also seriously hamper technological progress in production and impede the growth of labour productivity." Lenin said: "When the separate establishments are amalgamated into a single syndicate, this economy can attain tremendous proportions, as economic science teaches us and as is shown by the example of all syndicates, cartels and trusts."<sup>29</sup> As shown by the experience of the developed capitalist countries, specialization and co-operation by different trades and localities, and the association of separate enterprises through specialized companies (on a national or local scale, with the same trade or among different but related trades) are not only an inevitable trend in the development of modern industry, but also an objective requirement for high-speed industrial development on a high level.

In the early 60s we formed on a trial basis 13 specialized companies under the central authorities' industrial and communication departments and some companies under provincial and municipal authorities, such as those in Shanghai and the silk company in Chekiang Province. The specialized companies, except for those in Shanghai, did not have a long history; it is true that in one way or another shortcomings and mistakes cropped up due to interference by Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta and to the lack of experience, but these companies played a definite



part in promoting the development of the productive forces.

Take the aluminium company, which was founded by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry in October 1964 with the approval of the State Council for instance. By bringing the production of raw materials, semi-finished goods and auxiliary raw materials all under its auspices, the company succeeded in building closer co-operation and ties between the various processes in production; inside the company there was a centralized, unified leadership in close touch with the production units. There was less red tape and more flexibility of action so that production developed rapidly. After the aluminium company stopped functioning, aluminium output in the decade between 1966 and 1976 registered little increase although state investment in the same period was five times that in the two years 1965 and 1966. It was more or less the same in the case of other specialized companies before and after their founding.

One shortcoming of some specialized companies consisted in their failure to look after the interests of the localities. The tobacco company, for instance, once took away all the profit and tax levies in this trade from the local authorities and paid little attention to the interests of the peasants living in places where growing tobacco was not a tradition. Problems like these can be easily solved in future. From now on, the specialized companies run by the various ministries under the central authorities must look after the interests of the localities; the departments concerned under the central authorities at the same time must have some say in the specialized companies run by the various localities.

The integrated, self-contained enterprises, whether big or small, are a backward form of organization in production. The shift from this organizational form to socialist specialized companies organized on the basis of specialization and co-operation involves a process of profound change in both the economic base and the superstructure. It is an arduous and complicated task impinging on matters of policy and many other things. To effect the change, we must work

out an overall plan on the basis of investigations and study, set up these companies on a trial basis, adopt a vigorous policy based on prudence and carry it out step by step in a planned way.

### Strengthen the Role of Banking

Both Marx and Lenin spoke highly of the role of banking in socialist society. Marx said: "The banking system, so far as its formal organization and centralization is concerned, is the most artificial and most developed product turned out by the capitalist mode of production." "It presents indeed the form of universal bookkeeping and of a distribution of products on a social scale, but only the form" under capitalist conditions; it "will serve as a powerful lever" only after the transition from capitalism to socialism.<sup>30</sup>

Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: "*Without big banks socialism would be impossible.* The big banks are the 'state apparatus' which we need to bring about socialism, ... our task here is ... to make it *even bigger*, even more democratic, even more comprehensive. Quantity will be transformed into quality. A single State Bank, the biggest of the big, with branches in every rural district, in every factory. ... This will be country-wide *bookkeeping*, country-wide *accounting* of the production and distribution of goods, this will be, so to speak, something in the nature of the *skeleton* of socialist society."<sup>31</sup> After the October Revolution, he laid down the following provision in *Theses on Banking Policy*. He wrote: "Banking policy, without being confined to nationalization of the banks, must gradually but steadily be directed towards converting the banks into a single apparatus for accounting and regulation of the socialistically organized economic life of the country as a whole."<sup>32</sup>

Since liberation, banking in our country has been active in many fields and accrued rich experiences. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng said: "We must fully utilize finance, banking and credit in promoting and supervising economic undertakings."<sup>33</sup> The bank is the nation's centre for settlements, credits, and receipts and payments,



and has branches all over the country. It may be entrusted by the state to engage in economic management in many fields and things can be done with greater flexibility and effectiveness than through administrative means. It is in a position to promote or supervise each

and every managerial operation of an enterprise.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, our state banks effectively used credits and appropriations to stimulate and supervise the operations of the enterprises. At the time, the banks imposed three basic requirements on an enterprise asking for a loan: (1) It must provide material guarantees. (2) It must submit a plan approved by the higher authorities and having the functions of law. (3) It must make repayments on schedule. At that time, these three requirements were fulfilled quite satisfactorily. But in the past decade and more, due to interference and disruption by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," this reasonable practice was abandoned. The banks now exercise few functions with regard to the enterprises, except in the case of the wage fund and part of the investment in capital construction. This is another aftermath of relying on purely administrative means (for instance, a thing can be okayed simply by having a slip of paper signed by a leading official) instead of on economic means. Great efforts must be made to reactivate and strengthen the functions of banking if we are to quickly improve economic management and do away with the chaos in many industrial and commercial enterprises and in units of capital construction.

#### **Developing Economic Legislation And Enforcement**

The aforesaid contract system, the establishment of specialized companies, the strengthening of bank functions and other measures of the like, when put into practice, are bound to give

rise to complicated, controversial issues. To seek prompt, impartial and correct settlement of these issues, it is necessary to strengthen economic legislation and enforcement and manifest in legal forms the interests of the state, enterprises, workers and staff members and consumers and the relations of the various interests, to be handled by judicial organs according to law. Without this, all these measures cannot easily become effective and things may go back to the old way of relying on purely administrative means.

We now have a contract system for ordering goods all right, but it is merely a matter of formality as many contracts are never fulfilled or not strictly fulfilled. When a fine is imposed, it is either included in costs or deducted from the profit made; the fine imposed does not directly affect the interests of the leaders or workers and staff members in the enterprise concerned. We have issued a good number of fine regulations and rules but, in most cases, they do not have a rigid legal form and therefore are not legally binding. To give them a legal form with clearly defined legal force, it is not only necessary to have genuine economic legislation widely publicized among the people throughout the country but also to have economic judicial organs that will deal with things conscientiously and strictly and mete out proper punishments to all enterprises and individuals for violating these laws.

