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COMMUNIQUE

Of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th
Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China

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Chairman Hua Greet Steelworkers

At the closing ceremony of the National Conference of Labour Heroes of the Metallurgical Industry on December 20, Chairman Hua congratulated the steelworkers for topping 30 million tons in steel output this year.

Chairman Hua said: 1978 has witnessed great achievements on the metallurgical front. Steel output this year is expected to reach 31 million tons, surpassing the planned figure of 28 million tons, and output of iron is expected to reach 34 million tons. Production of non-ferrous metals is also satisfactory. This is the first time in Chinese history that production has gone up by such a wide margin in one year.

We have achieved big successes, Chairman Hua continued, but we must not be complacent. If we take our 800 million people into consideration, per-capita output of steel is still very low, and output falls far short of the needs of the four modernizations. Likewise, the quality, variety and specifications of the products cannot meet the needs of the state. Chairman Hua said that China's iron and steel industry has great potentialities, adding that not only new iron and steel enterprises will be built, but the old ones will be improved to play their full role.

He called on the workers on the metallurgical front to continue their efforts to fulfil production targets in the coming year to greet the 30th anniversary

of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

At the conference which was attended by 4,000 representatives, 20 outstanding workers and 20 units were awarded the titles of labour heroes or heroic collectives by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, and 300 workers and 300 advanced units were awarded the titles of model workers and red banner units. In addition, many outstanding workers and units were commended for their contributions.

Memorial Meeting for Comrades Peng Teh-huai And Tao Chu

Party and state leaders and representatives of Peking citizens attended a memorial meet-



At the
conference.

ing on December 24 to mourn Peng Teh-huai and Tao Chu, long-tested loyal Party fighters and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Yun and Wang Tung-hsing were among the participants in the meeting which was held in Peking's Great Hall of the People.

Peng Teh-huai and Tao Chu were outstanding leaders of the Party and state. They died in 1974 and 1969 respectively as a result of ruthless persecution by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Today, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, the Party Central Committee has made an all-round and impartial appraisal of these two comrades and restored their good name.

Peng Teh-huai joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1928 and was Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth C.P.C. Central Committees. During the 25,000-li Long March (1934-35), he was Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he was Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army. In the War of Liberation (1946-49), he was Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. After the founding of the new China, he was Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese

People's Volunteers during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and he held the posts of Vice-Premier of the State Council and concurrently Minister of National Defence.

In the memorial speech he delivered at the meeting, Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping said that Peng Teh-huai had made outstanding contributions to the victory of the Chinese revolutionary war, to the growth of the people's army and to the defence and construction of the socialist motherland. He was brave in war, firm and upright, and was known for his honesty and integrity, never considering his personal loss or gain.

Teng Hsiao-ping praised him as a "famous military strategist and statesman known both at home and abroad, loved and cherished by the Party members and the masses."

Tao Chu joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1926. He was elected Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and he held the post of Vice-Premier of the State Council. At the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, he assisted the late Premier Chou En-lai in handling the day-to-day work of the Party and state and carried out a resolute struggle against Lin Piao and the "gang of four." The gang attacked him on trumped-up charges and subjected him to mental and physical persecution.

Chen Yun, the newly elected Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, said in his memorial speech that Tao Chu had made "major contributions to the cause of socialism and thus won the deep love of the people who cherish his memory." Chen Yun called on the people to learn from Tao Chu's fine qualities of being loyal to the Party, selfless and fearless, undaunted in face of brute force and working for the cause of communism throughout his life.

Li Chiang on Foreign Trade Policy

Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang gave a press conference in Hongkong on December 18. He spoke of China's foreign trade policy as well as questions of investments from foreign countries.

Minister Li said: "China respects international trade practices. As long as the conditions are appropriate, we can consider accepting government-to-government loans. Both government-to-government and non-government loans are acceptable."

Speaking of the prospects for Sino-American trade, the Minister said: "There are trade relations between China and the United States. When similar conditions are offered, our policy in reaching trade agreements is to give priority to countries having diplomatic relations with China. Now that

China and the United States have agreed to establish diplomatic relations, it will make a difference in trade between the two countries."

In answering the question whether the Chinese Government is willing to have trade and economic relations with Taiwan, Minister Li Chiang said: "Taiwan is a part of China. Why can't there be trade relations between Taiwan and the mainland?"

Minister Li Chiang arrived in Hongkong on his way home from a visit to the Philippines.

Asian Games

The 8th Asian Games, the largest ever, took place from December 8 to 20 in Bangkok.

In the 12-day meet, more than 2,800 athletes from 25 countries and regions contested in 219 events under 19 categories, of which table tennis, badminton, hockey, diving and gymnastics are of advanced world levels. In track and field, swimming, shooting and weightlifting, 66 records were chalked up, some approaching the world's best.

During the games, Chinese athletes renewed their friendship with old acquaintances as well as made new friends. They did their best to achieve gratifying results. Of the 280 Chinese athletes who took part, 240 were newcomers. After keen competition, they won 56 gold medals, second only to their Japanese counterparts who garnered 74. The games testified to the fact that athletes from the Asian countries and re-

gions have made big progress in the last few years.

This was the third time that Thailand played host to the Asian Games. Thanks to the good work of the organizers in the short space of 11 months, the games proved a tremendous success.

IN THE NEWS

• "China and Yugoslavia should learn from and help each other in agriculture and the prospects for their co-operation are very broad," said Chairman Hua Kuo-feng at a meeting on December 18 with Comrade Zeczevic, General Manager of the Beograd Agricultural Combine (PKB), and the PKB agricultural delegation he led.

• Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, on December 19 met with a Spanish Labour Party delegation led by Eladio Garcia Castro, General Secretary of the Party.

• Comrade Keng Piao on December 22 met with a central delegation of the Canadian Communist League (Marxism-Leninism) led by Roger Rashi, Chairman of the League.

• Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on December 21 met with Yoshihiro Inayama, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Nippon Steel Corporation of Japan, and his party. The Japanese guests arrived in Peking on December 20 for the purpose of attending the opening cere-

"Peking Review" Announcement

Beginning with its first issue next year, *Peking Review* will become *Beijing Review*.

The reason for this change is that we have decided to use, as of January 1, 1979, the Chinese phonetic alphabet to Romanize Chinese names of persons and places. This is an implementation of a recent decision by the State Council of the People's Republic of China to use the Chinese phonetic alphabet to standardize the Romanization of Chinese names of persons and places. (For details see our last issue p. 7.)

mony for the building of the iron and steel complex at Pao-shan near Shanghai. Mr. Yoshihiro Inayama said that, together with the Chinese side, they would build the plant into a magnificent and advanced complex. Vice-Premier Li expressed his thanks for this. He said that China will further develop its relations of economic co-operation with Japan.

• China has recently deposited an instrument of accession to the convention on offences and certain other acts committed on board aircraft known as the Tokyo Convention which was signed in 1963 in Tokyo. The convention will come into force for China on February 12, 1979.

Communique of the Third Plenary Session Of the 11th Central Committee of The Communist Party of China

(Adopted on December 22, 1978)

- The plenary session unanimously endorsed the policy decision put forward by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on shifting the emphasis of our Party's work and the attention of the people of the whole country to socialist modernization.
- The session thoroughly discussed questions in agriculture and held that the whole Party should concentrate its main energy and efforts on advancing agriculture as fast as possible. It agreed to distribute to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion and trial use the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development (Draft) and the Regulations on the Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft for Trial Use). It discussed arrangements for the national economic plans for 1979 and 1980 and approved them in principle.
- The session seriously discussed some major political events which occurred during the Great Cultural Revolution and certain historical questions left over from an earlier period. It decided to cancel the erroneous documents issued by the Central Committee in regard to the movement "to oppose the Right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts" and the Tien An Men events and also examined and corrected the erroneous conclusions which had been adopted on Peng Teh-huai, Tao Chu, Po I-po, Yang Shang-kun and other comrades.
- The plenary session elected Comrade Chen Yun an additional Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, elected Comrades Teng Ying-chao, Hu Yao-pang and Wang Chen additional Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and elected a 100-member Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline headed by Comrade Chen Yun.
- The session highly evaluated the discussion of whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, noting that this is of far-reaching historic significance in encouraging comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country to emancipate their minds and follow the correct ideological line.
- The session emphatically pointed out: Comrade Mao Tsetung was a great Marxist. The lofty task of the Party Central Committee on the theoretical front

is to lead and educate the whole Party and the people of the whole country to recognize Comrade Mao Tsetung's great feats in a historical and scientific perspective, comprehensively and correctly grasp the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought and integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of socialist modernization and develop it under the new historical conditions.

