

# PEKING REVIEW

45

November 7, 1975

北  
京  
周  
報

**Chairman Mao Meets Chancellor  
Helmut Schmidt**

**Looking Back on the Long March**

***Economic Cause of Soviet Revisionism's  
World Hegemony Bid***

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Vol. 18, No. 45 November 7, 1975

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## Chairman Mao Meets Chancellor Schmidt

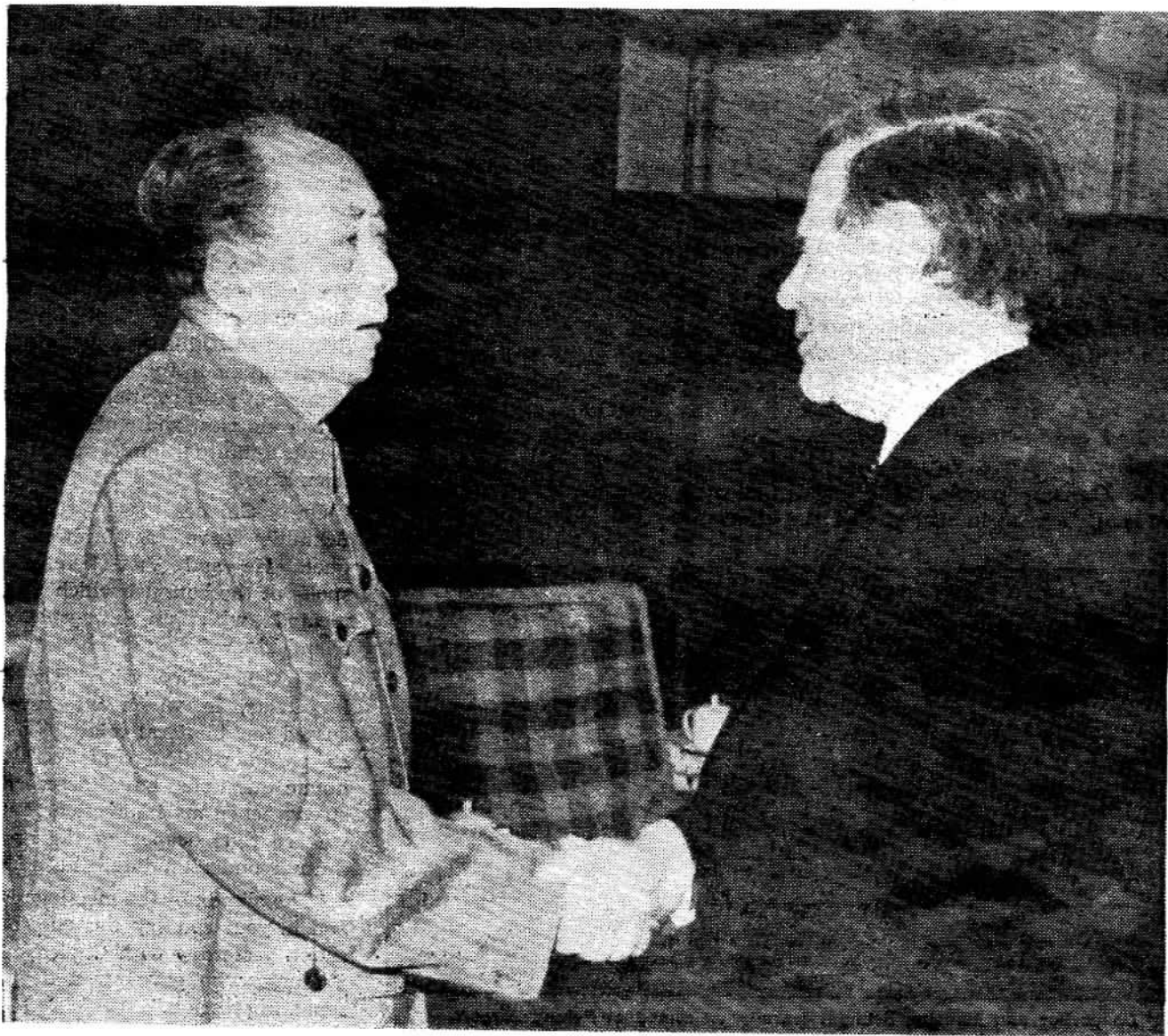
**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tsetung met on the afternoon of October 30 with Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Frau Hannelore Schmidt and other official members of the party accompanying the Chancellor on his visit to China.

The official members of the party accompanying Chancellor Schmidt on his China visit present on the occasion were: Kurt Gscheidle, Federal Minister of Transport, Posts and Communications; Karl Moersch, State Minister of the Federal Foreign Ministry; Frau Marie Schlei, Parliamentary Secretary of State of the Federal Chancellor's Office; Klaus Boelling, Secretary of State and Chief of the Federal Press and Information Office; Rolf Friedemann Pauls, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to China, and Frau Liselotte

Pauls; and Carl Werner Sanne, Director of the Political Department of the Chancellor's Office.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao extended a welcome to Chancellor Schmidt on his official visit to China. After shaking hands with the distinguished guests from the Federal Republic of Germany, Chairman Mao had a wide-ranging conversation with Chancellor Schmidt, Minister Kurt Gscheidle, Ambassador Rolf Friedemann Pauls and Department Director Carl Werner Sanne in a friendly atmosphere.

Present at the meeting were Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, Ambassador Wang Shu and Deputy Departmental Directors Tang Wen-sheng and Hsu Wei-chin.



## Chancellor Schmidt Visits China

CHANCELLOR Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany paid an official visit to China from October 29 to November 2 at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

On their arrival in Peking on October 29, Chancellor Schmidt and his wife and other members of the party accompanying him on the visit were given a warm welcome at the airport by Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Wu Teh, Ulanfu and Wang Chen and several thousand people of the capital. There was a grand welcoming ceremony at which the well-wishers waved bouquets and shouted slogans of greeting. As the guests walked round the airport to meet the crowd, youngsters danced joyfully to express the friendly sentiments of the Chinese people for the people of the F.R.G.

That same day, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh met Chancellor and Madame Schmidt and the other distinguished guests.

In the evening, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping hosted a grand welcoming banquet given in the name of Premier Chou En-lai. Vice-Premier Teng and Chancellor Schmidt spoke at the banquet. (See pp. 7 and 8 for excerpts.)

The same day, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial welcoming Chancellor Schmidt's visit.

"The German people," the editorial said, "are an industrious, wise

and creative people. They have made valuable contributions to humanity in science, culture, art and other fields, which are held in high esteem by the people of China and the rest of the world. In the modern history of Germany, there appeared the dark rule of Hitler fascism which brought great sufferings to the people of Germany and many other European countries. For reasons known to all, Germany was split into two countries after World War II. The Chinese people deeply sympathize with and support the German people's firm opposition to a permanent division of the German nation and their just desire for national unification; we firmly support the German and other European peoples in their just struggles in defence of national independence and security and against superpower hegemony."

At present, the editorial noted, "the two superpowers are frantically engaged in an arms race and are stepping up their contention for world hegemony. Europe, the focus of their contention, is in greater turmoil and unrest. Especially that superpower which is chanting peace psalms most loudly has become even more truculent and is baring its fangs, particularly towards Europe. It has stationed massive forces in Central Europe and is intensifying its efforts to encircle the whole of

Western Europe from the south and the north, thus constituting an increasingly grave military menace to the independence and security of European countries." "In the face of this situation," the editorial added, "many countries in Western Europe have emphasized the need to strengthen their unity and their defence capabilities. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, too, has made efforts to promote West European unity and has advocated strengthening 'one's own will in defence' to cope with superpower menace. At the same time, it has begun to pay more attention to improving relations with the third world countries. All this is in the interests of the unity of the people of Europe and the world against hegemonism."

In conclusion, the editorial said: "Friendly relations have long existed between the Chinese and the German people. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Federal Republic of Germany in October 1972, the relations between the two countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and their economic ties have developed remarkably." The editorial expressed the conviction that "the visit of Chancellor Schmidt to China will make positive contributions to furthering the development of good relations between the two countries and enhancing their people's mutual understanding and friendship."

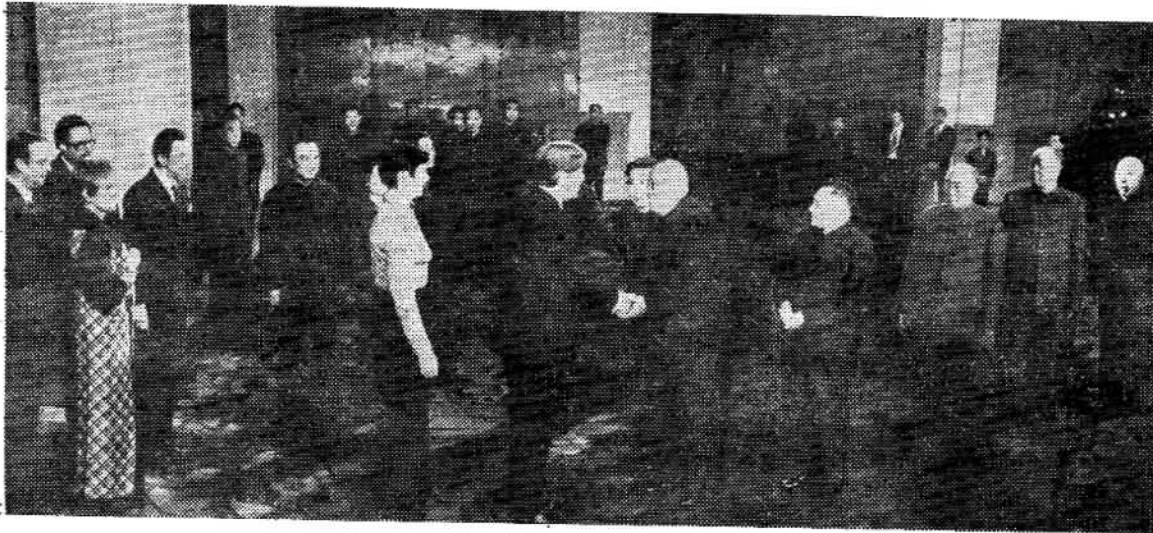
On October 31, Chancellor Schmidt gave a farewell banquet. He and Vice-Premier Teng spoke at the banquet which was permeated with an atmosphere of friendship.