## **4. Take Agriculture as The Foundation in Real Earnest**

One fundamental experience in the economic history is that agriculture must be made the foundation for the development of the national economy. In the wake of the physiocrats, Marx made further expositions on this law and Comrade Mao Tsetung made this a basic policy for socialist construction in our country. Practice has borne out the complete correctness of this policy. Whether or not our economy can achieve sustained, steady and high-speed development depends primarily on whether or not agriculture can develop at a high speed. The ten-

year plan (1976-1985) envisages a grain output of 400 million tons by 1985 — a target that concerns the overall economic situation in the country. As the Party Central Committee has decided on speeding up the four modernizations, it has become a matter of even greater urgency to ensure the growth of agriculture at a faster tempo.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and many provincial leading organs have proposed and adopted a number of important measures in the field of agriculture. As a result, the agricultural situation has gradually taken a turn for the better. This has won the warm support of peasants all over the country.

However, due to interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the "gang of four," due also to the shortcomings in our work, the farm situation is still serious. In 1977, the average amount of grain per capita in the nation was the same as the 1955 level; in other words, the growth of grain production was only about equal to the population growth plus the increase in grain requirements for industrial and other uses. To effect a change in this prolonged, slow agricultural growth, it is still necessary to make a series of major policy decisions, including energetic development of animal husbandry, forestry, industries run by people's communes and production brigades and agro-industrial complexes. On the basis of the instructions from Comrades Mao Tsetung and Hua Kuo-feng and the Party Central Committee, this article will take up only the following two questions of principle in regard to arousing the enthusiasm of the peasants.

### **Narrowing the Price Scissors Between Industrial and Farm Products**

In applying the law of value to the socialist economy, it is essential to see to it that there is exchange of equal values between industrial and farm products and that the price scissors between the two are eliminated. Already over 20 years ago Comrade Mao Tsetung gave the following explicit instruction: "In the exchange of industrial and agricultural products we follow a policy of narrowing the price scissors, a policy

of exchanging equal or roughly equal values."<sup>34</sup> Comrade Hua Kuo-feng said in his report to the Fifth National People's Congress: "The law of value must be consciously applied under the guidance of the unified state plan. We must study in earnest the price parities between industrial and agricultural products. . . . To promote production, we must appropriately raise the purchasing prices of agricultural products and, as costs are cut down, properly reduce the prices of manufactured goods, especially those produced to support agriculture." This policy, which was long affirmed by the Party Central Committee, was stated again at the conference for farmland capital construction by Comrade Li Hsien-nien, who pointed out that our present task was to work out a programme for its implementation on the basis of in-depth investigations and study. So, narrowing the price scissors is a fixed Party policy and what remains to be done is to study and work out a proper programme for its implementation.

It must be pointed out here that, in the last 20 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic, the purchasing price of farm produce has doubled while retail prices of industrial goods have risen only 28 per cent. The disparity between the two, though being gradually narrowed, is still fairly large at present. Besides, with the ever-growing use of industrial goods in farm production, this question has become increasingly acute. The rather large price scissors together with the rather slow pace in narrowing them naturally dampen the peasants' enthusiasm for developing production.

With the exception of the better areas, the income of the peasants, after a year's work, shows little or no increase at all in many places although production has gone up; in a few places, incomes have actually decreased with the increase in production. The reasons for this are manifold, but the existence of the price scissors is usually the major reason. If this situation remains unchanged, it will hinder rapid agricultural development, the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, the modernization of agriculture, and it will prevent us from getting the full advantages in carrying out rural policies; it is also at cross-purposes with consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, with our bid to narrow the differences between industry and

agriculture and between town and country, and with the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation.

Readjustment of the price parities between industrial and agricultural products involves too many and very complicated aspects, and calls for working out solutions to many specific problems as well as problems of policy; but these difficulties can be overcome. When the overwhelming majority of the peasants find their burden greatly lightened and their income increased, the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation will really work and this will play an invaluable part in speeding up the development of agriculture, rural development and the modernization of agriculture. Then, many seemingly insurmountable difficulties connected with the countryside can be levelled at one stroke. Otherwise, it will be very difficult to break away from the 20-year-old sluggish rate of agricultural advance — a situation which will surely hold back the tempo of the four modernizations. One cannot expect to build a modern, prosperous socialist China on the basis of a poverty-stricken, backward countryside; this is quite obvious.

### **Really Recognize Collective Ownership by the Peasants and the Right of Management By Production Teams**

At the Second Chengchow Conference held in March 1959, Comrade Mao Tsetung pointedly criticized the mistake of taking away the peasants' and production teams' fruits of labour without compensation. In 1961 he personally presided over the drawing up of the Revised Draft for Regulations on the Work of the Rural People's Communes (known as the Sixty Points) which once more stressed the need to guarantee a production team's right to run its own affairs. According to the draft drawn up at that time, the production brigade was made the basic accounting unit\*; later, when the production team was made the basic accounting unit, the latter's right to control its own affairs naturally

\* At present, in a rural people's commune a production team is generally the basic unit for cost accounting which is responsible for its own profits and losses and directly organizes production and the distribution of its gains — Ed.

had to be further expanded. However, due to interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," this question has remained unsettled for more than ten years. This means that in quite a number of places, collective ownership by the peasants has not been protected and recognized in actual practice; there are many more places where it has not been fully protected or recognized. Where the communes are not run in a democratic way and where farming is not operated on a democratic basis, it means in actual fact non-recognition of the peasants' collective ownership, it also means in actual fact non-recognition of the socialist economic system and the socialist political system over an area peopled by 700 million peasants organized in collectives.