- Basing itself on the experience and lessons drawn from the history of our Party, the plenary session decided to improve the practice of democratic centralism within the Party, to amplify the Party rules and regulations and to enforce strict discipline in the Party. The Party members' right to make criticisms within the Party concerning the leadership at higher levels, up to Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, must be guaranteed and any practice that does not conform to the Party's democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership should be resolutely corrected.

THE 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its third plenary session in Peking between December 18 and 22, 1978. It was attended by 169 Members and 112 Alternate Members of the Central Committee. Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Yun and Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Chairmen, were present. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng presided over the session and made important speeches.

A central working conference held prior to the session made full preparations for it.

The plenary session decided that, since the work of the Central Committee following its second plenary session had proceeded smoothly and the large-scale nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had in the main been completed victoriously, the stress of the Party's work should shift to socialist modernization as of 1979. The plenary session discussed the international situation and the handling of foreign affairs, reaching the view that the foreign policy of the Party and the government was correct and successful. The plenary session also discussed the question of how to speed the growth of agricultural production and arrangements for the national economic plans for 1979 and 1980 and adopted relevant documents in principle. The plenary session examined and solved a number of important questions left over from history and the question of the contributions and faults, the cor-

rectness and incorrectness of some important leaders. In order to meet the needs of socialist modernization, the plenary session decided to strengthen democracy in Party life and in the political life of the state, put forward in explicit terms the Party's ideological line, strengthen the Party's leading organs and set up a Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. The plenary session elected Comrade Chen Yun an additional Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, and elected Comrades Teng Ying-chao, Hu Yao-pang and Wang Chen additional Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. In view of the changed situation in Party life since the 11th National Congress of the Party and current urgent needs in Party work, the plenary session decided, in a provisional measure, to add nine Members to the Central Committee — Comrades Huang Ke-cheng, Sung Jen-chiung, Hu Chiao-mu, Hsi Chung-hsun, Wang Jen-chung, Huang Huo-ching, Chen Tsai-tao, Han Kuang and Chou Hui — subject to future confirmation by the 12th National Congress of the Party. The plenary session elected Comrade Chen Yun First Secretary of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, Comrade Teng Ying-chao Second Secretary, Comrade Hu Yao-pang Third Secretary, Comrade Huang Ke-cheng Permanent Secretary, and Wang Ho-shou and other comrades Deputy Secretaries. Permanent members



and members of the commission were also elected.

The plenary session holds that this session and the earlier central working conference are of great importance in our Party's history. Throughout the two meetings, the participants emancipated their thinking on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and spoke freely. They fully revived and brought into full play inner-Party democracy and the Party's fine styles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and criticism and self-criticism, and enhanced their unity. The meetings truly brought about "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness," as Comrade Mao Tsetung advocated. The plenary session decided to spread this atmosphere throughout the Party and the army and among the people of all nationalities in our country.

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The plenary session expresses satisfaction with the work of the Central Committee in the past ten months since the second plenary session. There has been great victory in the momentous nationwide political revolution to expose and repudiate Lin Piao and the "gang of four"; there has been additional restoration and

growth of the national economy; there is political stability and unity throughout the country; and significant progress has been made with regard to our foreign policy. All this provides good conditions for the whole Party to shift the emphasis of its work to socialist modernization.

The session points out that our country has achieved new and important successes in developing the international united front against hegemonism and in developing friendly relations with countries in all parts of the world. The visits made by our state leaders this year to Korea, Romania, Yugoslavia, Kampuchea, Iran, Burma, Nepal, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore and many other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, the conclusion of the China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty and the completion of the negotiations for the normalization of relations between China and the United States are important contributions to peace in Asia and the world as a whole. But the grave danger of war still exists. We must strengthen our national defence, and be prepared to repulse at any moment aggressors from any direction. The plenary session holds that the normalization of relations between China and the United States further places before us the prospect of the return of our sacred territory Taiwan to the embrace of our mother-

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Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Yun and Wang Tung-hsing at the third plenary session.

land and the accomplishment of the great cause of reunification. The plenary session expresses welcome to Taiwan compatriots, compatriots in Hongkong and Macao and overseas Chinese, as patriots belonging to one family, to continue making joint and positive contributions to the reunification and construction of their motherland.

In the early years after the founding of the People's Republic, especially after the socialist transformation was in the main completed, Comrade Mao Tsetung instructed the whole Party time and again to shift the focus of our work to the field of the economy and technical revolution. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and Comrade Chou En-lai, our



The session unanimously adopts the communique.

Party did a great deal for socialist modernization and scored important achievements. But the work was later interrupted and sabotaged by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Besides, we had some shortcomings and mistakes in our leading work because we lacked experience in socialist construction, and this also hampered the transition in the focus of our Party's work. Since the nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has fundamentally come to a successful conclusion, though in a small number of places and departments the movement is less devel-

oped, still needs some time to catch up and so cannot end simultaneously, on the whole there is every condition needed for that transition. Therefore the plenary session unanimously endorsed the policy decision put forward by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee that, to meet the developments at home and abroad, now is an appropriate time to take the decision to close the large-scale nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and to shift the emphasis of our Party's work and the attention of the people of the whole country to socialist modernization. This is of major significance for fulfilment of the three-year and eight-year programmes for the development of the national economy and the outline for 23 years, for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The general task put forward by our Party for the new period reflects the demands of history and the people's aspirations and represents their fundamental interests. Whether or not we can carry this general task to completion, speed socialist modernization and on the basis of a rapid growth in production improve the people's living standards significantly and strengthen national defence — this is a major issue which is of paramount concern to all our people and of great significance to the



Comrade Chen Yun.



Comrade Teng Ying-chao.



Comrade Hu Yao-pang.



Comrade Wang Chen.

cause of world peace and progress. Carrying out the four modernizations requires great growth in the productive forces, which in turn requires diverse changes in those aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure not in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, and requires changes in all methods of management, actions and thinking which stand in the way of such growth. Socialist modernization is therefore a profound and extensive revolution. There is still in our country today a small handful of counter-revolutionary elements and criminals who hate our socialist modernization and try to undermine it. We must not relax our class struggle against them, nor can we weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. But as Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out, the large-scale turbulent class struggles of a mass character have in the main come to an end. Class struggle in socialist society should be carried out on the principle of strictly differentiating the two different types of contradictions and correctly handling them in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the Constitution and the law. It is impermissible to confuse the two different types of contradictions and damage the political stability and unity required for socialist modernization. The plenary session calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to work with one heart and one mind, enhance political stability and unity, mobilize themselves immediately to go all out, pool their wisdom and efforts and carry out the new Long March to make China a modern, powerful socialist country before the end of this century.

(2)

In preparing for the great task of socialist modernization, the session reviewed the experience and lessons of economic construction since the founding of the People's Republic. The session holds that the fundamental policy put forth in the report *On the Ten Major Relationships* which Comrade Mao Tsetung made in 1956, summing up China's experience in economic construction, is an objective reflection of economic law and also an important guarantee for the political stability of society. This report still is significant for guidance today. It

has been shown in practice that whenever we maintain the society's necessary political stability and work according to objective economic law, our national economy advances steadily and at a high speed; otherwise, our national economy develops slowly or even stagnates and falls back. While we have achieved political stability and unity and are restoring and adhering to the economic policies that proved effective over a long time, we are now, in the light of the new historical conditions and practical experience, adopting a number of major new economic measures, conscientiously transforming the system and methods of economic management, actively expanding economic co-operation on terms of equality and mutual benefit with other countries on the basis of self-reliance, striving to adopt the world's advanced technologies and equipment and greatly strengthening scientific and educational work to meet the needs of modernization. Therefore, there can be no doubt that our country's economic construction is bound to advance rapidly and steadily once again.

The plenary session discussed arrangements for the national economic plans for 1979 and 1980 and approved them in principle, and proposed that the State Council submit them after revisions to the Second Session of the National People's Congress to be held next year for discussion and adoption. The session feels that these arrangements are both forward-looking and feasible. The session points out that the restoration and development of our national economy since the downfall of the "gang of four" has been very rapid, and that there have been marked increases in total industrial and agricultural output value and revenue in 1978. But it has to be noted that due to sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over a long period there are still quite a few problems in the national economy, some major imbalances have not been completely changed and some disorder in production, construction, circulation and distribution has not been fully eliminated. A series of problems left hanging for years as regards the people's livelihood in town and country must be appropriately solved. We must conscientiously solve these problems step by step in the next few years and effectively achieve a comprehensive balance, so as to lay

a solid foundation for rapid development. We must make concentrated efforts within the limits of our capabilities to carry out capital construction actively and steadily and not rush things, wasting manpower and material.