The Chancellor said: "The political talks, in which we have discussed our bilateral relations as well as world political and world economic questions, have increased and strengthened my impressions." "And we are thus deepening the growing mutual understanding," he added.

"The climax of the meetings I have had in your country was our conversation yesterday with Chairman Mao Tsetung, who gave me a deep personal impression."



Chancellor and Madame Schmidt warmly welcomed at Peking Airport.



Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress meets Chancellor and Madame Schmidt.

He continued: "We both agree that we will intensify our exchange of views in the political field. Therefore, I wish to reaffirm our invitation to you, Mr. Vice-Premier, to visit us in Bonn as soon as possible.

"The agreements we have signed here as well as the agreement on the establishment of a mixed committee for the promotion of the economic exchanges between our two countries will give an additional impetus to the ever-growing co-operation in the economic field. The further development of our economic relations is of special significance for our two countries.

"Another task is to strengthen our cultural co-operation. I hope that the agreement in principle we have reached will soon be put into practice."

Vice-Premier Teng said: "In the last few days, our two sides exchanged views on international issues of common interest and bilateral relations. Just now, the agreements on shipping and civil aviation between our two countries were signed, and letters were exchanged on the establishment of a mixed committee for the promotion of our economic and trade relations. All this helps increase our mutual understanding, promote our relations and enhance the friendship between our two peoples. We are sure that with the joint efforts of our peoples and our Governments, the relations between our two countries will develop further.

"The day before yesterday Mr. Chancellor Schmidt spoke about the

unity of Europe, which we consider a matter of great importance. It is the demand of history for the European countries to get united. Unity is strength while separation invites bullying. The hegemonists are opposed to European unity; this precisely reveals their expansionist ambition to divide the West European countries and then proceed further to dominate Europe by force of arms. Nevertheless, we are convinced that so long as the European peoples strengthen their unity and dare to fight, they will certainly be able to defeat hegemonism."

Chancellor Schmidt and his party also visited Nanking and Urumchi. The distinguished guests were warmly welcomed everywhere they went.

### Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Refutes Indian Statement

A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on November 3 issued a statement which said: "On November 1, 1975 the spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs of India made a statement asserting that Chinese personnel ambushed an Indian patrol and killed four Indian soldiers in an area which he claimed was 'well within Indian territory.' His statement was a sheer reversal of black and white and confusion of right and wrong. In order to set forth the truth, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China makes the

following statement upon instructions:

"At 13:30 hours on October 20, 1975 a group of Indian troops crossed the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 at Tulung Pass on the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary and intruded into China's territory of Tibet. Personnel of the civilian checkpost at Chuna in Tibet, China, repeatedly warned the Indian soldiers that they had crossed the line and told them to withdraw immediately. Ignoring this, the Indian soldiers made continual provocations and even opened fire at the Chinese civilian checkpost personnel, posing a grave threat to the life of the latter. The Chinese civilian checkpost personnel were obliged to fire back in self-defence.

"Against the above-mentioned intrusion and provocation of Indian soldiers, a responsible member of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China handed a note of protest to the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy in China on the morning of October 22, 1975. He also orally notified the Indian side that the Chinese civilian checkpost personnel had, in the course of firing back in self-defence, killed four Indian soldiers and that the Chinese side was ready to let the Indian side collect their bodies at any time. On the afternoon of October 25 the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy in China called on the responsible member of the Asian Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ex-

pressed the desire of the Indian side to collect the bodies of the Indian soldiers and their weapons and ammunition. At 14:00 hours, Peking time, on October 28 a representative of the Indian side came to the Chinese side of the line of actual control at Tulung Pass in Tibet, China to collect the bodies of the four Indian soldiers and their weapons and ammunition and signed a receipt. The above facts are most revealing: While in plain fact Indian troops had crossed the line of actual control and intruded into China's territory of Tibet, the Indian side, flying in the face of the fact, alleged that the Chinese personnel had crossed into Indian territory; while in plain fact Indian troops had opened fire in provocation, the Indian side spread the slander that Chinese personnel laid an ambush.

"The stand of the Chinese Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question is known to all. In order to avert border conflicts and preserve peace along the border, the Chinese Government has always stood for the maintenance of the status quo on the border pending a settlement of the boundary question. To this end, the Chinese Government on its side has taken a series of measures on its own initiative. Over the years, the personnel of the Chinese civilian checkposts performing their duties on the Chinese side of the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian boundary have always strictly abided by this principled stand of the Chinese Government. We hope that the Indian Government will take effective measures to ensure against the recurrence of similar incidents in future."

### **Friendship Delegation Concludes Korea Visit**

The Chinese People's Friendship Delegation, with Li Chih-min as its leader and Wu Tai as its deputy leader, returned to Peking on October 29 after a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

While in the D.P.R.K., the delegation was received by President Kim II Sung. The great leader of the Korean people had a most cordial and

friendly conversation with the Chinese comrades. The delegation took part in various activities marking the 25th anniversary of the Chinese People's Volunteers' entry into the war in Korea.

### **British Communist Party (M-L) Chairman in Peking**

Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on November 1 met and gave a banquet in honour of Reg Birch, Chairman of the British Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). They had a cordial and friendly conversation.

Comrade Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of its International Liaison Department, gave a banquet for Comrade Reg Birch after his arrival in Peking on October 22.

### **Visit of Argentine Revolutionary Communist Party Delegation**

Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, recently met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with all members of the Delegation of the Argentine Revolutionary Communist Party led by Aguirre. Comrade Chang Chun-chiao gave a banquet in honour of the delegation after the meeting.

The delegation had come to China on a friendly visit at the invitation of the C.P.C. Central Committee. It left Peking for home after a tour of the country.

### **Dedicating Their Youth to Building Tachai-Type Counties**

Renmin Ribao on October 28 published a letter to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee from Hsing Yen-tzu, Chu Ke-chia and ten other educated young people who have settled in the countryside. They were delegates to the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture.

The letter said: "With great elation, we have participated in the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, a meeting of tremendous significance. This gives full expression to the loving care shown by our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for the tens of millions of educated young people throughout the country who have settled in the countryside or returned there after graduation, and is a profound education and great inspiration to us. After returning to our respective villages, we will surely convey to other educated young people the kind attention and ardent hopes of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. We are determined to swing into action, throw ourselves heart and soul into the vigorous movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and dedicate the prime of our youth to building Tachai-type counties throughout the country and realizing the mechanization of agriculture."

"By letting us educated young people to attend the conference," the letter said, "the leading comrades of the central authorities want us to take on important tasks. Learning from Tachai in agriculture is closely linked with educated young people settling in the countryside and taking the road of integration with the poor and lower-middle peasants. Both are aimed at speeding up the building of modern socialist agriculture, narrowing the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, and the reducing of differences between worker and peasant and between town and country is inseparably linked with the development of socialist agriculture. The movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is yet another great revolutionary movement in the countryside. Only by taking an active part in this revolutionary movement can we

(Continued on p. 29.)

## Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

**T**ODAY, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has come from afar for an official visit to China. This is a major event in the relations between our two countries, and we are very glad about it. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host this evening's banquet. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express our warm welcome to Chancellor and Madame Schmidt and the other distinguished guests from the Federal Republic of Germany.

The German nation is a highly creative nation. The German people have made remarkable contributions to the development of world history and the enrichment of Man's spiritual heritage. As is known to all, it was the integration of the revolutionary theory founded by the finest representatives of the German people with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution that ushered in an entirely new era in the Chinese people's thinking and in their life and brought about a radical change in China's physiognomy. The Chinese people have always entertained friendship for the German people. We support and sympathize with the German people in their struggle against the hegemonists' bullying, interference and threats.

China and the Federal Republic of Germany have different social systems, and our positions and approaches differ on a number of international issues. However, we are both desirous of maintaining and developing our bilateral relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Neither of us seeks to impose its own position on the other, nor will we resort to the threat or use of force against each other. Consequently, relations between our two countries in trade and in the scientific, technological, sporting and cultural fields have made a fairly rapid progress in the short period of three years since the establishment of diplomatic relations. Friendly exchanges between our two governments and peoples have also steadily increased. These have all contributed to the enhancement of our mutual understanding and the friendship between our two peoples. This is gratifying and accords with the interests of our two peoples.

At present, the people of all countries are deeply concerned about the development of the international situation. Is there detente that has progressed to a new stage, or is there the growing danger of a new world war? This is a most serious question.

It is fully understandable that the people in Europe who went through two world wars desire peace and security. Likewise, the Chinese people, who suffered untold hardships, wish to have a relatively favourable environment in which to carry on their country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. However, the trees may prefer calm but the wind will not subside. The stark reality is that the superpowers are intensifying their rivalry for world hegemony. Where their rivalry extends, there is no tranquillity. Europe is the focus of their contention. Thirty years have passed since the end of World War II, yet Europe is still in a state of aggravating armed confrontation. This situation calls for deep thought. It is now evident that the superpower most zealously preaching detente and disarmament is precisely the one which is stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, maintaining an offensive posture far exceeding its defence needs and posing a threat to the people of Europe and the whole world. With the superpowers contending so fiercely and expanding their armaments so frenziedly, they are bound to go to war against each other some day. The hegemonists often masquerade as angels of peace to fool public opinion. But, as a Chinese saying goes, we must "hear one's words and judge one by his deeds." The hegemonists can tear up any treaties and declarations at will. The people of the world have had plenty of experiences and lessons in this regard. Therefore, people must heighten their vigilance, get prepared and not be careless and unconcerned, for otherwise they will suffer greatly.