Why is it possible for some people to increase at random the burdens of the production teams in many parts of the country, as was done in Hsianghsiang County (see *Peking Review*, No. 30, 1978, p. 20)? Why is it possible to violate the peasants' right of the person, as in Hsunyi and many other counties (see *Peking Review*, No. 34, 1978, p. 27)? Why is it possible for certain leading bodies according to their own whim to order the peasants to uproot crops they have planted and grow other crops instead, without being responsible both legally and economically for the ensuing losses? Why is it possible for some leading bodies to issue orders to one or more than one county saying that the basic accounting unit of the people's commune be shifted to the production brigade and that the commune members be deprived of this or that right, without first submitting such matters to the peasant masses for discussion and decision? They all point up the fact that in the minds of many a comrade, the peasants' collective ownership actually does not exist at all, that the right of the production teams, production brigades and the people's communes actually to control their own affairs does not exist at all, and that the various basic systems of the people's communes also do not exist at all. They show that the economic rights and interests of the communes, production brigades and production teams, and, indeed, the commune members' personal property and right of the person can be placed at the free disposal of the higher-up levels, of certain leader or leaders, including the individual cadres of a

commune, a production brigade or a production team, and that the organs, meetings of commune members' delegates as well as general meetings of commune members at all levels of a commune can be ignored altogether.

The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has now resolutely set right these mistakes and this fully reflects the wishes of the peasant masses. However, in order to solve this problem through and through, there must also be a stable system set up by the state in unequivocal terms in addition to Party policies. As stipulated in our Constitution, the state guarantees the consolidation and development of the socialist economy collectively owned by the masses of working people, that socialist public property is inviolable, that commune members may farm small plots of land for personal needs and engage in limited household sideline production. All this is very well, but this alone is not enough because people can still violate what has been stipulated without any misgivings. This tells us that, in order to really settle this matter, we need to enact special laws and set up special law courts and strictly punish according to law anyone who dares to break these laws.

With a view to protecting collective ownership by the people's commune, a contract system should be established to govern the economic relationship between the commune, the production brigade and the production team on the one hand, and the state (in matters not covered by law), all the enterprises, government organs and army units on the other; among communes, brigades and teams; between communes or brigades and teams; between communes, brigades or teams and the commune members. All contracts, moreover, should be approved in a democratic way according to a certain procedure. The commune, brigade, team and commune members have the right to reject any request not provided for in the contract and they have also the right to seek compensation for any losses they suffer due to breach

of contract. Only in this way can the collective ownership be really established. Only on this basis can the peasants feel that they are masters of their own destiny, masters of the production team, the production brigade and the commune, and masters of the state. Only then will they actively and boldly devote their energies into developing production and undertake the building of a modern, socialist countryside. This will not weaken but strengthen the Party's and the state's leadership over the peasants; it can not hinder but will ensure the transition of the basic accounting unit when conditions ripen.

In order to speed up the development of agricultural production and the modernization of agriculture, it is also necessary to develop all kinds of specialized agricultural techniques and production in the countryside, to set up industries for processing farm products and other industries according to the state plan, develop forestry, animal husbandry and fishery; develop education and culture and greatly raise the scientific and technological level of the peasantry, particularly of the young peasants. All this can be gradually realized without much difficulty, provided there is an increase in the peasants' income, and the communes and production brigades and teams are ensured of the right to manage their own affairs and democratic management.

In order to arouse the peasants' enthusiasm in production, it is of course also necessary to fully realize the socialist principle "to each according to his work" and more pay for more work, as well as the principle of running the communes democratically and making all ac-



counts public. In addition, the Party Central Committee's various policies and directives concerning rural work must be fully implemented. These things will not be dealt with in detail here.

## 5. Popularize the Science Of Economics and Raise It to a Still Higher Level

Engels said: The proletarian party's "whole theoretical existence proceeded from the study of political economy."<sup>35</sup> The science of economics is a science which studies economic laws. If we want to do things according to objective economic laws, it is essential that we make great efforts to popularize the science of economics and raise it to a still higher level. We are developing socialist economic construction on a scale and at a speed hitherto unknown in Chinese history to bring about the four socialist modernizations. This requires a great expansion in our ranks of economic researchers as there are so many economic problems that need to be studied and much of the research work needs to be carried out in minute detail and supported by numerical data. Apart from the tremendous amount of work now being undertaken by the various units concerned, we need a large number of specialized economic research institutes (including a contingent of researchers in the institutions of higher learning) to serve as assistants to the state organs. At present, the force of our economic researchers is far too small.

Our economic research will cover not only many major theoretical problems but also numerous major practical issues. We must study and sum up China's own experience in construction and at the same time study the experience of other countries. Like many other sciences, the science of economics is also

branching out with new disciplines. We need to make use of these new branches in economics to find accurate answers based on computation to many major and complex problems now confronting us — among them the problem of working out plans and the system of planned management, the problem of readjusting wages, the problem of readjusting prices, the technological and financial problems related to expansion of foreign trade and imported projects. Right now we have no people, or very few, who are well-versed in these problems.

With a view to introducing economic management according to economic laws in the various departments and introducing business accounting to the various enterprises, all big enterprises and leading economic organs must gradually but widely have their own economists or economic engineers; such personnel must also gradually find their way into counties, communes and big farms, to devote all or part of their time to the job. If no such people can be found, we have to train some by all means. Only when the science of economics has been raised to a higher level and at the same time popularized can there be a rapid development of this science. Only then can it be of some help to us in enormously raising the level of our economic management and catching up with and surpassing the advanced world levels under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

### NOTES

<sup>29</sup> *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, (1917).

<sup>30</sup> *Capital*, Vol. III, (1894).

<sup>31</sup> *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*, (written at the end of September-October 1, 1917).

<sup>32</sup> *Theses on Banking Policy*, (March or April, 1918).

<sup>33</sup> *Report on the Work of the Government Delivered at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress*, (February 26, 1978).

<sup>34</sup> *On the Ten Major Relationships*, (April 25, 1956).