The session points out that one of the serious shortcomings in the structure of economic management in our country is the over-concentration of authority, and it is necessary boldly to shift it under guidance from the leadership to lower levels so that the local authorities and industrial and agricultural enterprises will have greater power of decision in management under the guidance of unified state planning; big efforts should be made to simplify bodies at various levels charged with economic administration and transfer most of their functions to such enterprises as specialized companies or complexes; it is necessary to act firmly in line with economic law, attach importance to the role of the law of value, consciously combine ideological and political work with economic methods and give full play to the enthusiasm of cadres and workers for production; it is necessary, under the centralized leadership of the Party, to tackle conscientiously the failure to make a distinction between the Party, the government and the enterprise and to put a stop to the substitution of Party for government and the substitution of government for enterprise administration, to institute a division of responsibilities among different levels, types of work and individuals, increase the authority and responsibility of administrative bodies and managerial personnel, reduce the number of meetings and amount of paper work to raise work efficiency, and conscientiously adopt the practices of examination, reward and punishment, promotion and demotion. These measures will bring into full play the initiative, enthusiasm and creativeness of four levels, the central departments, the local authorities, the enterprises and the workers, and invigorate all branches and links of the socialist economy.

The session discussed in detail questions in agriculture, and agreed to distribute to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion and trial use the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the

Acceleration of Agricultural Development (Draft) and the Regulations on the Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft for Trial Use).

The plenary session holds that the whole Party should concentrate its main energy and efforts on advancing agriculture as fast as possible because agriculture, the foundation of the national economy, has been seriously damaged in recent years and remains very weak on the whole. The rapid development of the national economy as a whole and the steady improvement in the living standards of the people of the whole country depends on the vigorous restoration and speeding up of farm production, on resolutely and fully implementing the policy of simultaneous development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries, the policy of taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development, the policy of adaptation to local conditions and appropriate concentration of certain crops in certain areas, and gradual modernization of farm work. This requires first of all releasing the socialist enthusiasm of our country's several hundred million peasants, paying full attention to their material well-being economically and giving effective protection to their democratic rights politically. Taking this as the guideline, the plenary session set forth a series of policies and economic measures aimed at raising present agricultural production. The most important are as follows: The right of ownership by the people's communes, production brigades and production teams and their power of decision must be protected effectively by the laws of the state; it is not permitted to commandeer the manpower, funds, products and material of any production team; the economic organizations at various levels of the people's commune must conscientiously implement the socialist principle of "to each according to his work," work out payment in accordance with the amount and quality of work done, and overcome equalitarianism; small plots of land for private use by commune members, their domestic side-occupations, and village fairs are necessary adjuncts of the socialist economy, and must not be interfered with; the people's communes must resolutely implement the system of three levels of ownership with the production

team as the basic accounting unit, and this should remain unchanged. Organizations at various levels of the people's commune must firmly carry out democratic management and election of cadres and make public their accounts. The session holds that, for a fairly long period to come, the national figures for the agricultural tax and the state purchase of grain will continue to be based on the five-year quotas 1971-75 and that grain purchase must never be excessive. To reduce the disparity in prices between industrial and agricultural products, the plenary session suggests that the State Council make a decision to raise the grain purchase price by 20 per cent, starting in 1979 when the summer grain is marketed, and the price for the amount purchased above the quota by an additional 50 per cent, and also raise the purchase price for cotton, oil-bearing and sugar crops, animal by-products, aquatic and forestry products and other farm and side-line products step by step, depending on the concrete conditions. The factory price and the market price of farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, plastics and other manufactured goods for farm use will be cut by 10 to 15 per cent in 1979 and 1980 on the basis of reduced cost of production, and these benefits will in general be passed on to the peasants. After the purchase price of farm produce is raised, the urban workers must be guaranteed against a fall in their living standards. The market price of all food grain will remain unchanged, and the selling price of other farm products needed for daily life must also be kept stable; if some prices have to be raised, appropriate subsidies will be given to the consumers. The plenary session also discussed the strengthening of education in agricultural science, the drafting of regional programmes for developing agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, the establishment of modern farming, forestry, livestock-breeding and fishing centres, the active expansion of rural industry and side-occupations run by people's communes and production brigades and other important questions, and decided upon relevant measures.

The plenary session points out that it is imperative to improve the livelihood of the people in town and country step by step on the

basis of the growth of production. The bureaucratic attitude of paying no attention at all to urgent problems in the people's livelihood must be resolutely opposed. On the other hand, since our economy is still very backward at present, it is impossible to improve the people's livelihood very rapidly and it is essential to keep the people informed on the relevant state of affairs and to intensify education in the revolutionary ideas of self-reliance and hard struggle among the youth and other sectors of the people, and leading comrades at all levels must make themselves exemplars in this regard.

(3)

The session had a serious discussion on some major political events which occurred during the Great Cultural Revolution and certain historical questions left over from an earlier period. It holds that satisfactory settlement of these questions is very necessary for consolidating stability and unity, facilitating the shift in the focus of the work of the whole Party and getting the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to unite as one and to look forward so as to mobilize all positive factors to work for the four modernizations.

The session points out that in 1975, in the period when Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was entrusted by Comrade Mao Tsetung with the responsibility of presiding over the work of the Central Committee, there were great achievements in all fields of work, with which the whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country were satisfied. In accordance with Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and other leading comrades of the Central Committee waged tit-for-tat struggles against interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." The gang arbitrarily described the political line and the achievements of 1975 as a "Right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts." This reversal of history must be reversed again. The session points out that the Tien An Men events of April 5, 1976, were entirely revolutionary actions. The great revolutionary mass movement, which unfolded around the Tien An Men events and in which millions upon millions of people in all

parts of the country expressed deep mourning for Comrade Chou En-lai and indignantly condemned the "gang of four," provided the mass base for our Party's success in smashing the "gang of four." The plenary session decided to cancel the erroneous documents issued by the Central Committee in regard to the movement "to oppose the Right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts" and the Tien An Men events.

The session examined and corrected the erroneous conclusions which had been adopted on Peng Teh-huai, Tao Chu, Po I-po, Yang Shang-kun and other comrades, and affirmed their contributions to the Party and the people. It points out that historical questions must be settled in accordance with the principle consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Tsetung, that is, seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered. Only by firmly rejecting false charges, correcting wrong sentences and rehabilitating the victims of frame-ups can the unity of the Party and the people be consolidated and the high prestige of the Party and Comrade Mao Tsetung upheld. This task must be fulfilled resolutely without any relaxation after the mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" ends. The session unanimously agrees that the adoption of these steps is in itself an example of grasping the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought comprehensively and accurately and holding high the banner of Chairman Mao.

The session holds that the past practice of setting up special-case groups to examine cadres without Party and mass supervision had great disadvantages and must be abolished once and for all.

The session held a serious discussion on the question of democracy and the legal system. It holds that socialist modernization requires centralized leadership and strict implementation of various rules and regulations and observance of labour discipline. Bourgeois factionalism and anarchism must be firmly opposed. But the correct concentration of ideas is possible only when there is full democracy. Since for a period in the past democratic centralism was not carried out in the true sense, centralism being divorced from democracy and there being

too little democracy, it is necessary to lay particular emphasis on democracy at present, and on the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism, so as to make the mass line the foundation of the Party's centralized leadership and the effective direction of the organizations of production. In ideological and political life among the ranks of the people, only democracy is permissible and not suppression or persecution. It is essential to reiterate the "principle of three not's": not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick. Leadership at all levels should be good at concentrating the correct ideas of the masses and making appropriate explanation and persuasion in dealing with incorrect ideas. The constitutional rights of citizens must be resolutely protected and no one has the right to infringe upon them.

In order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to ensure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and law breakers must be dealt with. From now on, legislative work should have an important place on the agenda of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Procuratorial and judicial organizations must maintain their independence as is appropriate; they must faithfully abide by the laws, rules and regulations, serve the people's interests, keep to the facts; guarantee the equality of all people before the people's laws and deny anyone the privilege of being above the law.

(4)

The session had a thoroughgoing discussion on continuing to inherit and bring into full play the Marxist style of study advocated by Comrade Mao Tsetung, that is, upholding a materialist ideological line. The session unanimously agrees that only if comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, emancipate their thinking, dedicate themselves to the

study of new circumstances, things and questions, and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, of proceeding from reality and of linking theory with practice can our Party smoothly shift the focus of its work, correctly work out the concrete path, policies, methods and measures for carrying out the four modernizations and correctly transform those aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure that do not correspond with the swiftly developing productive forces.