Though there may be detours and reverses of one kind or another as history develops, the world is certainly moving towards light and progress. Justice is on the side of the people of the world and not the hegemonists. Beset with troubles at home and abroad, the superpowers find the going tougher and tougher. The hegemonists are acting truculently, and therein lie factors for their defeat. The current international situation is excellent. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history. The unity and struggle of the third world countries have ushered in a new stage in the struggle of the people of the world against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The second world countries, too, have heightened their struggle against superpower control, interference, subversion and threat of force. The trend among the West Euro-

pean countries to get united against hegemonism is continuing to grow. As is known to all, the Chinese Government and people support the West European countries in their efforts to strengthen themselves through unity and applaud dialogue and increased contacts carried on between the second and the third world countries on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and equality.

Chancellor Schmidt has come to China on the third anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, providing an opportunity for our exchange of views on bilateral relations and matters of common interest. This is very useful. We are sure that this visit will enhance our mutual understanding and promote the relations between our two countries.

## Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Speech

(Excerpts)

**H**EARTFELT thanks, also in the name of my wife and my party, for the friendly words you have just spoken to us. We are happy to be here as your guests. The reception given us on our arrival in Peking this morning made us forget the geographical distance between our two peoples. We are sorry to learn that Premier Chou En-lai, at whose invitation we have come, cannot be with us here. We share your hope that this outstanding colleague of your Chairman Mao Tsetung will soon be in good health.

The talks I had today with you, Mr. Vice-Premier, and other leading personalities of your country, took place in an atmosphere of candour and trust. Just as you have said, neither of us seeks to impose its own position on the other while both of us are highly interested in understanding each other's position.

I. In these days it is of special importance to discuss the questions in which we are all interested. Today, all questions of world politics, including economic questions, must be thought over by all the peoples. Attempts to solve them by oneself alone are doomed to failure. These problems have a global character, and all states are becoming increasingly interdependent.

The world economic problems facing us threaten growth and development in the developing and industrialized countries. They also endanger the stability of the social and political structures. They threaten to destroy international peace.

We know that the road to social justice and well-being is long and arduous for all. Naturally, progress can be accelerated through more help from the industrialized countries. But prosperity calls for contributions through the hard work and sacrifice of several generations. At the recent Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, the representative of your country was fully correct in stressing this historical experience of our two peoples.

II. Economic development calls for stability, and stability presupposes peace. It is the duty and obligation of all of us to work together for the maintenance of

peace. The Federal Republic is working to this end within the framework of the United Nations and is making efforts in all fields.

The Atlantic Alliance between North America and Europe remains the unchanged basis of the security of the Federal Republic. On the basis of this alliance, we are doing our part so that the political and military equilibrium on the globe will not be endangered.

In the political partnership of an integrating Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany has over the years supported all efforts towards creating an atmosphere of trust and relaxation in conformity with the legitimate security interests of all peoples and the situation emerging in Europe. This is the aim of our treaties with our neighbours in the West and in the East and the Soviet Union, as well as our co-operation for the conclusion of the four-power agreement on Berlin. All this is a part of our equilibrium policy.

The Federal Republic of Germany has always considered renunciation of the threat and use of force as the basis of her policy. This also applies to and is in direct relation to the change of boundaries. Boundaries are inviolable, but it must be possible to change them peacefully and amicably. It remains our objective to work for a situation of peace in Europe, in which the German people will regain their unity through free self-determination.

III. Your government, Mr. Vice-Premier, has always shown understanding for the fact that the West European peoples are uniting themselves more closely. The naming of a Chinese ambassador to the European Community several weeks ago underscores this attitude which we appreciate. For progress in the process of European unity lies especially close to our hearts. Though it could be delayed owing to the different social and economic structures of member states and especially in times of economic difficulties, this Europe coming into being has always found the strength to achieve greater integration through new impulses. Ever closer European political co-operation has brought about



a greater harmony of views and joint diplomatic actions such as — just to cite an example — the European-Arab dialogue.

That this European Community will develop into a world political force is demonstrated by the Lome convention between the countries of the community and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, which played a constructive role in solving worldwide problems. We are glad that your government has considered these efforts of the European Community positive.

IV. It is on the background of the greater world political questions that I see German-Chinese relations, which we wish to consolidate and further develop through my visit — the first visit of a German chancellor to China.

The balance of our relations over the past three years justifies our positive expectations. We have been able to build on the age-old contact between our two peoples as the basis. These exchanges have over a fairly long period automatically extended to wide spheres. In making this review, I must not omit to say that the change of the times has strongly touched Germany and China.

V. Through a gigantic effort which stuns the whole world, New China has successfully turned from

an agricultural society into an industrial country with outstanding technical achievements and unique characteristics.

We note with satisfaction that today this New China has taken its proper position in the international community.

VI. We are confronted with the common task of developing our bilateral relations. In the first place it is necessary to intensify the exchange of views in the political field. The ever-growing exchange of goods and economic co-operation, which has been given a new impetus by the exhibitions held in Köln and Peking this year, will certainly raise our economic relations to a higher level. The new possibilities, which have been outlined by these exhibitions together, must be fully tapped. This will be an important viewpoint in our forthcoming talks.

The exchange of students and scientists, which has likewise begun, will enable us to know and understand each other on a wider scale.

Mr. Vice-Premier, the relations between our two governments are developing smoothly. Let us make use of the next few days to work together for the well-being of our two peoples.

# Looking Back on the Long March

by Liu Po-cheng

**I**N full two years from October 1934 to October 1936 the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army left its base areas and undertook the world-shaking 25,000-li Long March. During the Long March the Red Army captured many strategic points, fought its way across rapid rivers, repulsed vast numbers of pursuing and intercepting enemy troops, crossed towering snow-clad mountains and went through unpopulated marshlands. The courage and endurance shown by the Red Army men fully demonstrates the unquenchable vitality of the communist movement and the all-conquering fighting strength of the army led by the Communist Party.

But why was the Long March necessary, and what had made the Red Army triumphantly complete this great military undertaking? A study of these questions provides rich experience and invaluable lessons.

The closing of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist

Party held in January 1931 marked the beginning of the domination of a "Left" opportunist line — then represented by Wang Ming — in the Party for the third time during the period of the Agrarian Revolution (1927-37). In accordance with the incorrect programme of the Plenary Session, the Party Congress of the Central base area in November 1931 and the Ningtu Meeting in October 1932 smeared Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct line as a "rich-peasant line" and an "error of the most serious and consistent Right opportunism"; they removed the correct Party and military leadership in the Central base area. Because of the serious damage the incorrect line had done to the Party's work in the Kuomintang-controlled areas, the provisional central leadership moved to the Central base area early in 1933. This move facilitated the further application of the incorrect line both there and in the neighbouring base areas.

The "Left" deviationists confused the tasks for the two historical periods of the democratic

revolution and the socialist revolution and the distinction between them, and were subjectively anxious to go beyond the democratic revolution; they underestimated the decisive role of the peasants' anti-feudal struggle in the Chinese revolution; and they advocated a policy of opposition to the bourgeoisie as a whole, and even to the upper petty bourgeoisie. The exponents of the third "Left" line went further and put the struggle against the bourgeoisie on a par with the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and totally denied the tremendous change in the domestic political situation brought about by the Japanese invasion of China. They categorically labelled as the "most dangerous enemy" those intermediate groups which had contradictions with the Kuomintang reactionary rule and were taking positive actions. They failed to understand the specific features of semi-colonial and semi-feudal Chinese society. They did not recognize that the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China was essentially a peasant revolution and failed to understand the uneven, tortuous and protracted nature of the Chinese revolution. They therefore underestimated the importance of military struggle, especially the importance of peasant guerrilla warfare and rural base areas, erroneously asking the Red Army to capture key cities.

But, thanks to the profound influence of Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct strategic principles, the Red Army was able to secure victory during its fourth counter-campaign against the Kuomintang's "encirclement and suppression" in the spring of 1933. The victory was achieved before the provisional central leadership's erroneous line had been carried through in the Red Army. On the other hand, an utterly incorrect military line gained complete control in the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" which began at the end of 1933. The Fifth Plenary Session of the Party's Sixth Central Committee called in January 1934 marked the apex of the development of the third "Left" line. Its exponents mistakenly concluded that "the revolutionary crisis in China has reached a new acute stage — an immediate revolutionary situation exists in China" and that the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was a "struggle for the complete victory of the Chinese revolution." Militarily, the exponents of the third "Left" line also evolved a fully articulated system. On the question of army building, they reduced the Red Army's threefold task of fighting, doing mass work and production to the single one of fighting, demanded undue regularization and opposed the then sound guerrilla character and mobility of the Red Army as "guerrillaism"; furthermore, they fostered formalism in political work in the army. On the question of military operations, they denied the premise that the enemy was strong and we were weak; they demanded positional warfare and so-called "regular warfare," which relied solely on the main forces; they demanded a war of strategic quick decision and protracted fighting in campaigns; they demanded "attacks on all fronts" and "striking with two fists"; they opposed luring the enemy in deep and regarded necessary shifts of

troops as "retreat and flightism"; and they also demanded fixed battle lines and an absolutely centralized command. In brief, they negated guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare of a guerrilla character and did not understand how to conduct a people's war correctly.

During the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression," the "Left" opportunists began with adventurism in attack and, on the ground of a chance victory in the encounter at Hsunkou, dispatched troops in enemy areas and followed the incorrect policy of "engaging the enemy outside the gates."