<sup>35</sup> *Karl Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,"* (August, 1859).

## "Holy Alliance" of Big and Small Hegemonists

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**T**HE Vietnamese-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" signed in Moscow recently has brought into the open and formalized the "Holy Alliance" of the global and regional hegemonists.

**Dark Clouds Over Southeast Asia.** The signing of the treaty has brought dark clouds over Southeast Asia. It is self-evident that the treaty is military in nature and smells of gunpowder. Article 6 provides: "The high contracting parties will conduct consultations on all important international issues concerning the interests of the two countries. If one of the parties becomes the object of attack or of the threat of attack, the high contracting parties will immediately begin mutual consultations for the purpose of removing such a threat and taking appropriate effective measures to ensure their countries' peace and security."

No treaty of this kind was signed between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam several years ago when the latter was "the object of attack" by U.S. imperialism and its very survival was threatened. One cannot but ask: Is Viet Nam or the Soviet Union being attacked or threatened today? Of course, not at all. On the contrary, it is the Soviet Union and Viet Nam that are flagrantly attacking Kampuchea, pursuing hegemonism in Southeast Asia and jeopardizing peace and security in Asia and the world. In these circumstances, "mutual consultations" as mouthed by Moscow and Hanoi have no other meaning than further collusion between big and small hegemonists in intensifying their expansion and infiltration into Southeast Asia.

**Mutual Need.** People will see that in Indochina it is none other than the Vietnamese regional

hegemonists who are trying to dominate Southeast Asia through overt expansion and aggression or covert infiltration, fomenting turmoil in the area in its wake. They bully the weaker neighbours and seek to be the overlord of Indochina. Caring about neither honesty nor morality, they want only a "special relationship" within an "Indochina federation." They sent large numbers of troops against one of its neighbours to be stationed indefinitely and to crack down on the local people. Towards the other neighbour, they are bent on incorporating it into an "Indochina federation" by means of military force. They repeatedly sent high officials to the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries to sell the proposal of "peace, genuine independence, neutrality." The aim is to worm their way into the association and convert its principles. Towards China, they forcibly expelled Chinese nationals, provoked border incidents and even perpetrated bloodshed. Having long identified themselves with the Soviet ruling clique in ideology and line, the Vietnamese authorities need big Soviet hegemonism as a prop in their quest for regional hegemony.

These hegemonic acts of Viet Nam represent the interests of the Soviet global hegemonists. The new tsars have long wanted to gain a foothold in Southeast Asia to plunder its rich resources, control the passage between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, cut Japan's oil route to the Middle East and the United States and Western Europe's important sea lane and command all routes from Australia and New Zealand to Asia and other areas. For this purpose, they have been hawking the "Asian collective security system" which no one has bought. Therefore, they have to seek an outpost



in Asia with local colour — one for penetration in Southeast Asia and their pursuit of big-power hegemonism. Hence the “Holy Alliance” between the big and small hegemonists, between the prop and the outpost, a product of mutual need and mutual dependence based on the quest for global and regional hegemonism.

In Brezhnev’s words, “solidarity” with Viet Nam is “a dictate of the heart and of the mind”; and the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* wrote: “Viet Nam has cast in its lot with the Soviet Union.”

## Shipment of MIG-23s to Viet Nam

The Soviet Union delivered its first shipment of sophisticated MIG-23 interceptors to Cuba and Viet Nam last October.

An AP military writer reported at the end of October: An estimated 18 to 20 MIG-23s arrived in Cuba earlier this month aboard a Soviet freighter and they were observed flying on duty. Japan’s *Yomiuri Shimbun* carried a report of its former special correspondent in Hanoi, saying: “This correspondent witnessed that the Gia Lam Airport at the centre of a paddy strip 10 kilometres north of Hanoi has been equipped with MIG-23 planes in mid-October.” When questioned about this, the “Vietnamese government officials” confirmed that they were MIG-23s.

People cannot but ask: Why has the Kremlin so generously provided Cuba and Viet Nam with such sophisticated aircraft which it did not give some Warsaw treaty member states? Why is it that Moscow refused to give Viet Nam such interceptors during the war to resist U.S. aggression but has now sent them to Hanoi with such great dispatch?

As in the case of Cuba the Kremlin has singled out Viet Nam for its favours because this serves its global strategy for world domination. In launching the war of aggression against

Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities want on the one hand to subdue and subvert the country and form the “Indochina federation” that it has dreamt of for so long and on the other to serve as an outpost for Soviet domination and control of Southeast Asia. They act as a Soviet Trojan horse in Moscow’s scheme to rig up an “Asian security system” so as to split and sabotage ASEAN. The Vietnamese regional hegemonists need the Soviet superpower as their patron and the Soviet global hegemonists need Viet Nam as a tool for aggression and domination in Southeast Asia. This is the essence of the so-called “friendship and cooperation” treaty between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union and the reason for the steady flow of large quantities of Soviet military equipment to Viet Nam, including MIG-23s.

It is not accidental that the Kremlin has supplied MIG-23 interceptors both to Cuba in the West and Viet Nam in the East. This once again reminds people of two important facts in the contemporary international situation: First, in stepping up its global expansionist offensive in recent years, Soviet social-imperialism lays greater and greater stress on picking out and fostering agents and on using mercenaries as its tools for aggression and expansion; secondly, Viet Nam is following in the footsteps of Cuba and acts as a Cuba in Asia. Viet Nam and Cuba are birds of a feather.

## Propaganda Campaign For Massive Invasion Of Kampuchea

Of late, in addition to supporting Viet Nam with advice and arms shipments, the Soviet Union has joined Hanoi in initiating a slander campaign against Kampuchea in order to prepare public opinion for fresh military actions against the country.

**Rumour Offensive.** In the military clashes between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, the Vietnamese army occupied Kampuchea’s land. But

this stark fact is turned upside down in Moscow's propaganda. Since Brezhnev lied on September 1 that Viet Nam was faced with "military provocations" from Kampuchea, Soviet mass media has invented and spread the rumour that Viet Nam has been invaded by Kampuchea.