In the past two years, through the deepening struggle to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four," many issues of right and wrong in ideology and theory which they turned upside down have been straightened out. However, quite a number of comrades still do not dare to raise questions or deal with them in a straightforward way. This situation came into being under specific historical conditions. The plenary session calls on comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country to continue to free themselves from the mental shackles imposed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and, at the same time, resolutely overcome the bureaucracy caused by the over-concentration of authority, the failure to reward or punish as deserved and the influence of petty producer mentality so as to help the people emancipate their minds and "start up the machinery."

The session highly evaluated the discussion of whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, noting that this is of far-reaching historic significance in encouraging comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country to emancipate their thinking and follow the correct ideological line. For a party, a country or a nation, if everything had to be done according to books and thinking became ossified, progress would become impossible, life itself would stop and the Party and country would perish.

The session emphatically points out that the great feats performed by Comrade Mao Tsetung in protracted revolutionary struggle are indelible. Without his outstanding leadership and without Mao Tsetung Thought, it is most

likely that the Chinese revolution would not have been victorious up to the present. The Chinese people would still be living under the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and our Party would still be struggling in the dark. Comrade Mao Tsetung was a great Marxist. He always adopted the scientific attitude of "one divides into two" towards everyone, including himself. It would not be Marxist to demand that a revolutionary leader be free of all shortcomings and errors. It also would not conform to Comrade Mao Tsetung's consistent evaluation of himself. The lofty task of the Party Central Committee on the theoretical front is to lead and educate the whole Party and the people of the whole country to recognize Comrade Mao Tsetung's great feats in a historical and scientific perspective, comprehensively and correctly grasp the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought and integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of socialist modernization and develop it under the new historical conditions.

The session holds that the Great Cultural Revolution should also be viewed historically, scientifically and in a down-to-earth way. Comrade Mao Tsetung initiated this great revolution primarily in the light of the fact that the Soviet Union had turned revisionist and for the purpose of opposing revisionism and preventing its occurrence. As for the shortcomings and mistakes in the actual course of the revolution, they should be summed up at the appropriate time as experience and lessons so as to unify the views of the whole Party and the people of the whole country. However, there should be no haste about this. Shelving this problem will not prevent us from solving all other problems left over from past history in a down-to-earth manner, nor will it affect our concentration of efforts to speed up the four modernizations, the greatest historic task of the time.

(5)

Basing itself on the experience and lessons drawn from the history of our Party, the plenary session decided to improve the practice

of democratic centralism within the Party, to amplify the Party rules and regulations and to enforce strict discipline in the Party.

At the session Comrade Hua Kuo-feng laid stress on the importance of collective leadership in the Party Central Committee and Party committees at all levels. He proposed that newspapers and publications throughout the country and works of literature and art give more praise to the worker-peasant-soldier masses, the Party and the revolutionaries of the older generation and give less publicity to any individual. The plenary session fully agreed with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's proposal and evaluated it highly, regarding it as an important sign of improvement in democratic life within the Party. The plenary session reiterated Comrade Mao Tsetung's consistent view that people in the Party should call each other "comrade" and not address each other by their official titles. No personal view by a Party member in a position of responsibility, including leading comrades of the Central Committee, is to be called an "instruction." The session points out that the Party members' right to raise criticism within the Party concerning the leadership at higher levels, up to Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, must be guaranteed and any practice that does not conform to the Party's democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership should be resolutely corrected.

The session holds that just as a country has its laws, the Party should have its rules and regulations. Observance of Party discipline by all Party members and Party cadres is a minimum requirement for restoring normal political life in the Party and the state. Leading Party cadres at all levels should take the lead in strictly observing Party discipline. Disciplinary measures should be taken against all violators of Party discipline with no exception, so that there is a clear distinction between merits and faults, awards and punishments, so that honesty prevails and bad tendencies are eliminated.

The plenary session elected a 100-member Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline,

headed by Comrade Chen Yun. This is an important measure to guarantee implementation of the Party's political line. The fundamental task of the commission is to enforce Party rules and regulations and develop a good Party style.

The plenary session points out that the efforts made in the two years since the smashing of the "gang of four" have immensely strengthened unity and heightened the political consciousness of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all China's nationalities. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's call to "solve the problems while stabilizing the situation" and "further emancipate our minds, be more courageous and resourceful and step up the pace" has found a warm response in the hearts of the people. So long as the whole Party applies itself to the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the know-how needed for socialist modernization, continues to seek truth from facts and uphold the mass line, makes bold innovations and at the same time maintains an attitude of modesty and prudence, makes thorough investigation, gives careful direction and fights no battle ill-prepared or lacking assurance of victory, it can definitely speed up the realization of its general task for the new period, and no difficulty can stop the victorious advance of the Party and the people.

Next year will be the 30th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee issues the following call to all comrades in the Party, to commanders and fighters throughout the army, to workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities throughout the country, to people in all political parties and to non-party democratic patriots: The best contribution to the 30th anniversary of the founding of our People's Republic will be to shift the emphasis of our work to socialist modernization and to achieve the expected success next year. Let us rally even more closely under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, rally round the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and advance courageously to make a fundamental change in the backward state of our country so that it becomes a great, modern, socialist power.

CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

Mao Tsetung Thought And Practice

WHAT is the criterion for testing truth? This is being heatedly debated in China's press over the last few months. It is a big question in theory and in practice concerning two different attitudes towards the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Should it be taken as a viable science, or a rigid religious doctrine?

Tan Chen-lin, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, declared in an article published in issue No. 12 of the Party's theoretical journal *Hongqi*:

"What is the criterion for testing truth? Practice? Or ideas, ideologies and other spiritual factors? Practice is. The acceptance or non-acceptance of this criterion is the fundamental dividing line between Marxist dialectical materialism and

idealism or metaphysics of various shades, the hallmark of whether or not one genuinely upholds the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought."

The article entitled "Practice in the Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains and the Development of Mao Tsetung Thought" written to mark Chairman Mao's 85th birth anniversary (December 26) expounds the close relationship between the formation of Mao Tsetung Thought and revolutionary practice.

The Ching kang Mountains area in Kiangsi Province, central China, was the first revolutionary base set up by the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung. The author of the article, Comrade Tan Chen-lin, was one of the leaders of this base.

He said: During the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains area from September 1927 to January 1929, Comrade Mao Tsetung "opened up the road of encircling the cities from the countryside, relying on the countryside to accumulate and develop revolutionary forces and finally seize the cities."

This road pointed out by Comrade Mao Tsetung "is not found in the works of the rev-



In the Ching kang Mountains.

Oil painting by Wu Chi-chung and Chen Yen-ning

olutionary teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is something unprecedented in the annals of the proletarian revolutionary movement and a magnificent contribution to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism."

"In our Party's infancy, no other leader of our Party advanced such a theory. Even when this theory of Comrade Mao Tsetung had been proved correct in the practice of struggle, a number of Party members condemned this theory as 'peasant mentality' and 'conservatism.' They held on to the theory that revolutionary work should be 'centred in the cities,' and opted for uprisings in the cities and attacking big cities to win swift, nationwide victory."

The trouble with these comrades was that they proceeded from books and divorced themselves from revolutionary practice, whereas Comrade Mao Tsetung never looked upon revolutionary theory as a dogma. He paid close attention to investigation and study of actual conditions and was adept at applying Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the experience of revolutionary practice. "By summing up practical experience, Comrade Mao Tsetung shaped his own ideas and developed Marxist theories. He used the experience gained to enrich and perfect some old principles. At the same time he displaced certain principles which had been proved obsolete in practice with new ones. Herein lies the great vitality of Mao Tsetung Thought."

"The struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains vividly illustrates the dialectical relationship between the formation and development of Mao Tsetung Thought and the great revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people. As a complete scientific system and a truth reflecting the objective laws, Mao Tsetung Thought is based on practice and has been proved to be so by the revolutionary practice of the people in their millions. Moreover, Mao Tsetung Thought was constantly enriched and developed in the changing historical conditions and with the accumulation of practical experience."

Tan Chen-lin went on to say: "We should on no account imitate Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' in fragmentizing and distorting Mao Tsetung Thought, quoting bits and snatches out of context, revering them as something sacred and turning them into a dogma and applying them mechanically irrespective of time, place

or conditions." That kind of practice would mean "rejecting the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

"At present we are in a historical period in which we are striving for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. Numerous new things and problems call for study and solutions from a realistic approach and by applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. To speed up modernization, we must emancipate our minds, dispel doubts and worries, uphold whatever proves correct in practice and rectify whatever is proved erroneous by practice," Tan Chen-lin concluded.

Strengthening Legal System

THE Chinese press continues to report on the various measures taken to tighten up the socialist legal system.