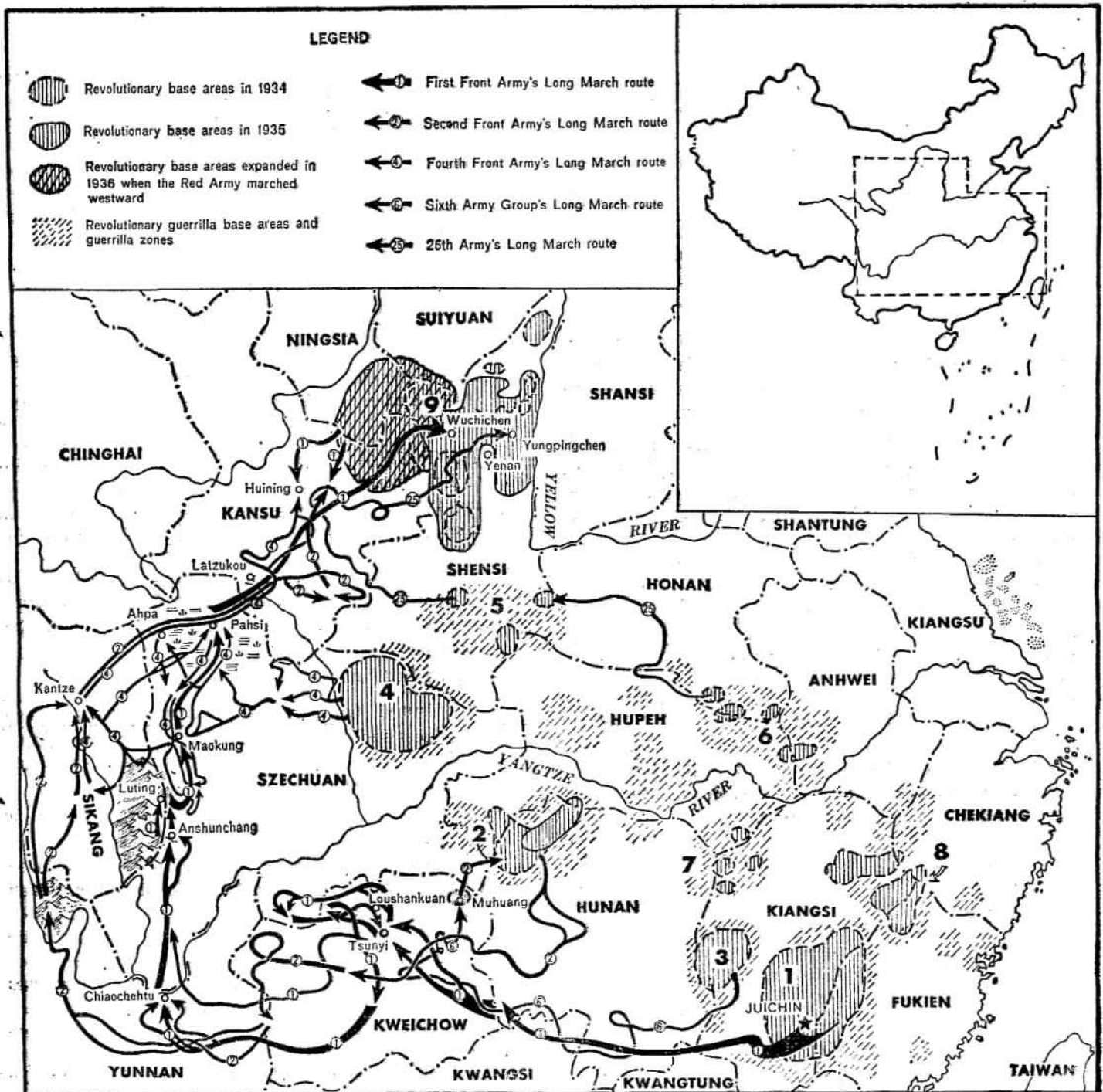
The Fukien Incident\* took place at this time and the enemy was compelled to shift its forces eastward. Had we taken effective measures to unite the forces standing for struggle against Chiang Kai-shek and resistance to Japan and waged a joint battle against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, we could have done much to reinforce the ever-growing demands of the people to fight the Japanese invaders and for the institution of democracy in China. At the same time, it was entirely possible for us to make use of the opportunity militarily to wipe out a portion of the enemy forces and smash the enemy's fifth campaign of "encirclement and suppression." But the "Left" opportunists, claiming that the intermediate groups were the so-called most dangerous enemy of the Chinese revolution, lost this excellent opportunity. Thus the Kuomintang reactionaries were able to strangle the Fukien people's government and unhurriedly turn back to attack the base areas again.

Following the Kuangchang battle in which the Red Army suffered heavy losses, the "Left" opportunists turned to conservatism in defence and proposed dispersing forces to defend important positions. This placed the Red Army in a totally passive position. When it acted to resist at one point, the enemy would attack at another. Thus the Red Army was hard put to cope with the situation and it shrank in size, as did the territory it occupied.










Finally, the "Left" opportunists rejected Chairman Mao's correct proposition to shift the main forces of the Red Army to the exterior lines to manipulate and wipe out enemy forces and defend and expand the base area, and ended with flightism. In October 1934 they rashly decided to leave the Central base area, and made a hurried shift of position without explaining the reasons to the cadres and the masses. They even failed to make the necessary preparations for the change-over from positional warfare to mobile warfare

\* Because of Japanese aggression and strongly influenced by the demand of the people of the whole country to resist Japan, the leaders of the Kuomintang's 19th Route Army stationed in Fukien gradually came to realize the futility of fighting with the Red Army. In November 1933, allying themselves with part of the Kuomintang forces, they publicly renounced Chiang Kai-shek, established the "People's Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China" in Fukien and concluded an agreement with the Red Army to resist Japan and oppose Chiang Kai-shek. This incident was called the Fukien Incident.

## SKETCH MAP OF THE LONG MARCH OF THE CHINESE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY



### LEGEND

- |   |  |   |                                      |
|---|--|---|--------------------------------------|
|  | Revolutionary base areas in 1934   |  | First Front Army's Long March route  |
|  | Revolutionary base areas in 1935   |  | Second Front Army's Long March route |
|  | Revolutionary base areas expanded in 1936 when the Red Army marched westward |  | Fourth Front Army's Long March route |
|  | Revolutionary guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones                       |  | Sixth Army Group's Long March route  |
|   |  |  | 25th Army's Long March route         |

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 1 Central revolutionary base area                       | 4 Szechuan-Shensi revolutionary base area    | 7 Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi revolutionary base area     |
| 2 Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow revolutionary base area | 5 Hupeh-Honan-Shensi revolutionary base area | 8 Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi revolutionary base area |
| 3 Hunan-Kiangsi revolutionary base area                 | 6 Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei revolutionary base area | 9 Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia revolutionary base area    |

and from reliance on the base area to fighting without the base area, and for operations in a long march.

## II

Because of the mistake of flightism committed by the "Left" opportunists in military actions, the Red Army continued to suffer great losses even after the Long March had started. The Fifth Army Group of the Central Red Army served for a long time as a rear-guard to cover the whole army and its transport columns since it set out from the Central base area in the westward movement along the Kwangtung-Kwangsi-Hunan border. The more than 80,000 troops of the whole army made their way along narrow, winding mountain paths. They were under heavy strain as they marched in crowded columns, and it often took them a whole night to cross one mountain ridge. The enemy troops, however, had the advantage as they moved along easier roads. Their progress was much quicker than ours and we could not shake them off our heels.

After fierce fighting, the Red Army finally broke through three enemy cordons. Chiang Kai-shek then hastened to dispatch 400,000 troops in three routes to pursue and intercept the Red Army, in an attempt to wipe it out along the Hsiangchiang River on the Hunan-Kwangsi border.

Faced with this huge attacking force, the "Leftist" leaders were at the end of their tether. They simply ordered head-on attacks in an attempt to break through, pinning their hopes on being able to join forces with the Second and Sixth Army Groups of the Red Army. There was a week of bitter battles along the eastern bank of the Hsiangchiang River south of Chuanhsien County (today's Chuanchow) in northeastern Kwangsi. During these battles a large number of our troops were deployed as a covering force and were thus exposed to enemy attacks. Although they succeeded in breaking through the enemy's fourth cordon and finally crossed the Hsiangchiang River, the price was dreadfully high. More than half the troops were lost.

The repeated setbacks since the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" and the almost hopeless situation at the time provided a sharp contrast with the situation prior to the fourth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression." This gradually opened the eyes of the cadres to the fact that these reverses resulted from the rejection of the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tsetung and the implementation of an erroneous line. The rank and file of the army began to voice doubts and dissatisfaction and earnestly called for a change of leadership. This sentiment increased with our army's setbacks and reached its highest point during the battle along the Hsiangchiang River.

At that time, the Second and Sixth Army Groups launched a powerful offensive on the Szechuan-Kweichow-Hunan border in order to co-ordinate with

the Central Red Army. To forestall the joining of the forces of the Red Army units, Chiang Kai-shek hastily sent large numbers of troops to intercept and pursue us. If the original plan was not to be changed, a decisive battle would have to be fought with an enemy five or six times the size of the Red Army forces. Already greatly depleted, our units were faced with the danger of annihilation if they continued to follow the foolish tactics of engaging a superior enemy force head on.

It was at this critical moment that Chairman Mao came forward with a plan which saved the Red Army. He strenuously advocated abandonment of the attempt to join the Second and Sixth Army Groups and proposed that the Central Red Army wheel towards Kweichow where the enemy was weak. This would give the Red Army the initiative and enable it to win several battles and get some necessary rest and consolidation. Chairman Mao's proposal won the support of most comrades and the Red Army captured the city of Tungtao, on the southwest border of Hunan, in December and then advanced into Kweichow, taking Liping in southeastern Kweichow at one blow. Had it not been for Chairman Mao's firm demand for a change of policy, the remaining 30,000 and more Red Army men would have been wiped out.

The Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting at Liping and resolved to march further into Kweichow Province which was weakly defended. After regrouping, the Red Army resumed its journey and, in January 1935, forced the Wuchiang River and took Tsunyi in northern Kweichow. It was a period of intense marching and fighting but all military operations were conducted smoothly and the army's morale rose higher and higher, thanks to Chairman Mao's brilliant policy.

At Tsunyi, the Red Army began a 12-day programme of rest and consolidation. An enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee was held in this period.

## III

The Tsunyi Meeting concentrated all its efforts on rectifying the military and organizational errors, which were at that time of decisive significance. The "Leftist" leaders had attempted to replace guerrilla and mobile warfare with positional warfare and to wage what they called "regular warfare" instead of a war by the masses of the people. It was this incorrect military line that had been responsible for the defeat of the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" and caused serious losses to the Red Army forces in the early days of the Long March.

The Tsunyi Meeting triumphantly put an end to the domination of the "Left" line in the central leading body of the Party and inaugurated a new central leadership with Comrade Mao Tsetung at its head. This change saved the Party and the Red Army at a most critical time. It was a change of great historic significance,

one which enabled the Party to bring the Long March to a victorious conclusion, preserving and steeling a hard core of cadres in the Party and the Red Army under extremely difficult conditions. It also overcame, the line of Chang Kuo-tao who insisted on retreating and fleeing and defeated his plots to split the Party. The Red Army later triumphantly arrived in northern Shensi, an event which both contributed to the formation of the National United Front Against Japan and hastened the upsurge of China's resistance to Japanese aggression.

The decisions at the Tsunyi Meeting were like a tonic to the Red Army units, raising morale and sweeping aside all misgivings and discontent. After more than ten days' rest the Red Army, with energy restored and ranks consolidated, began to move northward.

During this period, the Second and Sixth Army Groups had made remarkable progress in the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow area, but owing to the fact that enemy troops were stationed along the front at Chihchiang in western Hunan to prevent the Red Army from re-entering Hunan, it was impossible to establish contact with them. In the Szechuan-Shensi base area too the Fourth Front Army had carried out successful action and shattered the six-pronged encirclement by Szechuan's warlord troops. When the Central Red Army passed Tungtzu to the north of Tsunyi, went to the west to cross the Chihshui River and drove northward, the enemy was thrown into great confusion. The Szechuan warlords hurried to shift troops to defend the Szechuan-Kweichow border and sent their crack division (under Kuo Hsun-chi) to patrol the area. They also blockaded the approaches to the Yangtze River, attempting to check the northward advance of the Central Red Army and so prevent its joining hands with the Fourth Front Army. When the Central Red Army reached Weihsin in northeastern Yunnan, one enemy column had already rushed there from Hunan. The battle at Tucheng failed to wipe out the Kuo Hsun-chi division and more enemy troops arrived. The Red Army decided to abandon its plan of forcing the Yangtze to the north. It shook off the enemy troops abruptly, switched east, recrossed the Chihshui River and occupied Tungtzu, Loushankuan and Tsunyi for the second time. In the course of this action it wiped out two divisions of Kweichow warlords. The enemy column caught up with our units and a fierce battle ensued. In a pelting rain and on slippery mountain paths our Third Army Group and the Cadres' Regiment fought time and again to seize the height on the Laoya Mountain. In the darkness, our First Army Group drove wedges into the enemy troops from the western side. Clarion calls were sounded from all sides and echoed on the mountains and in the valleys. The enemy was attacked from two sides and was immediately flung into confusion, fleeing southward helter-skelter. The Red Army followed in hot pursuit right up to the Wuchiang River, delivering hammer blows en route. By the time

it reached the river it had wiped out enemy troops more than enough to form a division. After crossing the river the remnant enemy forces tried to cut off our pursuit by demolishing the Wuchiang bridge. Thus the Kuomintang units which had not yet reached the bridge in their southward flight were all put out of action. This campaign ended with the first big Red Army victory after the start of its Long March.

The Tsunyi Meeting ushered in a completely new situation and the Red Army took on a new lease of life. It was able to manoeuvre freely and baffle the enemy, sometimes forcing wedges deep in his lines. The initiative was firmly in the hands of the Red Army and the soldiers moved around before the perplexed Kuomintang troops like full-spirited tigers. One moment it seemed as if the Red Army was heading east, when actually it was marching to the west. The bewildered enemy thought we were planning to penetrate north by crossing the Yangtze when actually we aimed to swing round and strike another blow at him. With every movement of the Red Army, the enemy was compelled to regroup his troops. This gave our army ample time to rest, mobilize the masses and draw new recruits. The Red Army aimed blow after blow on the enemy forces until they were exhausted and in confusion. Contrasting this situation with that prevailing during the domination of the "Left" line, all the commanders and fighters in the Red Army came to realize more deeply that Chairman Mao's correct line and his highly developed Marxist military principles were the sole guarantee of the Red Army's invincibility.

While in Tsunyi, the Red Army several times sought battle with the enemy, but the latter evaded action and remained on the defensive. In March 1935 our army moved west from Tsunyi, occupied Jenhuai, crossed the Chihshui River at Maotai for the third time and again entered southern Szechuan. Thinking that the Red Army would cross the Yangtze to the north, the enemy was in a state of panic and hurriedly ordered the construction of numerous blockhouses along the Szechuan-Kweichow-Yunnan border, calculating to entrap and exterminate our army. Little did the enemy know that the Red Army would retrace its way to Kweichow from southern Szechuan and force the Chihshui River a fourth time near Maotai. A small part of the Red Army forces was left behind to engage the enemy, while the remainder made a forced march to the south across the Wuchiang River and closed in on Kweiyang, the provincial capital. Meanwhile, a small number of troops was sent to attack Wengan and Huangping to the east.

Chiang Kai-shek, who had then come to Kweiyang in personal command of military operations, hastily ordered the Yunnan warlord troops to his rescue. At the same time he rushed the troops under Hsueh Yueh and the Hunan army to defend Yuching and Shihchien in eastern Kweichow so as to halt the eastward march of our army and prevent its joining hands with the Second and Sixth Army Groups. While planning the

operations, Chairman Mao had remarked: "We shall win the battle, if only we can lure the enemy troops out of Yunnan." The enemy did act fully in accordance with Chairman Mao's command. Thereupon we used the First Army Group to surround Lungli southeast of Kweiyang, bluffing purposely to deceive the enemy. The rest of the Red Army's main force crossed the Hunan-Kweichow Highway and burst into Yunnan, marching in the opposite direction of the Yunnan troops hurrying to the aid of Kweiyang. This time Chairman Mao again successfully applied the flexible tactic of making a feint in the east while actually attacking in the west. The enemy swallowed our bait—the appearance of our units east of Kweiyang—and this enabled our army to turn to the west.

The enemy outwitted, we crossed the Hunan-Kweichow Highway and winged our way forward, covering as many as 60 kilometres a day. The Red Army seized in quick succession many county towns in southwestern Kweichow including Tingfan (today's Huishui), Kuangshun and Hsingyi, and crossed the Peipan River. In late April the Red Army was divided into three columns to enter eastern Yunnan. One column was the Ninth Army Group which remained north of the Wuchiang River to tie down the enemy. Repulsing the five pursuing enemy regiments that attempted to encircle it, this army group fought into Yunnan and took Hsuanwei. Later it went through Huitse and crossed the Chinsha River. The other two columns, the main force of the Red Army, captured Chanyi, Malung, Hsuntien and Sungming and threatened the provincial capital Kunming. By that time the main force of the Kuomintang's Yunnan army all had been shifted to the east, which left the province almost undefended. So when our army entered Yunnan, the Yunnan warlord Lung Yun panicked. He hastily assembled the various reactionary militia units in an attempt to defend Kunming. The Red Army, however, only made a gesture of attacking and then headed northwest for the Chinsha River.

The broad, turbulent Chinsha River crashed its way through deep mountain valleys along the Szechuan-Yunnan border, the surrounding terrain being of great strategic importance. The Red Army was faced with the danger of being trapped and wiped out in the deep valleys should it fail to slash a way north across the river. Chiang Kai-shek seemed to have discovered our army's movements and sent reconnaissance planes over the area every day. It was a race against time. Marching by night, the Red Army approached the Chinsha River by three routes: the First Army Group was to seize the Lungchieh Ferry, the Third Army Group the Hungmen Ferry, the Cadres' Regiment the Chiaocheh Ferry (Chiaochehtu), while the Fifth Army Group was again to provide cover for the other units by serving as rearguard.

The Cadres' Regiment stealthily crossed the Chinsha River and sprang an attack on the enemy, destroying a whole platoon. The regiment immediately took control of both ends of the Chiaocheh Ferry and seized

seven small boats. The regiment's main force sped on to the plateau more than ten kilometres away from the yawning valley on the north bank of the river and routed the reinforcements for the Szechuan army. The river flowed very swiftly at the Hungmen Ferry and was very wide at the Lungchieh Ferry, where enemy planes flying at low altitudes could harass the crossing. It was unfeasible to cross at these points. Therefore, the First and Third Army Groups moved to the Chiaocheh Ferry to cross the river under the protecting fire of a division of the Fifth Army Group.

Three days later, about six regiments of the enemy's "dare-to-die" 13th division approached the Chiaocheh Ferry in pursuit of the Red Army. But they were beaten back in a surprise attack by the Fifth Army Group and were forced to retreat along the Chinsha River in utter confusion. By that time Chiang Kai-shek had discovered the change in the Red Army's tactics and called a meeting in Kweiyang, which studied the specific features of our army's recent operations and decided on a tactic of "long pursuit, well-planned attack" to save his forces from annihilation by the Red Army. Now far from the enemy's main force and stunned by events, the Kuomintang's 13th division dared not take action and dug itself in at Tuanchieh. With the aid of the seven boats, our army crossed the Chinsha River at the Chiaocheh Ferry in nine days and nine nights. When large enemy reinforcements arrived on the tenth day, the Red Army was already far away and all the boats had been destroyed.