On September 14, *Pravda* claimed that Kampuchea was mounting "more and more armed provocations" against Viet Nam and was "playing the role of a shock force in aggravating the tension in Southeast Asia."

On October 20, the Soviet newspaper *Trud* used more malignant words against Kampuchea, saying it had embarked on the road of aggression, first of all against Viet Nam. The *Red Star*, organ of the Soviet Defence Ministry, on October 28 accused Kampuchea of having launched an undeclared border war on Viet Nam. *Izvestia* went so far as to charge in an article on November 1 that the people's administration of Kampuchea provoked armed incidents along the borders with Viet Nam from the very beginning.

**Pretext for Aggression.** In order to find a pretext for Viet Nam to launch fresh large-scale military incursions into Kampuchea, the

Kremlin's propaganda machines distort and attack the internal policies of Kampuchea. In collaboration with Hanoi, the Soviet Union fabricated the existence of what it called "uprising forces" in Kampuchea, in an attempt to subvert the country from within. Moreover, this kind of propaganda was intended to cover up the Vietnamese dry-season offensives now under preparation. The weekly *New Times* of September 22 and *Izvestia* of November 1 even openly called for the overthrow of the present leadership in Phnom Penh.

Among the numerous lies spread by the Vietnamese authorities is the one that there was unrest in 16 provinces in Democratic Kampuchea. The Kampuchea Information Agency (AKI) on November 16 issued a statement pointing out that the aim of the Vietnamese Government's rumours was to mask its preparations for a massive invasion of Kampuchea during the dry season, backed up by large amounts of arms shipped in from the Soviet Union on the eve of the conclusion of the Vietnamese-Soviet treaty.

After receiving a shot in the arm in the form of the Vietnamese-Soviet treaty, will Viet Nam stake everything on a large-scale offensive against Kampuchea? This naturally arouses concern and vigilance.

## The Baghdad Summit

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**T**HE four-day Arab summit conference in Baghdad which Egypt did not attend came to a close on November 5. Its final communique reiterated all Arab countries' support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and their full confidence in the Arab nation's ability to cope with any difficulty on the basis of unity. The communique, furthermore, criticized the two Camp David accords and urged Egypt to renounce them. It was reported that there were fierce debates and huge differences over the Camp David accords and the attitude to-

wards Egypt. Public opinion generally regarded the communique as a compromise.

### Background

After the fourth Middle East war in October 1973, Soviet social-imperialism's true features were further exposed and its influence in the Middle East steadily declined. Both the direct talks between Egypt and Israel since November last year and the Camp David meeting between the U.S., Egyptian and Israeli lead-

ers with its two accords in September of this year resulted in many divergent views among Arab countries. It is normal for Arab countries to have different views on how to solve the deep-seated 30-year-long dispute between the Arab states and Israel. What is strange, however, is that the Soviet Union has been busy engineering many nefarious schemes since the Camp David meeting. All its intensive diplomatic activities centred on the sole purpose of using and exacerbating the differences among the Arab countries to create a large split so that it could get a hand into Middle East affairs and extricate itself from the awkward position of having to "look in from the outside." Confronted with the danger of a split in the Arab world, the recent Arab summit, held on Iraq's proposal, was an endeavour to find a stand acceptable to all the Arab countries so as to maintain Arab solidarity.

### Differences

The main differences at the Baghdad summit are as follows:

One view held that the Camp David accords violated the Pact of the League of Arab States and were a "capitulation" and "betrayal." It called for "isolating" Egypt, for Arab countries to break off economic and diplomatic relations with Egypt and for moving the headquarters of the Arab League from Cairo.

Another view held that efforts should be made to resolve Arab differences that benefited the enemy and "sanctions" should not be applied against Egypt as this would deepen the division among the Arabs and weaken the front against Israel. It called for "unity and not a split" in the face of difficulties. It maintained that the general orientation of Arabs should be to unite Arab forces to recover Arab territory and restore the national rights of the Palestinians, and this could only be done by unity and solidarity in the ranks.

After four days of debate and consultation, the Baghdad summit finally managed to overcome the dangerous divisive tendencies. Some delegates said that the conference should not direct the spearhead of its attack at Egypt but must respect reality. They declared that the

enemy they are struggling against is also the enemy fraternal Egypt is struggling against, and that they all understand the praiseworthy sacrifices that Egypt and the Egyptian people have made. The result of the summit, as a Tanguy commentary noted, was that in Baghdad the Arabs succeeded in finding "the minimum common stand," bypassed the shoals of a split and reaffirmed Arab unity.

### Result

The result clearly went against Moscow's wishes. After the Camp David meeting, the Soviet Union was even more "enthusiastic" than the Arab countries. Afraid that the Arab countries might not be in a turmoil, it energetically advocated that one of the guiding principles of the "progressive countries" was "firstly their friendly relations with the Soviet Union" and that the headquarters of the Arab League should be moved out of Cairo. As for the Sudan, Saudi Arabia and some other Arab countries the Soviet Union clapped the labels of "Arab reactionaries" and "conservative front" on them and even cursed them as the "most reactionary Arab regimes" in the Middle East. The day before the Baghdad summit, the Soviet Union tried to set the tune for the meeting by saying that the conference was to draw up a programme of action against Sadat. TASS also agitated for the conference to be of an "offensive nature." Who were to be the target of attack? Of course, Egyptian leaders and those the Soviet Union dubbed "Arab reactionaries." However, many Arab countries ignored Moscow's dictates and unequivocally replied: Egypt must not be the target of attack or else we will not attend the conference.

The Baghdad summit has avoided a split. An overall solution to the complex Middle East problem, naturally, cannot be easily found; but whatever new problems and new contradictions may appear on the road ahead, so long as the Arab people persevere in maintaining their unity and opposing splits and are on guard against the plots of superpowers, particularly those of Soviet social-imperialism, the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people will advance.