Open Courts Revived. When Lin Piao, the "gang of four," and their followers were around, they gravely impaired the functioning of all public security organs, the people's courts and the people's procuratorates and did all they could to wreck the socialist legal system. They set up kangaroo courts in place of open courts of justice. Their criminal activities are now under heavy fire and the legal system is being speedily restored and strengthened. Since May this year the people's courts of Shenyang in northeast China have held public hearings for 848 criminal and civil cases before full public galleries. Involving the masses in trials has helped the courts get right to the bottom of each case to arrive at correct judgements and to mete out appropriate sentences.

A Shenyang court recently tried and sentenced a man for stealing a large quantity of ration coupons and 1,600 yuan in cash from a suburban hospital. A judge of the court and two people's assessors first examined the indictment against the charged and relevant evidence. Three days before the accused was brought before the court, a copy of the indictment was given him and he was told that he had the right to legal defence.

(Continued on p. 21.)

Greets the Establishment of Sino-U.S. Diplomatic Relations

THE announcement that China and the United States have decided to establish diplomatic relations beginning January 1, 1979 has produced a great impact on the world. State leaders, friendly personages and the general public of many countries welcomed the decision not only as an important development in the relations between the two countries but also as a positive factor for world peace and stability.

Positive and Important

U.N. Secretary-General **Kurt Waldheim** pointed out in his December 16 statement that normalization of relations between China and the United States "reflects an obvious reality in

the world." "This event," he added, "is a positive and important development between the two founding members and permanent members of the Security Council." French President **Giscard d'Estaing** at the December 19 Council of Ministers meeting said, "The stability of international relations cannot be based on ignoring the most populated country of the world." He went on to say, "The recognition of reality would not lead to the escalation of tension in the world. The diplomatic action of France will be carried on in this direction."

Canadian Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau** described the event as a positive development. Austrian Federal Chancellor **Bruno Kreisky** said at a December 18 press conference, "I have



Front-paged in Tokyo. . . .



. . .and in Chinatown, San Francisco.

always considered that the People's Republic of China is a reality that had to be recognized."

Panamanian President **Aristides Royo** on December 16 said to reporters that the event "has long been predicted" because "it is inconceivable" for the United States not to establish relations with China.

British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs **David Owen** said on December 16 that "it is overdue and a much needed development."

The Korean newspaper **Rodong Sinmun** in a December 23 article by its editorial department said, "Establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States comes within normal practice among countries."

The article said, The United States pledge not to seek hegemony "conforms to the desire of the peoples of the whole world to guarantee the independence of countries and nations, relax international tension and maintain peace." "If the United States does not want to seek hegemony in Korea, then it should first of all do something for the reunification of Korea."

Kalezic, a spokesman of the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said on December 21 that the extending of diplomatic recognition between China and the United States was a normal step in the development of their relations. "We believe that the significance of this event goes beyond bilateral relations. It is a contribution to the affirmation and application of the principle of peaceful coexistence in international relations." "It is our belief," he said, "that one must not overlook the role the People's Republic of China is to play in solving the basic problems as well as other issues in the world. Her participation on an equal footing in solving international problems and assumption of her due responsibilities will help secure world peace."

The Romanian paper **Scinteia** on December 20 said in a commentary that the Sino-American agreement to establish diplomatic relations was "a major event in the normalization of interstate relations, in the removal of artificial barriers between nations, in bringing peoples closer to each other and strengthening

co-operation in the service of peace and détente."

Conducive to Peace and Stability in Asia

Japanese Prime Minister **Masayoshi Ohira** said on December 16 that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States would contribute to peace and stability in Asia. He also promised Japan's utmost co-operation in the matter.

Thai Prime Minister **Kriangsak Chomanan** on December 16 said: "It is a diplomatic breakthrough which will ease tensions, restore stability and promote peace in Asia." **Chatichai Choonhavan**, former Foreign Minister and Chairman of the Thailand-China Friendship Association, pointed out that the anti-hegemony clause in the Sino-U.S. joint communique will help deter hegemonist penetration and expansion in Southeast Asia. In a statement to the press Philippine Foreign Minister **Carlos P. Romulo** said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States will contribute to the general stability in Asia.

The Pakistan Times editorialized on December 18 that the normalization of relations between China and the United States was "a great step forward for world peace and will particularly have a stabilizing effect in Asia."

In the Interest of the World's People

Fouad Mbazza, Tunisian Minister of Public Health and President of the Tunisian and Chinese Peoples' Friendship Association, said on December 19: "The normalization of relations between the two big powers is a guarantee for world peace." In Nouakchott, **Cheikh Malainine**, Secretary-General of the Mauritania Workers' Union, declared on December 18 that it is in the interest of the peoples of all countries.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany in a December 16 statement said: "It can only be to the benefit and in the interest of the international community of states to draw the most-populated nation into international developments and common responsibilities in an interdependent world." Swedish For-

eign Minister **Hans Blix** said in a statement on December 16 in Stockholm: "This normalization of the relations between two of the world's biggest nations can only strengthen world peace."

Australian Prime Minister **Malcolm Fraser** on December 17 pointed out that the decision of both countries to enter into full relations would greatly strengthen the stability of the world situation.

Soviet Hegemonism Hurt

Everyone who genuinely wants to defend world peace cannot but be against hegemonism since it endangers world peace and the security

of the various countries and is the cause of unrest in the world. That China and the United States have reaffirmed the anti-hegemonist principle is helpful to the opposition to both big hegemony and small hegemony, both global hegemony and regional hegemony. This, however, has enraged Moscow. Commenting on the normalization of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations on December 18, Moscow radio declared, "It is fraught with danger to peace in Asia and other parts of the world." *Pravda* on December 19 commented: "Peking is devoting its energy to the sabotage of the cause of peace and security of the peoples." "It is China's invitation to the West for the formation of a broadest possible united front against the Soviet Union."

(Continued from p. 18.)

More than 100 citizens attended this public hearing of the case.

The trial began with the procurator reading out the indictment. The defendant was questioned by the judge, and then he and his counsel presented their defence. After this the judge and assessors retired to consider.

The verdict was arrived at by majority decision, with the people's assessors having the same power as the judge. The decision was based on facts and evidence presented and on the defendant's attitude. Recommendations from the masses in the defendant's work place were also taken into full consideration.

After the judge and assessors returned, the judge announced their decision. The accused was found guilty and sentenced to five years of imprisonment. He was told he had the right to appeal to a higher court. But as everything related to the case was clearly proved and the evidence was conclusive, the defendant did not contest the verdict.

The people's courts in Shenyang are summing up their experience to upgrade their competence, and more seats will be added in some courtrooms to help publicize the socialist legal system.

Military Tribunals Reactivated. After many years of suspension, the Chinese People's

Liberation Army's courts-martial system has been revived and the army procuratorate will be restored soon.

These military judicial organs are set up in compliance with the Constitution and the laws governing the organization of the people's courts and the people's procuratorates.

They were suspended during the Cultural Revolution as a result of sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

Crime and Punishment. Three officers were sentenced to six to ten years of imprisonment by a military tribunal of the logistics department of the People's Liberation Army's Chengtu Unit in the southwest.

From 1970 until their arrest, the three criminals had been abusing their power to steal large quantities of army property in collusion with speculators outside. They were also guilty of taking bribes.

People inside and outside the army had written to the army leading bodies concerned demanding that the three be punished. But with the confusion caused by the "gang of four," the military judicial organs became paralysed, and so they went unpunished.

When the sentences were announced, it was hailed by the masses. "The revival of military tribunals has driven fear into the bad elements," they declared.

There Is a Limit to China's Forbearance

"Renmin Ribao" Editorial

IN recent days, the Vietnamese authorities' provocations against China have become more and more unrestrained. Vietnamese armed forces have continually encroached upon Chinese territory, killing or wounding Chinese fishermen and residents of the border areas. Hanoi is intolerably unscrupulous in its bullying of China.