Thus the Red Army extricated itself from the several hundred thousand Kuomintang troops in hot pursuit or trying to intercept and encircle it. This was a decisive victory in the course of the Red Army's strategic movement. After a five-day rest at Hui in southwestern Szechuan, the Red Army continued its drive northward. It passed Sichang and entered areas where the Yi people dwelt in compact communities. Adhering to the national policy outlined by Chairman Mao, we entered into an alliance with the chieftains of the Kuchi tribe and succeeded in neutralizing the Laowu tribe. To the Lohung tribe (Kuchi, Laowu, Lohung are all branches of Yi nationality), which constantly attacked us under prompting from Chiang Kai-shek's secret agents, we repeatedly explained that our policy was to help the minority nationalities achieve liberation. Thanks to the Party's national policy, the Red Army passed through the Yi areas unhindered and reached the ferry-crossing of Anshunchang.

Anshunchang on the south bank of the Tatu River was where Shih Ta-kai of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom\* suffered final defeat when his army failed to cross

\*The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was the state power established by the large-scale peasant revolutionary war in the middle of the 19th century. Shih Ta-kai (1831-63) was one of the leading generals of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. As a result of internal contradictions in the leading group, he and the troops under his command broke away from the kingdom's main force, fighting single-handed at different places and was completely annihilated at the Tatu River in 1863.

the river and march north. The river cut its way through gaping valleys banked by towering mountains extending for a distance of some 25 kilometres. The terrain afforded little room for an army to manoeuvre or deploy its forces, and we were exposed to the danger of being ambushed and destroyed by the enemy. The Szechuan warlords had once boasted that they would make a second Shih Ta-kai there and bring about the final defeat of the Red Army. One Szechuan warlord had a battalion stationed at Anshunchang. It had only one small boat, the others having been hauled to the north shore. We surrounded the Szechuan troops at Anshunchang, found the small boat and organized a shock force to cross the Tatu River. As soon as our 17 volunteers got to the other side, they crushed the enemy and took the ferry. They were followed by the First Division which, after crossing, cleared the north bank of enemy troops and routed a reserve brigade of the Szechuan army at Hualinping. Then, marching abreast of the Second Division on the south bank, it swept onwards along the river towards the Luting Bridge. The Second Division was the first to reach the iron-chain bridge and, giving the enemy no time to destroy the structure, crossed the Tatu along the iron chains and joined the First Division.

This was in June 1935. After crossing the Tatu, the Red Army proceeded to fight the battle at Hanyuan and routed four Szechuan warlords' regiments. Then, it passed through Tienchuan, Lushan and Paohsing in western Szechuan and crossed Chiachin Mountain, the first snow-capped mountain along the route of the Long March. Tawei and Maokung in northwestern Szechuan were taken on the way to the triumphant joining of forces with the Fourth Front Army.

#### IV

While the Central Red Army was on the Long March, the Fourth Front Army in the Szechuan-Shensi base area successfully smashed the enemy's six-pronged encirclement. But persisting in his flightist line of Right opportunism, Chang Kuo-tao abandoned this base area and led all his units on a retreat westward. After crossing the Chialing, Fuchiang and Minchiang Rivers, they reached the neighbourhood of Lifan (today's Lihsien County) and Maokung, where they joined forces with the First Front Army.

Chairman Mao always adhered to the correct policy of waging an inner-Party struggle against the mistakes committed by Chang Kuo-tao. After the joining of forces, a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was called at Lianghokou and it decided to continue the march northward. Chairman Mao led the army as it set out in late June, and went on to cross the snow-capped Mengpi, Changpan and Taku Mountains and reached Maoerhkai near Sungpan. But Chang Kuo-tao still clung to his erroneous line of flightism. Before the forces of the First and Fourth Front Armies had

joined, he had rigged up a "northwestern federated government." This revealed that he had an eye on the northwest, including Sikang, Chinghai, northwestern Kansu and even Sinkiang. Sticking to his original plan, he retreated towards the minority nationality areas in Sikang and Chinghai, ignoring the many telegrams from the Party Central Committee against this move.

While ordering food stocks to be built up in preparation for the trek across the marshlands ahead, Chairman Mao remained at Maoerhkai for a whole month, waiting for a change in Chang Kuo-tao's attitude. With the Japanese imperialists intensifying their aggression of China, it was a critical period. In less than four years after the September 18th Incident of 1931, they had attacked and occupied China's three northeastern provinces and then Jehol\*, and later on province after province in northern China until almost half our territory were tramped underfoot by them. As early as January 1933, the Chinese Communist Party had issued a declaration expressing its readiness to unite, under three conditions (stop attacking the revolutionary base areas and the Red Army, grant freedoms and rights to the people, and arm the people), with all the other armies in the country for joint resistance to Japanese aggression. But the Kuomintang reactionaries, closing their eyes to the peril threatening the very existence of the nation, were servile to the Japanese invaders and prepared for a sell-out. At the same time, dreaming of stamping out the Red Army, they continued to mass ever greater numbers of troops under their command to pursue, attack and encircle the Red Army. Their vicious acts aroused mounting indignation in many circles. In contrast, the firm and just stand of our Party gained the deep sympathy of public opinion and the people looked to our Party to shoulder the heavy task of fighting the Japanese aggressors. Our Party had long called for an end to the civil war and for united resistance to the Japanese invaders. It gained the hearty support of the people of all strata and dealt a blow to Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy of persisting in the civil war.

Shortly afterwards, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee met at Maoerhkai, adopted resolutions on the political situation and the tasks arising out of the joining of forces of the Red Army's First and Fourth Front Armies. It was decided to push north along two routes. The right route was to be taken by an army comprised of the First and Third Army Groups of the First Front Army and the 4th and 30th Armies of the Fourth Front Army. It would be led by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. The left route

\* The three northeastern provinces refer to Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang. Jehol Province was abolished in 1955 and its area incorporated into Hopei and Liaoning Provinces and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

was to be followed by a combination of the 9th and 31st Armies of the Fourth Front Army and the Fifth and Ninth Army Groups of the First Front Army. It would be led by Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and Chang Kuo-tao.

The right-route army waded through the marshlands and drove on towards Panyu, Pahsi and Ahhsi, putting one of the enemy divisions under Hu Tsung-nan out of action in Chiuchiszu along the Paotso River. The army on the other route set out from Chokehchi and moved across the marshlands towards Ahpa and Panyu. Upon arriving at Ahpa, Chang Kuo-tao revealed more evidence of his personal ambitions to split the Party. He cabled the Party Central Committee, demanding that the whole right-route army turn southward. The Central Committee sent him several messages, trying to correct his mistake of trying to go south, and pointing out that the only way out was to march north. Later he was even sternly ordered to do so. Chang Kuo-tao, however, flagrantly defied the Central Committee's instructions and stuck to his erroneous line.

The right-route army had been reduced to merely 7,000-8,000 men but the Central Committee was firm in its determination to continue pressing north. Starting from Pahsi in September, this army crossed the Paotso River, advanced along the Pailung River in southern Kansu, travelled over precipitous mountain paths and conquered the natural barrier of Latzukou Pass. It then crossed the Minshan Mountains, leaving behind the snow-capped mountains and the marshlands, and reached Hatapu between Minhsien and Hsiku in southern Kansu. The enemy hastily mustered 200,000-300,000 troops in an attempt to block the Red Army's advance by intercepting it along the Weiho River. After a two-day rest at Hatapu, our units feinted a move towards Tienshui and thus enticed the enemy to concentrate his main force there. Meanwhile, we marched non-stop between Wushan and Changhsien, breaking through the Kuomintang's cordon along the Weiho River and occupying Suolo and Tungwei in quick succession. In October, our army passed through areas inhabited by the Hui people and cut through enemy blockades between Huining and Chingning and between Pingliang and Kuyuan (now belonging to Ningsia) in eastern Kansu, beating off four enemy cavalry regiments dogging our heels. We then crossed the towering Liupan Mountain in Kuyuan, passed Huanhsien and arrived at Wuchichen, a small town in the revolutionary base area of northern Shensi, where we joined up with the 15th Army Group operating there. During the battle of Chihlochen, we foiled Chiang Kai-shek's third campaign of "encirclement and suppression" in the Shensi-Kansu Border Region, and laid the cornerstone for the task undertaken by the Party Central Committee in setting up the national headquarters of the revolution in north-western China.

After the Party Central Committee arrived in northern Shensi, its Political Bureau met in Wayaopao in December 1935. The Wayaopao Meeting criticized the mistaken view in the Party that the Chinese national bourgeoisie could not be an ally of the Chinese workers and peasants in the common fight against Japan and decided on the tactics for establishing an anti-Japanese national united front. It drew attention to the protracted character of the Chinese revolution, and criticized the long-time narrow-minded closed-doorism and overhastiness with regard to the revolution that had existed in the Party. These mistaken ideas were the root cause of the serious setbacks of the Party and the Red Army during the Second Revolutionary Civil War. The Tsunyi Meeting held during the Long March could only make decisions on the most urgent military and organizational problems of the moment. Only when the Red Army had reached northern Shensi after the Long March was it possible for the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tsetung to systematically deal with the various problems of tactics in the political sphere. The Wayaopao Meeting was one of paramount importance. After this meeting, Comrade Mao Tsetung made his report *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*. The report defined the Party's policy at that time and raised in a systematic way the question of establishing an anti-Japanese national united front. It also summed up the fundamental experiences of the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars and outlined the Party's basic line for the period of the democratic revolution.