— by Chung Tung

# ROUND THE WORLD

D.P.R.K.

## "South Korea-U.S. Combined Forces Command"

A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement on November 9 denouncing the formation of the "South Korea-U.S. Combined Forces Command." The Chinese press expressed firm support for the D.P.R.K.'s stand.

Set up on November 7, this organization is a conglomerate with the commander-in-chief of the U.S. army in south Korea, John Vessey Jr., as its commander-in-chief and the south Korean puppet army's chieftain as its deputy commander-in-chief. U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown claimed that formation of the command demonstrated that his country "will honour its security commitment" to south Korea "with utmost seriousness." A U.S. military official said that the command "will receive operational guidance and strategic direction from the national commands and military authorities" of both sides and will put all south Korean ground, naval and air forces under its control.

The D.P.R.K. statement pointed out that the hasty fabrication of such a new military organization stemmed from the United States' intention of refusal to withdraw its troops so as to maintain its colonial rule over south Korea and create

"two Koreas." It is also aimed to command in a uniform way its combat units and the south Korean puppet army "in case of an emergency."

The statement said: The Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea hold that the setting up of such a command is "a challenge to the entire Korean people and the world peace-loving peoples who demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea, the presence of which is an infringement upon peace and security in Korea and Asia."

It also pointed out: The United States must give up its delusion to maintain its colonial rule over south Korea through the "two Koreas" plot and, furthermore, to invade the whole of Korea. It must pull out all the U.S. troops and destructive weapons from south Korea without delay in accordance with the U.N. resolution and its "commitments." The south Korean authorities should stop their treacherous acts and change their war and divisive policy into the policy of peace and reunification.

## ZIMBABWE

### Semi-Liberated Zones in The Countryside

On November 7 the Zimbabwe African National Union announced that guerrillas of the Zimbabwe People's Army had

established semi-liberated zones in northeast, east and southeast Zimbabwe, where they run schools, hospitals and administration centres as well as launch development projects.

The Zimbabwean Patriotic Front has been active in two-thirds of Rhodesia for quite some time. Troops of the Smith regime were unable to control the rural areas against the Zimbabwean guerrillas' repeated assaults or to keep communications and transport from being cut. The regime has been spending one million U.S. dollars a day. As a result, the already anemic national economy has been deteriorating, with industrial production plummeting every year. The whites have been leaving in droves. Of the 750 white farmers in the border area, more than 200 have quit their farms. Those who have remained often inspect their fields under heavy guard and dare not go out alone. Before dark they withdraw into their houses that are surrounded with barbed wire entanglements, search-lights, sandbag shelters and mines.

The growing momentum of the guerrilla warfare and the wobbling of the racist regime have given rise to the exodus of white people. The net outflow in the January-September period totalled more than 7,500. By the end of the year, the number is expected to reach at least 12,000. The present number of whites under the Rhodesian racist regime is less than 250,000, a 10 per cent drop from last year. No less than 50,000 white people have fled Rhodesia since 1975.

# CULTURE AND SCIENCE

## New Traditional Chinese Paintings

One hundred and thirty-six new works by 80 well-known artists of traditional Chinese paintings were displayed in Peking's Chinese National Art Gallery from September 26 to November 12.

This recent show contrasted sharply with exhibitions mounted when the "gang of four" were in power. For one thing, the subject matter was not drearily dull and monotonous. Visitors to the art gallery dur-

ing the showing were treated to an outstanding display of diverse styles and schools of painting by leading contemporary artists.

On display were two new works by the well-known 71-year-old painter Wu Tso-jen, President of the Central Academy of Fine Arts—*Yaks on the Tibetan Grassland* and *Camels Plodding Over Desert*. They represent a superb blending of the traditional Chinese technique of using inkwash and quick powerful brushstrokes with Western

painting skills. With characteristic economy of line Wu Tso-jen has again vividly captured the movement of these animals and conveyed the vastness of the grassland and the desert.

*Landscape* by 68-year-old Kuan Shan-yueh, President of the Kwangtung Studio of Traditional Chinese Painting, is representative of the romantic school. He has successfully employed traditional landscape techniques to depict a present-day scene in this painting which shows workers driving a railway line through an area of towering peaks and sheer cliffs.

A new work by Huang Yung-yu, 55-year-old associate professor at the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Peking, combines the art of traditional brushwork with oil painting. In his poetic and allusive landscape *Bird Sanctum*, the artist combining dark shades of monochrome with flaming colours shows three white cranes in flight against a background of dense wood and limpid water.

*Li Po Meditating* by veteran portrait painter Chiang Chao-ho presents with simple flowing lines a striking picture of Li Po in a state of profound thought. Li Po was a famous romantic poet of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), regarded as the golden age of Chinese classical poetry.

The exhibitions were chosen from some 4,000 new works by these 80 artists. Since December 1977 the Ministry of Culture has been arranging for veteran painters to visit different parts of the country to meet and swap experiences



Yaks on the Tibetan Grassland.

by Wu Tso-jen



Bird Sanctum.

by Huang Yung-yu



Village Children.  
by Chou Szu-tzung

with other traditional Chinese artists as well as to observe with their own eyes the quickened tempo of life in this country moving towards modernization.

### Invalid Ex-Serviceman Author

"I'll fight until my last breath, and use the rest of my limited life to work for the good of the people." This guiding thought prompted ex-serviceman Wang Shu-liang to write many literary works from his sick-bed. His first published work *A Detachment in the Hills* about guerrilla warfare during the anti-Japanese war in the late 30s and early 40s has been well received.

The author joined the people's army in the late 30s and had fought heroically against the Japanese aggressors, Chiang Kai-shek bandits, and U.S. aggressors in Korea. In 1965 he

was paralysed as the result of a spinal ailment when he was in office in the logistics department of the Peking Military Area.