Incessant Provocations

The China-Viet Nam border has been a friendly border a long time and the people on either side of the border have maintained frequent contacts and lived in peace and harmony. During the Vietnamese war against U.S. aggression, the Chinese side of the China-Viet Nam border area provided Viet Nam with a reliable support base in the rear. The Chinese people in the border areas gave considerable, powerful assistance to the Vietnamese armed forces and people without regard for the sacrifices this demanded. Since 1974, however, particularly since the reunification of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities have catered to the Soviet Union and initiated an anti-China campaign. Being ungrateful, they have stirred up disputes and frictions in many areas along the border in an organized and planned way. They frequently sent men to cross into China to patrol, build roads, reclaim land and plant trees. The intruders interfered with the normal patrols by the Chinese border guards, harassed Chinese villages, obstructed Chinese people at work, sabotaged production facilities, kidnapped Chinese personnel and fired at residents. This has resulted in many bloody incidents. Under various pretexts Vietnamese security personnel have unilaterally redrawn the demarcation line of the border areas in an attempt to forcibly change the status quo there. These provocations have heightened tension in

the border areas. The border dispute has figured prominently in China-Viet Nam relations during recent years. According to incomplete available statistics, border conflicts have risen from about 100 incidents in 1974 to around 400 cases in 1975. They then escalated to over 900 cases in 1976. Last year a series of shooting incidents occurred during which Vietnamese security personnel fired at Chinese residents. In 1978 there has been a further increase in Viet Nam's provocative activities along with an escalation of its anti-China drive. From August 25 to December 15 this year, Viet Nam invaded as many as 100 areas of China's Kwangsi to nibble away large pieces of Chinese territory. It dispatched 2,000 armed personnel to instigate over 200 border incidents which led to the death or wounding of dozens of Chinese residents.

At the same time, the Vietnamese authorities have stepped up their war preparations, intensifying the call-up throughout the country to expand the armed forces. They have frequently conducted military exercises with China as their target. They have carried out "clearance" activities in the border area and reinforced the troops there. The Vietnamese authorities have recently unfolded a general mobilization "campaign," openly declaring that China is "the new antagonist" and that the people should "be ready to wage a large-scale war." This is outrageous!

Expansionist Ambitions

In addition to creating border incidents and nibbling at China's land, the Vietnamese authorities have also made false claims on China's territory. In April 1975, shortly before the liberation of Saigon, they occupied six islands in China's Nansha group. This was followed by

a propaganda campaign at home and abroad in which it was claimed that the Nansha and Hsisha Islands were part of Viet Nam. The intention was to prepare for the annexation of a vast tract of Chinese territory in the South China Sea including the islands there.

Moreover, it is also the unjustifiable intention of Viet Nam to include in its territorial waters a vast expanse of the Peipu Gulf. Partly enclosed by the Chinese and Vietnamese mainland and by China's Hainan Island, the Peipu Gulf has always been an important sea route for economic, cultural and friendly exchanges between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples as well as for exchanges between various countries of the world and the southern part of China and the northern part of Viet Nam. It has never been apportioned between China and Viet Nam. On December 26, 1973, the Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister proposed to China that since "the Peipu Gulf has so far not yet been delimited between the two countries because Viet Nam has been at war," "the governments of the two countries should designate delegations to negotiate the delimitation of the Peipu Gulf." The Chinese side expressed its willingness to resolve the problem through consultation with Viet Nam on an equitable and reasonable basis. However, going back on their word, the Vietnamese authorities later asserted that the boundary line between Viet Nam and China in the Peipu Gulf had been designated long ago. This so-called boundary line was marked close to the coast of China's Hainan Island, thereby making two-thirds of the Gulf Vietnamese territory. Such an unreasonable claim fully reveals the insatiable, expansionist territorial designs of the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese authorities' occupation of China's Nansha Islands, their attempt to seize the greater part of the Peipu Gulf, their encroachment on Chinese territory and their aggressive activities against Kampuchea all took place around the end of the Vietnamese war against U.S. aggression. This shows the organic connection between Hanoi's current provocations on the Sino-Vietnamese border and its war of aggression against Kampuchea. These are two inseparable aspects of its regional hegemonic designs.

In order to safeguard Sino-Vietnamese friendship and save the overall situation, the Chinese Government adopted an attitude of forbearance and restraint with regard to the Vietnamese authorities' perfidious acts of encroachment on Chinese territory and sovereignty, proposing negotiations or remonstrating sincerely during talks between leaders of the two countries, in the hope that the Vietnamese authorities would awake to their error. However, taking China's patience and restraint as weakness, the Vietnamese authorities, instead of acknowledging their error and mending their ways, have become more unscrupulous in their acts. They are emboldened by the Soviet social-imperialist backing they receive.

Who Bullies Whom?

What arouses greater indignation is that while insolently bullying China, the Vietnamese authorities are at the same time trying to fool the world by putting on a false and plaintive appearance as if they were the victim of China's bullying. Hanoi's mouthpieces tirelessly harp on the theme that Viet Nam is a small country and cannot afford to antagonize China and that it had "undergone untold hardships" by accepting China's aid and had "suffered painful humiliation" in occupying the Chinese islands in the South China Sea. This duplicity is contemptible and disgusting.

The Vietnamese authorities obviously believe that people will naturally sympathize with them irrespective of the bad things they have done, so long as they stress the fact that Viet Nam is a small country. But whether a country bullies others or not is determined not by its size, but by the political line and foreign policy it follows. China is a socialist country and has consistently pursued a proletarian line and policy in foreign affairs. It has always maintained that all countries, big and small, are equal and is firmly opposed to the bullying and injuring of small and weak nations by bigger and stronger ones.

Since its founding 29 years ago, the People's Republic of China has not seized an inch of territory from others, stationed troops abroad or bullied anyone. On the other hand, the Vietnamese authorities, while claiming to be build-

ing socialism, are actually pursuing national chauvinism and regional hegemonism. They do not hesitate to bully big as well as small countries which fall within their aggressive ambitions. Their bullying China in the north and invading Kampuchea in the west is a most eloquent rebuttal to their preposterous charge against China.

Intrigue Will Fail

In encroaching upon China's territory and sovereignty, the Vietnamese authorities have been incited and supported by the Soviet social-imperialists. China has embarked upon a new Long March for the early realization of the four modernizations. There is stability, unity and vitality throughout the country. While the people throughout the world are very happy about the situation in China, the Soviet social-imperialists are greatly perturbed and fidgety. A stable and powerful China irritates both the Soviet Union which is out to seek world hegemony and the Vietnamese authorities who wish to gain hegemony in Southeast Asia.

Both feel the need to create difficulties for China by creating border incidents and threatening war. Both want to disrupt its stability and unity and impede its advance towards the four modernizations. But their scheme is bound to fail.

The Vietnamese authorities have gone far enough in pursuing their anti-China course. There is a limit to the Chinese people's forbearance and restraint. China has never bullied, and will never bully, any country; neither will it allow itself to be bullied by others. It will never attack unless it is attacked. But if it is attacked, it will certainly counterattack. China means what it says. We wish to warn the Vietnamese authorities that if they count on Moscow's support to seek a foot after gaining an inch and continue to act in an unbridled fashion, they will decidedly meet with the punishment they deserve. We are telling you this now. Don't complain later that we've not given you a clear warning in advance.

(December 25, 1978, subheads are ours.)

Chinese Foreign Ministry Protests Against Vietnamese Encroachments on Chinese Territory

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on December 24, 1978 handed a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in Peking, lodging a strong protest with the Vietnamese authorities against their frequent dispatches of armed personnel to encroach upon Chinese territory and make armed provocations against China.

The note says: "On December 10, 1978, armed Vietnamese fired a mortar shell at China's Liaohang frontier outpost in Hsiashih Commune of Ningming County, Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. This was followed by the intrusion into Chinese territory and firing at the Chinese outpost by dozens of armed Vietnamese for armed provocation. On the morning of December 13, they again shelled the Liaohang

outpost and one shell landed one metre off the outpost. Later on, more than 40 armed Vietnamese intruded into Chinese territory 800 metres deep and illegally occupied three heights in Liaohang area. Shortly after 3 p.m. the same day, they fired over 30 rounds of bullets at Chinese border patrolmen from one of the heights they occupied, wounding one of them seriously.

"On December 14, armed Vietnamese security men laid mines in Liaohang area, which killed one Chinese border inhabitant and wounded three others."

The note adds: "From 8 p.m. of December 11 to 4:30 the following morning, armed Vietnamese in Maluthang area on the Vietnamese bank of the border river fired with rifles, ma-

Uighur Autonomous Region and the Tibet Autonomous Region.

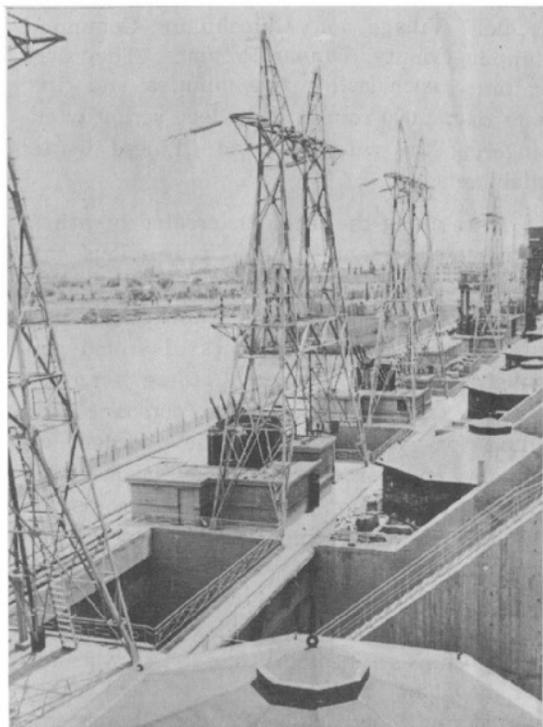
Economic Progress

Substantial changes have taken place in Ningsia during the last 20 years. In 1977, its gross industrial and agricultural output value was 7.2 times that of 1957, the year prior to the founding of the autonomous region, or 15.2 times that of 1949, the year New China was founded.