## V

After Chang Kuo-tao's open breach with the Party Central Committee, he arbitrarily led the left-route army and two armies of the right-route army which originally were part of the Fourth Front Army to recross the marshlands and snow-capped mountains and to retreat through Maoerkai, Maokung and Paohsing towards Tienchuan and Lushan on the Szechuan-Sikang border. When he reached Chomutiao, he revealed his entire scheme and turned to open betrayal to the Party. He announced the formation of a bogus central committee under his own chairmanship. In the face of this situation, Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh resolutely upheld Chairman Mao's correct policy concerning inner-Party struggle and maintained a firm and principled political stand. Chang Kuo-tao tried to make him issue a statement opposing the Party Central Committee. Comrade Chu Teh not only sternly refused to do this but patiently explained the Central Committee's correct policy to the cadres.

The Fourth Front Army stayed in the Tienchuan-Lushan region for three months, during which a contingent of the Kuomintang's central army entered Szechuan to attack us in co-ordination with a Szechuan warlord's units. The two sides fought a battle which grew



in ferocity, causing heavy losses to our army. At this juncture, however, Chang Kuo-tao became hesitant. It was only after the breaching of a sector of his defence line that he was forced to retreat to Taofu, Luhuo, Chanhua, Kantze and Tachinszu in northeastern Sikang, still attempting to flee in the direction of Sining in Chinghai Province.

By that time the Second Front Army, which had started out from the base area on the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow border, also had arrived at Kantze. It had travelled a long distance, fighting continuous and arduous battles right through Kweichow and Yunnan Provinces. Chu Teh, Jen Pi-shih, Ho Lung, Kuan Hsiang-ying and other comrades resolutely defended the correct line of the Party Central Committee. Large numbers of cadres in the Fourth Front Army also had come to realize the fallacy of going south and demanded that the troops march north to resist the Japanese invaders. The renegade Chang Kuo-tao's splittist plot was completely thwarted. He was forced to dissolve his bogus central committee and lead the army north.

Starting its journey from Kantze, the army passed Tungku, Ahpa and Paotso, recrossed the snow-capped mountains and marshlands and reached southern Kansu in August and captured Hatapu, Tatsaotan and Lintan. By this time, the Party Central Committee had ordered Comrades Nieh Jung-chen and Tso Chuan to lead their troops in a westward expedition to prepare the way for the north-bound Second and Fourth Front Armies. It also made preparations for a battle with the Kuomintang army in the area between Chianning and Huining. The Second and Fourth Front Armies branched out into two columns, the former taking the right route and the latter the left. The right-route army swept eastward along a line between Hsiho and Wushan, capturing in succession Chenghsien, Huihsien, Kanghsien and Liangtang in southeastern Kansu, and laying siege to Fenghsien in western Shensi. This action was designed to tie down the Kuomintang forces under Hu Tsung-nan. By this time the units of Nieh Jung-chen and Tso Chuan had already encircled the enemy troops under Mao Pingwen and Hsu Keh-hsiang. When Nieh Jung-chen and Tso Chuan asked Chang Kuo-tao to join them in sweeping up the surrounded Kuomintang troops, he still clung to his mistake of flightism. Under the pretext of preparing battles in the Minhsien-Lintao sector, he even had the audacity to lead the left-route army to retreat still further west, his destination being Sining of Chinghai. The discontent shown by the rank and file and the difficulties involved in crossing the Yellow River made him realize that he had no alternative but to turn back.

His personal ambitions unsatisfied, Chang Kuo-tao made a pretext of carrying out the plan for the Ningsia campaign and again ordered the Fourth Front Army to force the Yellow River to the west. Only part of this army was able to get across the river before the Kuo-

mintang troops under Hu Tsung-nan arrived and seized control of the ferry. In accordance with Chang Kuo-tao's plan, the units that had succeeded in crossing the Yellow River moved westward to Kanchow (now Chang-yeh) and Suchow (now Chiuchuan) in western Kansu, where they were encircled time and again by the Kuomintang forces. Though they fought back heroically, they were finally defeated.

Chang Kuo-tao's errors brought incalculable losses to the Party and the Red Army. It was only thanks to the fact that the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung was established throughout the Party after the Tsunyi Meeting that Chang Kuo-tao's errors did not cause greater harm to the revolution. Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct leadership played a decisive role in saving the Fourth Front Army from Chang Kuo-tao's erroneous line, in preserving the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army under extraordinarily difficult conditions, and in ensuring the victorious conclusion of the Long March.

In October 1936, the three branches of the Red Army's main force, namely, the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies, joined up in Huining. Then came the Shanchengpao battle. A whole division of Hu Tsung-nan's forces was wiped out and the Long March was brought to a victorious ending. Thenceforth our army, closing its ranks under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung, embarked on the struggle for carrying out the Party's policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front in order to hasten an upswing in the resistance movement against Japan.

Looking back on the Long March as a whole, we can clearly see that its victory was achieved only after completely rectifying the "Left" erroneous line and establishing the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct line, and that its victory was achieved only after a resolute struggle against Chang Kuo-tao's Right opportunist line and his splittist plot and by firmly implementing Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct proposition.

We also can see that Comrade Mao Tsetung's long-tested revolutionary strategic thinking, which integrates Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete conditions, is the sole correct guiding thinking for the Chinese revolution. It alone can give the Chinese communist movement unmatched vitality and the revolutionary troops all-conquering fighting strength. Only this thinking can guide the Red Army to miraculously triumph over the numerous hardships and difficulties, complete the Long March and advance towards new victories.

With iron-clad facts, the Long March testified to the invincibility of the Chinese Communists armed with Mao Tsetung Thought.

(Translation of an article published in "August First" Magazine, No. 20, 1959)

# Economic Cause of Soviet Revisionism's World Hegemony Bid

by Liang Hsiao

**T**HE world's first socialist state has degenerated into a social-imperialist country engaging in aggression and expansion everywhere and striving hard for world hegemony. This is a result of the usurpation of Party and state leadership by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique which has pushed a revisionist line and effected an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. The new tsars in the Kremlin, however, have great aversion to the term "hegemonism" and hit the roof at its mention. What they do is like "a thief [who] avoids the place where he has committed a theft." (Lenin: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.) This shows that when the people of the world rise in struggle against hegemonism they cut the new tsars to the quick.

## Governed by the Law of Imperialism

Essentially the same thing as a capitalist-imperialist country, the Soviet Union with a socialist signboard is governed by the law of imperialism. It nevertheless has some peculiarities of its own because it is an imperialist country born of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist power.

Lenin said: "The deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly." (ibid.) In an imperialist country it is finance capital that rules supreme. Politically, it is bound to go completely reactionary; in national and state relations, it is bound to strive "to annex . . . every kind of country." (Lenin: *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*.) This essential feature of monopoly has found its most naked expression in Soviet social-imperialism. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out, "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type." In relations between nations and states, the "joint-ownership" and "economic integration" introduced by the Soviet revisionists to the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in a big way are virtual acts of annexation. In Soviet foreign trade between 1955 and 1973, exchange of unequal values alone causes the five East European countries to suffer a loss of 19,090 million U.S. dollars. As far as the Soviet revisionists are concerned, trade

and "cultural exchanges" are nothing but channels for infiltration, "aid" and loans a mere synonym for the export of capital while "friendship treaties" are but a vehicle to control and meddle in other countries' internal affairs. As to the so-called Warsaw Treaty Organization, it serves both as military backing for Soviet economic annexation and a tool of aggression in further expanding Soviet spheres of influence. In much the same way as the capitalist imperialist countries, the Soviet Union has entered the ranks of international imperialism for the division of the world in a vain attempt to build up a colonial empire that the old tsars dreamt of. The Soviet revisionists' flagrant armed invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia has been a big exposure of the ferocious features of social-imperialism. But as the Soviet revisionists commit aggression and subversion everywhere, they constantly arouse the world's people to the resistance which presages the absolute failure of Soviet social-imperialism in the end.

"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony." (Lenin: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.) In the era of imperialism, monopoly rule has replaced free competition, which, nevertheless, continues to exist, even greater in scale and depth, and fiercer in intensity and destructiveness. Lenin observed: "It is this combination of antagonistic principles, viz., competition and monopoly, that is the essence of imperialism." (*Materials Relating to the Revision of the Party Programme*.) Monopoly capitalism is the economic foundation of both superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and the big bourgeoisie of both do their best to monopolize global resources and markets on the basis of monopolizing their home economies. They are bound to be locked in all-round and cutthroat competition. Their hegemonism and power politics are rooted in this inseparable real combination of competition and monopoly.

A latecomer at the banquet of world imperialism, the Soviet Union, with a view to redividing the world, began by its onslaught against many of its erstwhile "fraternal countries." Political control, military occupation and economic annexation of some C.M.E.A. coun-

of the struggle, its class content, positively cannot change while classes exist." (ibid.)

### Peculiarities of Social-Imperialism

The economic base of the Soviet Union today is state monopoly capitalism which came into being after the all-round restoration of capitalism by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. There, the ownership of the means of production and the relationships between man and man and distribution are all dominated by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. The characteristics inherent in this economic structure make Soviet social-imperialism even more brutal in its aggression and expansion abroad and in its struggle for world hegemony.

Compared with the capitalist imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union is highly monopolistic, highly concentrated and tightly controlled by the state. All economic lifelines, the war industry included, are directly controlled by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has a firm hold on the state machinery. This special feature gives the Soviet Union a resemblance to the Germany of before and after World War I: in many respects, that is, in technology and production, it is inferior to the United States, but in respect of the organization of finance capitalism and the transformation of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism, it is superior to the United States.