He did not lie idly in bed. He spent hours with the young people telling them about past battles and the way of life of the veteran revolutionaries. He courageously wrote a story based on the activities of the guerrilla detachment led by Marshal Ho Lung as a retaliation to Lin Piao and the "gang of four" who were venomously victimizing veteran revolutionary cadres.

Writing this novel was a trying task for a bed-ridden patient like him. Before he began to write he spent two whole years studying Chairman Mao's military writings and Chairman Mao's teaching on literature and art. He read 150 famous works and drew extensively on his own fighting experience.

He wrote in the short space afforded him before and after meals when the nurses propped him up in bed. Frequently his right hand grew numb and he could write only with great difficulty by moving his whole arm. He could not keep this up for long. Often the exertion of writing brought on sleeplessness. He ached all over and sweated a lot because he was so exhausted.

But this stalwart fighter plugged away at his writing. He did pull-ups in bed to build up his physique and exercise his arms. He propelled himself outside on his chair too. For five years he never stopped

writing either during weekends or holidays, not even when he had to live in a tent throughout the hot summer of 1976 because of earthquake warnings.

A stamina like steel enabled him to finish two long novels and a story. He is about to start another novel based on the fighting days of the liberation war against the Chiang Kai-shek bandits. He has already collected extensive material in preparation.

### Chrysanthemum Exhibitions

Chrysanthemums are in full bloom again. Several parks in Peking are running chrysanthemum exhibitions which are attracting crowds of people every day.

China is the home of the chrysanthemum. Cultivation of this beautiful flower dates back 3,000 years. Early in the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), chrysanthemums were introduced into Japan via Korea, and after the 17th century, transplanted in Europe.

Chrysanthemums are a favourite in China not only because of the hundreds of beautiful species and subtle fragrance but, what is more, they are admired by the people for their outstanding hardiness. The whole plant supplies ingredients for manufacturing certain medicines. So since ancient times, China has been raising chrysanthemums on a large scale and now has more than 3,000 species.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## **Welcome All Who Come to Join the Revolution**

**H**SU Ting-tse joined the Chinese Communist Party recently. In June 1963, highly dissatisfied with the Chiang gang's dark rule in Taiwan, he determined to pilot a plane to the mainland. He was then an air force captain with a record of 18 years' service in the Kuomintang army and a member of the Kuomintang.

His patriotic action to sever himself from the Chiang gang was welcomed by the people. He joined the Chinese People's Liberation Army in October 1964 and was appointed deputy commander of a flight regiment in the people's air force. In 1974 he was promoted to deputy chief of staff of a flight unit. He was a deputy to the Fourth National People's Congress and is now a deputy to the Fifth N.P.C.

Since joining the air force, he has earnestly studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and

Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, worked hard and consciously remoulded his thinking. His political stand was firm in the 10th and 11th two-line struggles in the Party (the struggles against Lin Piao and the "gang of four").

When his membership in the Communist Party was approved, Hsu expressed his determination to make further progress in ideological remoulding, strive to be a genuine Communist and dedicate his life to the great cause of communism.

At the same time, *Renmin Ribao* reported another item of news about Comrade Liu Shan-pen, who has been exonerated.

Liu was a captain and staff officer in the Kuomintang air force. In opposition to the civil war launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries, in 1946 he broke the blockade and flew a plane to Yen-an in northwest China and joined the P.L.A.

His action, a heavy blow to the Kuomintang, greatly influenced others. Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh received him and all the crew. Comrade Chou En-lai received him on many occasions and encouraged him to work hard and make more contributions. He and the crew were highly appraised by the people for their patriotic action in forsaking the dark rule and crossing over to the forces of progress.

The People's Government has always assigned them work and

placed them in important positions, its principles being to "welcome all patriots no matter when they join the people's ranks" and to "give suitable work according to their talents."

Since joining the Communist Party in 1949, Liu served as deputy head of the military training department of the air force, head of the navigation department and then deputy director of studies of the Air Force Academy. He was a deputy to the First, Second, and Third National People's Congresses, a member of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a member of the National Defence Council.

In the two decades or so since he joined the revolution, he diligently studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and made great efforts to remould his world outlook. He worked diligently, improved his professional skill over the years and united with comrades. He was frank and upright and made contributions to building the air force.

He took an active part in the Great Cultural Revolution which started in 1966. Filled with indignation at the persecution of revolutionary cadres by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their followers in the Air Force Academy, he wrote a letter via Comrade Teng Ying-chao to inform Premier Chou about the situation. This brought him endless suffering. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their like, disregarding the Party's discipline and the state laws, fabricated a host



Hsu Ting-tse (second from the right) and fighters.



of charges against him. His health was affected and, as a result, he died in March 1968.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the Party committee of the P.L.A. air force decided to thoroughly rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shanpen and made proper provision for the care and well-being of his family members.

### ***New Pastoral Area In Tibet***

**F**ORMERLY a sweep of wilderness haunted by animals, the Shuanghu Grassland in northern Tibet is now being turned into a new pastoral area.

Thirty-six production brigades belonging to 11 people's communes have been set up there, with a total membership of over 5,000. They are raising 520,000 head of livestock.

The area, stretching 120,000 square kilometres, is as big as east China's Fukien Province. Many small basins are tucked away among gently undulating hills, and the vast pasture, dotted with big and small lakes, reaches from horizon to horizon. The Shuanghu Grassland averages 5,000 metres above sea level and the weather is characterized by low temperatures, high winds and frequent snowfall. Nevertheless, over half the area is still suitable for animal husbandry. Its abundant mineral resources are yet to be tapped.

Every year the industrious local people have overfulfilled state quotas for the delivery

and selling of such major items as beef, mutton, butter, wool and hides. Their livelihood keeps improving steadily and all the communes in Shuanghu have set up their own primary schools, nurseries and clinics.