Except for an 80-kw. generator and a simple machine repair workshop with 37 workers, pre-liberation Ningsia had no industry. There were also no railways or airlines. Nineteen dilapidated buses, the only means of modern transport in the area, travelled on only 1,000 kilometres of bumpy highways.

Now Ningsia has nearly 1,000 petroleum, chemical, metallurgical, machine-building, electronics and light industrial factories as well as coal mines and power stations — an industrial complex of considerable size. Their industrial output accounts for 72 per cent of the total output value of the autonomous region's industry and agriculture, while in 1949, it was only 11 per cent and in 1958, 26.7.

The development of transport and communication has altered Ningsia's seclusion and backwardness. The through-Ningsia Paotow-Lanchow Railway was opened to traffic in 1958 when the autonomous region was founded. The railway which the Kuomintang reactionaries had merely clamoured about building for years now



Chingtunghsia hydropower station.

runs through desert areas. To the east it links up with the railway to Peking and its west terminal connects with the east-west Lunghai Railway and Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway. In addition, the Peking-Yinchuan-Lanchow civil airline has been put into operation, facilitating Ningsia's communication with many other places in the country. The extent of highway has been sizably increased and the quality improved. Nowadays, every city, county and 98 per cent of the rural people's communes in the autonomous region can be reached by bus.

Ningsia's agriculture has grown as well. The total grain output last year was more than three times that of 1949. The water conservancy works together with the farm machinery make it feasible to irrigate one-fourth of Ningsia's farmland, by no means an easy job in a mountainous, desert region. At present, the area which is tilled by tractors accounts for 65.7 per cent of the farmland and most of such farm work as sowing, threshing, transport, processing

Production team harvest.



of farm and sideline products and crushing of fodder, are mechanized or semi-mechanized.

Growth of Culture and Education

Sociology and Geography in the Northwest, a book printed in the mid-30s, stated: "Ningsia is situated in China's border area. Its vast area is sparsely populated. Education there is nearly non-existent." "The centre of education is in Ningsia city, where there are one middle school and one teachers' training school for Mongolians and Huis."

In early liberation days 95 per cent of Ningsia's population were illiterate and only one out of every ten children of school age was in school. Middle school students accounted for 1.2 per thousand of the total population. There was not a single college in the region.

Not long ago, I interviewed Li Kuang-yu, a Hui doctor who works at the hospital under the reclamation bureau of the autonomous region. His wife and three relatives are all college graduates trained after liberation. Oddly enough, the total number of college graduates of Hui origin in Ningsia before liberation was five.

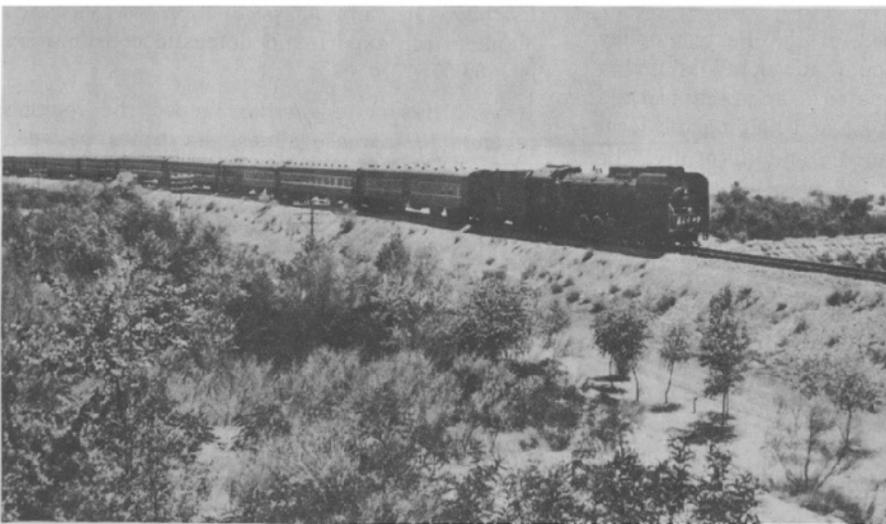
Li Kuang-yu recalled: "Before liberation the working people of Hui nationality were stripped of the right to education by the obscurantist policies of the Kuomintang reactionaries and reactionary religious forces. Women were at the bottom of the social ladder.

In my family all the female members had been illiterate." As illiteracy was so widespread, some people had to travel a dozen or so kilometres to have letters written for them. If no literate man was available, an urgent message was communicated by sending a feather and a piece of charcoal.

The statistics department of the autonomous region told me that in present-day Ningsia, there are three institutes of higher learning, eight secondary technical schools and 6,800 middle as well as primary schools in which over 200,000 Hui youngsters, one-fifth of the Hui people living in Ningsia, are enrolled. Over 90 per cent of school-age children are now attending schools.

Those who have graduated from colleges are also playing a role in developing the region. The total number of scientific and technical personnel is now 20,700 as against 2,400 in 1957. The contingent of teachers has been expanded too.

Huo Shih-lien, chairman of the autonomous region's revolutionary committee, said at the mass rally celebrating the 20th anniversary of the autonomous region: "Although we have achieved some successes here, the industrial and agricultural basis of the autonomous region is still weak. There is no reason for us to be self-complacent." He called on people of various nationalities in Ningsia to redouble their efforts for modernization and to accelerate the pace of



**Desert section of the
Paotow-Lanchow
Railway.**



A desert orchard.

construction so as to build Ningsia into a better place to live.

State Aid

What accounts for this economic and cultural development in a span of 20 years? An important factor is the existence of national regional autonomy and effective state aid.

A significant aspect of the Party's policy towards national regional autonomy is giving financial, manpower, material and technical aid to national minority areas and helping the local people develop economically and culturally. The statistics department of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region provides the following figures: State subsidies to Ningsia have on the average accounted for 48.36 per cent of the region's annual budget since it was established in 1958. The figure has on occasion reached 75.7 per cent. State capital construction investments account for 88.2 per cent of the region's total. In addition, a considerable annual subsidy is given by the state for the development of the undertakings of nationalities in the region.

The state has helped Ningsia build a number of major factories, mines and other key projects.

The above-mentioned Paotow-Lanchow Railway which links Ningsia with the national railway network was built by the state.

The Chingtunghsia water conservancy works on the Yellow River and nine irrigation canals to divert water from the river in the autonomous region have been built or rebuilt with state investments. They have effectively controlled the Yellow River, improved the irrigation and drainage condition and provided over 200,000 kw. of generating capacity for the development of industrial and agricultural production in the area. A state-built big electric pumping station which irrigates 6,600 hectares of dry land has been in operation in the southern hilly areas.

As Ningsia is rich in coal resources, the state has built some relatively complete coal-mining centres there. Now, coal and coal-mining equipment produced by Ningsia not only meet the local needs, but also a part of the national needs.

The autonomous region is one of China's wool producing areas, though there was not a single woollen mill before 1949. The first woollen mill in Ningsia was built with state funds and more than 200 skilled workers and technicians were transferred there by the state to help. It now employs 1,300 workers and makes more than 20 different kinds of woollen fabrics. Its annual production of jacquard blankets for export and domestic consumption is 110,000.

All this state aid has helped the region's revenue to increase almost six times between 1957 and 1977.

Respecting Hui Customs and Habits

Respecting the customs and habits of the national minorities is an important component part of China's policy of national equality.

The meat processing factory in Yinchuan, the capital of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, has over 200 workers and can slaughter up to 4,000 head of cattle daily. Over 90 per cent of the workers in the sheep slaughter-house are Huis. The sheep are butchered by the

Ahung (Islamic priests) in accordance with the Hui custom and handled with special equipment.

While I was in the mountainous Liupanshan region in southern Ningsia, I went to a shop that sold goods for national minorities in Kuyuan County where 43 per cent of the population are Huis. Aside from the daily articles and different fabrics, there were toilet soaps specially made for the Moslems, cosmetic boxes, silver ornaments such as earrings and hairpins, favourites of the Hui women. A young saleswoman told me these articles, mostly produced in Peking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Sian and Yinchuan, were greatly welcomed by the Huis.