### ***Temples on Mount Omei***

**L**ARGE-SCALE repairs have just been completed on the major temples on Mount Omei, one of China's four most important Buddhist centres. Some 3,000 metres above sea level, the mount is situated about 250 kilometres south of Chengtu, capital of southwest China's Szechuan Province.

As early as the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.), temples were being built here. Among those still remaining, however, the most ancient ones were built in the fifth century.

"The People's Government protects religious sites and their historic relics," said the 75-year-old monk Sheng Hsiang, chairman of the Mount Omei Buddhist Association. "This time, the government allocated 570,000 yuan for repairs."

Teachers and students of the fine arts schools helped with renovating the sculptures. Among them, in Wannien Temple, which has a history of 1,500 years, was a bronze statue of the Samantabhadra (the Bodhisattva of Universal Virtue) riding on an elephant. The statue, 9.1 metres high and weighing 62 tons, was cast in 980 A.D.

"Buddhists here no longer need to beg for alms to have

these temples repaired and keep themselves alive as they did before 1949," Sheng Hsiang continued. "The People's Government covers all the expenses."

There are altogether 59 monks and nuns on Mount Omei. Apart from normal religious observances, they grow vegetables and tea and see to it that the temples are kept up. They receive monthly allowances and medical expenses from the government. During the annual tourist season they work as receptionists or guides. Several monks in Wannien Temple are expert tea-growers. One of their products, a special type of green tea, is sold abroad. Sheng Hsiang practises acupuncture, a skill which he uses to serve his fellow monks.

China's Constitution stipulates that the citizens enjoy freedom to believe in or not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism. Normal religious activities, such as reading sutras everyday, are protected by law. The government does not interfere with a small number of old people coming to Mount Omei on pilgrimages every year, and provides them with housing and convenient eating arrangements.

Buddhists enjoy all the democratic rights stipulated in the Constitution for citizens and have the same obligations, the main ones of which are to support the Communist Party leadership and the socialist system.

Five of the monks and nuns on Mount Omei are deputies to the provincial and county people's congresses and seven are members of the pro-

vincial and county committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The 49-year-old monk Wei Fa and 52-year-old monk Pu Chuan had the honour of being received twice by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou when they attended national conferences in Peking.

The Communists hold that, as a religion, Buddhism will gradually die out as history moves forward; but as a philosophy, it merits careful study.

### **Order for Control of Environmental Pollution**

ONE hundred and sixty-seven industrial enterprises in metallurgy, oil, chemicals, machine building, textiles, light industry and building materials have been ordered by the authorities concerned to take proper measures to control environmental pollution by 1982, at the latest.

These enterprises include the Paotow Iron and Steel Company, the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company in Peking, the Shanghai Oil Refinery and the Taching General Petrochemical Works.

The decision was taken by the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission and the group under the State Council in charge of environmental protection. The decision stipulates that all enterprises which do not bring environmental pollution well under control in the specified period will be closed until this is done. Moreover, action will be taken against the

leadership of such enterprises and those responsible at the higher levels.

As industry expands, environmental pollution has become a serious problem in China.

The decision has made arrangements for funds and equipment for the first group of enterprises to tackle the problem of industrial waste.

Meanwhile, a joint circular was issued by the above-mentioned three state organs together with the State Capital Construction Commission, stressing that all projects under construction or being expanded must have pollution control measures properly worked out, and the necessary equipment installed and put into operation simultaneously with the main construction projects. From now on, no enterprise without measures for preventing pollution will be allowed to go into operation.

### **Test-Tube Giant Pandas**

EXPERIMENTING with artificial insemination, the Peking Zoo has for the first time succeeded in breeding two giant pandas.

Giant pandas are rare animals, native only to China. Over the years the number of wild giant pandas has been growing very slowly despite state efforts to preserve them. Since 1963 the Peking Zoo has been breeding giant pandas successfully. But propagation often discontinues owing to difficulties in mating the giant pandas in def-



"Chuanchuan" and her baby panda.



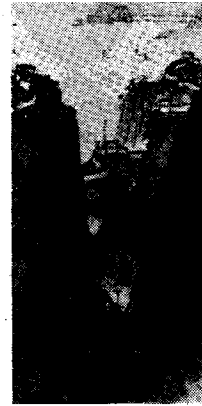
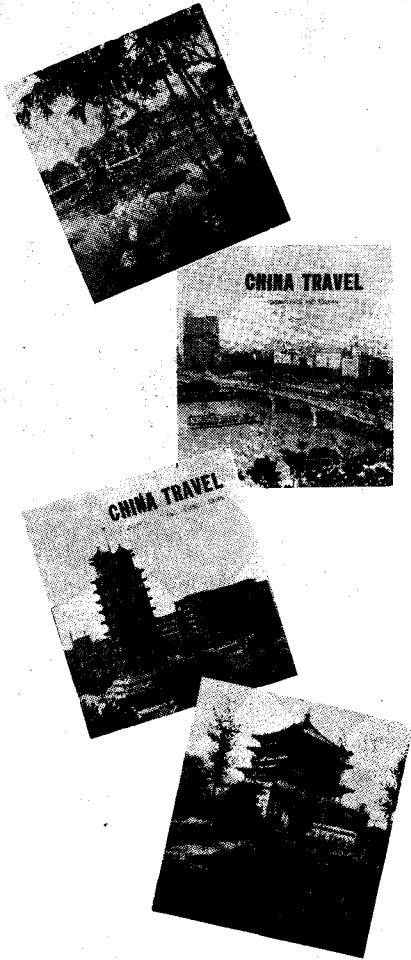
The baby panda.

inite rutting seasons of the male ones raised by the zoo.

This year the zoo began experimenting with inseminating pandas artificially while continuing natural breeding. Four female pandas in heat were artificially injected in late April with sperm from three of the males. Then in September, "Chuanchuan," one of the four, gave birth to a litter of two. Nursed by its mother, one of the test-tube baby pandas is growing well. The other one, looked after by workers of the zoo, failed to survive.

This success is of great significance for the preservation of giant pandas.

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