Apart from other shops in this hilly county, there is a confectionery selling cakes and pastry, seven restaurants and snack-bars, an ox and sheep slaughter-house and several shops selling beef and mutton. These are all for the Huis.

A responsible comrade of the autonomous region's planning department said the industrial and commercial departments were doing their best to organize the production and supply of articles for the Huis. For instance, the region produces 600,000 Moslem white caps every year and the state earmarks 10 to 15 kilogrammes of silver annually to Ningsia for making ornaments.

I went to a people's commune, a Hui community situated in a Yellow River irrigated



Hui people shopping in a commune co-op.

area. I was invited to be the guest of Ma Chuanliang, the commune's projectionist.

The 31-year-old Ma has a house with 11 rooms, six of which had been built in the past six years and a new one comprising 18 square metres which was built in early 1978. There are nine in his family: his father, mother, two younger brothers, his wife and three children.

In front of his house is a 210-square-metre courtyard with a well. In one of his rooms I saw red cotton blankets piled neatly on the rectangular *kang* (heated brick bed). At one corner of the room is a shower with underground drainage. My host said most of the Huis in his commune have moved into new houses of similar style.

Ma's wife who was an ordinary commune member wore a pink jacket and a white cap. She brought me a cup of delicious Hui tea prepared with unrefined sugar, dates and dried fruits, in a covered porcelain cup.

Ma's 54-year-old mother is a devout Moslem. She told me that the people's commune and the production team had never intervened with her normal religious life.

Ma tours the countryside as a projectionist showing films. Therefore he often has a chance to be a guest in a Han commune member's house. He said: "The Hans respect our customs and habits. They offer me tea with cups washed with boiling water. Some Han families prepare separate tea-sets for their Hui guests. Sometimes, when Hui commune members were asked to help with Han weddings or funerals, the Han families would serve separate dishes prepared by Hui cooks using separate utensils.

"The Party and government pay special attention to our supply of foodstuffs and daily articles. We can easily get such items as unrefined sugar, dates, dried fruit, walnut, kettles shipped from other places (the Huis wash their hands by pouring water from kettles instead of using basins), cups with lids, showers, cotton prints, silk, red or green scarves and even black scarves and leggings for elderly women in the nearby supplying and marketing co-ops or through their sales agents."

China's Hui Nationality

THE second largest of the 50-odd minority nationalities in China, the Huis spring from centuries of intermingling between various peoples in Central Asia, Persians, Arabs as well as the Hans and minority peoples in China. According to statistics compiled in 1964, there were altogether 4.48 million Hui people throughout China.

The earliest source of the Hui nationality dates back to the middle of the seventh century. At that time, there were close trading links between China's coastal ports and the Persian Gulf countries. Large numbers of Arab and Persian merchants came to trade in China's Kwangchow in Kwangtung, Chuanchow in Fukien, Hangchow in Chekiang and other places. Many married Chinese women, raised families and thus settled in China and their descendants gradually became Chinese.

In the early 13th century, the Mongolian leader Genghis Khan (1162-1227) swept west and conquered Central Asia, Russia and other places. Later, his grandson Kublai Khan marched eastward, overthrew the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279) of the Han people and established the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). During that period, there was a massive interflow of population between east and west. Large numbers of Central Asian peoples, Persians and Arabs of various occupations, including army officers, merchants and scholars, came to China and married into Han, Uighur and Mongolian families. Gradually the Hui nationality was formed with its own distinct economic, political and religious practices. This is another source of China's Hui nationality.

Close economic and cultural ties have always existed between the Han and the Hui peoples. The Huis have adopted the written and spoken language of the Han, though they have retained some Persian and Arabic vocabulary in their religious services and within their nationality. Their clothing is similar to the Han, except for the frequent addition of a black or white cap. Many Huis still believe in

Islam and observe traditional customs — such as eating beef or mutton and avoiding pork, horse, donkey and mule meat, all animal blood and the meat of any animal that had died naturally. The Hui people advocate a quick interment (within three days), wrap the corpse in a white cloth and bury it without a coffin. Their main festivals are Id'-ul-fitr and Corban.

The Huis are an industrious, courageous and intelligent people who have contributed to the growth of China's science and culture and have produced quite a few outstanding statesmen, scientists and writers. Cheng Ho (1371-1435) was a world-famous Hui navigator who contributed to strengthening the ties between the Ming Dynasty and Asian and African countries by commanding seven naval voyages to more than 30 countries between 1405 and 1433.

Together with other fraternal nationalities, the Hui people have waged numerous anti-feudal peasant uprisings and peasant wars. Many Huis joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during the 25,000-li Long March led by Chairman Mao. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Hui people also made contributions to the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation.

Before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, about two-thirds of the Hui people were farmers. The urban Huis were mainly pedlars, or were engaged in handicraft, fur, tannery, transport, beef, mutton, catering, jewellery or perfume trades. The Hui people were discriminated against and suppressed by the reactionary ruling class of past dynasties and mass slaughtered by the Ching Dynasty and the Kuomintang reactionaries; the latter did not even recognize them as a nationality.

After liberation, the People's Government has practised equality among all nationalities and followed a policy of national regional autonomy, respecting the spoken and written languages and ways and customs of the minority nationalities. In those areas where the Huis live in compact communities, one autonomous region equivalent to the level of a province, two autonomous prefectures, seven autonomous counties and another two autonomous counties of Huis, Yis and Miaos have been established.

ROUND THE WORLD

ANGOLA

To Strengthen Independence

Angola, saddled with 20,000 Cuban troops, wants to improve her state of independence.

President Agostinho Neto recently announced a government reshuffle in an important speech after an extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (M.P.L.A.). Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento was removed from the government as was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economics Carlos Rocha Dilo-lua. The plenum also annulled the posts of prime minister and deputy prime ministers. Dilo-lua was head of the mixed Angolan-Cuban commission and had just returned from a visit to Cuba during which he reportedly signed with Cuba more than two dozen new accords providing for additional Cuban economic assistance including the dispatch of another 6,000 Cuban civilian technicians to Angola.

The reason given by President Neto for abolishing the two posts was to enable cabinet ministers to report directly to him, not through "intermediaries." "To prevent divisions in the party," he added, he had to act quickly.

This important internal measure was taken when U.S. Senator George McGovern was visiting Angola accompanied by six

U.S. reporters, the first British ambassador had just arrived and France was about to send one.

Since her independence in 1975, Angola has been beset with serious political and economic problems, having to cope with the armed struggle waged by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) as well as an abortive coup d'etat engineered by foreign influence to overthrow President Neto. Angola has suffered much economically. The country's economy is in bad shape because of the incompetence of the thousands of Soviet and Cuban "experts" who have infiltrated and got control of many departments in Angola.

E.E.C.

European Monetary System

The European Economic Community summit has decided to set up a European Monetary System (EMS) on January 1, 1979. This is regarded as a major move to bring about European economic and monetary integration and will have a positive influence on political unity among West European countries.

At the 2-day conference, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Denmark decided to join the EMS, but Britain was reluctant. Italy on December 13 and Ireland two days later decided to join.

According to the resolution, a European currency unit (ECU) will be at the centre of the European Monetary System. Each currency will have an ECU-related central rate. These central rates will be used to establish a grid of bilateral exchange rates. At the same time, a European monetary fund of 25 billion ECU (about 32 billion U.S. dollars) will be created to stabilize participating currencies to offset repercussions caused by the ever devaluing U.S. dollar.

The setting up of EMS is of positive significance towards bolstering the West's power against Soviet hegemonist threats. People all wish to see a united and powerful Europe in the interests of world peace, security and holding back the outbreak of another world war.

But it will not be easy to set up a complete European Monetary System. There are great disparities between the economic strengths of the nine member states and each has its own economic and monetary policies. The inflation rate of West Germany with her greater economic strength is 2.3 per cent, while Italy's is 11.7 per cent. If a relatively stable parity rate between the two currencies should be imposed on the international monetary market, it will entail huge spending to support the weaker currency. During the conference, Italy, Ireland, Britain, and the other six E.E.C. member states could not agree on who should pay this, how much should be paid and the manner it should be paid. The member states will have to make greater efforts if the EMS is to be set up on schedule.

MAO TSETUNG

ON THE

TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS

(April 25, 1956)

This was a speech made by Comrade Mao Tsetung at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Bearing in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union, he summed up in the speech China's experience, expounded ten major relationships in socialist revolution and socialist construction and set forth basic ideas about the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, a line suited to the conditions of our country.

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