Private and state monopolies are interwoven in capitalist imperialist countries. The private monopolies in this "interweaving" are the main aspect whereas the state monopolies are in essence a tool of the private monopoly groups which use the state organs as a means of seeking maximum profits. State monopolies as such constantly and freely adopt such forms as making orders for processing or reducing taxes or giving subsidies so that state organs serve private monopoly capital. Even when, under special circumstances — in time of war or crisis, for instance — nationalization is introduced to certain enterprises and certain branches for a definite period of time or to a certain extent, this is "merely a means of increasing and guaranteeing the income of millionaires in one branch of industry or another who are on the verge of bankruptcy." (Lenin: *ibid.*) State monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union directly takes the form of ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. State monopoly capitalism of this kind does not merely dominate a few productive branches or several dozen trades, but virtually takes over all industries, capital construction, communications and transport, both domestic and foreign trade, financial and monetary affairs, public utilities, state farms and what not. Unlike the big financial groups which exist side by side in the capitalist imperialist countries, the monopoly capital in the Soviet

tries have won it a sphere of influence to the exclusion of all other international monopoly capital. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists also spare no effort to penetrate U.S. imperialism's sphere of influence by carrying out unbridled infiltration and expansion in the second and third worlds. Thus, the struggle between the two superpowers to redivide the world and for world hegemony is bound to become ever more violent. **"To acquire full monopoly, all competition must be eliminated, and not only on the home market (of the given state), but also on foreign markets, in the whole world."** (Lenin: *A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism.*) Thus their struggle for hegemony has reached every corner of the world, although the focus of contention is Europe including the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf which form a flank of the continent. Brezhnev has publicly claimed that the European question "occupies a central position in the foreign policy" of the Soviet Union. Always keeping three-fourths of its armed forces in Europe, it has been reinforcing its military strength there since 1972 at an annual rate of 5 to 10 per cent. This ongoing sabre-rattling rivalry between the two hegemonic powers will some day lead to a world war. These two hegemonic powers are the source of intranquillity in the world today and the hotbed of a new world war. The so-called European security conference which wound up only recently after meeting for several years was merely a euphemism for the two superpowers to carve out spheres of influence through the use of military blocs; in reality it was a European insecurity conference. The Soviet revisionists' talk about "lasting peace" and "security" and "detente" here, there and everywhere, is all nonsense designed to fool people and aimed at covering up their arms expansion and war preparations and policy of war which are being stepped up with each passing day. We must be highly vigilant against this.

Lenin pointed out during World War I that unless **"the question of the economic essence of imperialism"** is studied **"it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."** (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) Soviet social-imperialist military expansion and hegemonism are by no means accidental, still less something dependent on certain people's subjective will; they are determined by the political system of Soviet revisionism, a system of the fascist dictatorship, and its economic base which is state monopoly capitalism and are an inevitable result of the predominance of the law of imperialism. The contention between the two superpowers is a continuation and development of the history of imperialist rivalry. **"The forms of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively particular and temporary causes, but the substance**

Union is under the concentrated control of a single centre, namely, "the ideal personification of the total national capital" — the state under the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class whose representative is the Brezhnev renegade clique.

One aftermath of the clique's monopoly of the economy and the domestic market is the subjugation of millions upon millions of people in the Soviet Union to the most despotic rule and economic constraint. Dearth of food grain; shortage of consumer goods — but so what? In any case, production can only be that much and everything is under exclusive control. Popular resentment notwithstanding, the clique goes ahead extorting monopoly profits all the same.

Monopoly inevitably leads to decadence. The rule of the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class cannot but result in a tendency of degeneration and stagnation of the national economy. To grab maximum profits, it redoubles its efforts to engage in aggression and expansion abroad, annex new territories, plunder cheap overseas raw materials, sell goods abroad in quantity, export capital and shift the burdens of its crises on to others. Incomplete statistics show that the total amount of Soviet capital exported to the third world between 1954 and 1972 was more than 13,000 million dollars. This opened the way for the expanded exports of commodities by flooding a number of third world countries with large quantities of unmarketable goods. Between 1955 and 1973, high-priced Soviet manufactured goods were sold to these countries for more than 16,000 million dollars, from which huge profits amounting to several thousand million dollars were taken away.

Another outcome of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist rule is the sharpening of the basic contradictions of capitalism in the country where a handful of members of that class live a life of dissipation and extravagance, while millions of working people live in great misery. Over half the farm members and around one-fifth of the urban population live below the officially recognized poverty line. The question of markets is a question of life and death to the capitalist economy. The relative shrinking of the domestic market from day to day inevitably compels Soviet social-imperialism to scramble for foreign markets still more frantically. Hence the fierce trade wars, investment wars and the jostling for resources and the seas with U.S. imperialism.

The combining of monopoly capitalism with the state apparatus of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class has made it possible for the Soviet Union, in its bid for world hegemony, to pool its economic as well as political, military and other strength and, while lagging behind the United States in economic strength, to become a superpower contending with U.S. imperialism for hegemony and taking the offensive in the contention. This is the path similar to that which Germany

travelled at the beginning of this century to climb to the "throne" of the world's No. 1 imperialist power. As Lenin put it, "**Germany's large-scale state capitalism combined with the bureaucracy — and Germany beat all records.**" (*Speech in Polytechnical Museum, August 23, 1918.*) This is the logical result of the uneven political and economic development under capitalism.

Numerous facts have proved that it is exactly these economic and political peculiarities of Soviet social-imperialism that have served as a stimulant for its frenzied expansion and aggression overseas and for its hegemony drive. It is these that have prompted it to play the role of an arbitrary, arrogant and most fierce nuclear overlord in the international scenario. As such it is creating conditions for its own ruin.

### **Militarization of National Economy and Its Aftermaths**

That the Soviet Union is frantically pushing policies of arms expansion and war preparations and of aggression and adventure is dictated by its social-imperialist nature; this also is a reflection of its economic degeneration and backwardness.

Lenin said: "**Any other basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the strength of the participants in the division, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc., is inconceivable.**" (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) Since Soviet social-imperialism lags behind its U.S. imperialist opponent in economic and financial strength, etc., in order to dominate the world, it inevitably tries to do its utmost to build up its military muscle. In addition, state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union provides conditions for its militarization. The question of defence, shouts Brezhnev, takes first place in all work. That is to say, intensified preparations for a war of aggression are given first importance. To this end, the Soviet revisionists who push the policy of "guns, yes; butter, no," have to very great extent turned the entire Soviet national economy into a war economy.

At present, while the Soviet gross national product is only half that of the United States, its military outlay is nevertheless somewhat on a par with the U.S. military spending. It is estimated that Soviet military expenditures take up about one-third of its fiscal state budgetary outlay, or about 20 per cent of the national income. Sixty per cent of all Soviet industrial enterprises and communications undertakings are directly or indirectly geared for arms production. According to official Soviet data, about 85 per cent of the country's industrial investment since 1953 has gone into production of capital goods, with a sizable portion appropriated for the production of munitions; only the remaining 15 per cent has been used for producing consumer goods. For more than the last decade the money the Soviet Union spent on nuclear weapons alone has ex-

ceeded 100,000 million dollars; in ten years, its ICBMs have multiplied 15 times and total naval tonnage has nearly doubled, while nuclear submarines increased 5.5 times in four years. In contrast, the share of consumer goods in the total value of industrial output plummeted from 30.8 per cent in 1953 to 25.5 per cent in 1973. In the civil industrial branch, which continually has been pushed aside by the arms industry, there is a serious shortage of funds and manpower. Much outdated equipment finds no replacements and labour productivity is so low that failure to fulfil plans has become a common occurrence even though the authorities concerned have time and again lowered production targets. In the meantime, unmarketable products are piled up because of poor quality. Soviet agricultural production too has long been backward; grain production is particularly very unstable, which constantly calls for importing food grains. All this has caused the Soviet economy to become still more lop-sided and wobble along in a long and profound crisis — an aftermath bound to happen after the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class pushed the policy of militarizing the national economy.

The large-scale militarization of the national economy by the Soviet Union naturally brings about overproduction in its colossal arms industry. To find an outlet for these technically outmoded "surplus" arms, the Soviet Union has now made itself one of the world's biggest munition dealers. Between 1955 and 1972 Soviet munition sales came to 28,500 million dollars in value. Sales to the Middle East alone amounted to 6,700 million dollars between October 1973 and the end of 1974, 1,400 million dollars more than total Soviet arms exports to the Middle East from the mid-50s to 1972. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists have been most extortionate in the deals, demanding payment in farm produce or in Western currencies so as to make fabulous profits.

When a relatively economically backward imperialist power vainly tries to dominate the world by force through militarization of its national economy, it is on the road taken by the old tsars, who did not in the slightest become less ambitious because of tsarist Russia's economic backwardness. On the contrary, it made tsarist Russia even more reactionary politically, more adventurous militarily and more rapacious economically. At that time, "In Russia, . . . capitalist imperialism is weaker than military-feudal imperialism is." (Lenin: *The Collapse of the Second International*.) In this respect, the new tsars are following completely in the footsteps of the old tsars. Tsarist Russia once acted as a world gendarme on the strength of this military-feudal imperialism. Today, the new tsars really have even excelled their progenitors.

Unbridled arms expansion has brought untold suffering to the Soviet working people. To meet the

staggering military costs, the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, having extracted huge amounts of surplus value from the working people, makes them pay income tax as a further means of exploitation. According to figures released by the Soviet Union itself, the total income tax levied in 1974 nearly trebled the 1960 total. Moreover, the people were exploited further when the authorities sent commodity prices up, postponed the repayment of national bonds, etc. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has found it necessary to contract big loans from Western countries at high interest rates to ease its economic difficulties. This turns the working people in the Soviet Union into new debtor slaves. Endless exploitation has made the impoverishment of the Soviet working people increasingly serious, thereby deepening the class contradictions inside the country.

### Revisionist Soviet Union Is a Paper Tiger Too

The ten years of Brezhnev's reign have been a decade of frantic pursuit of expansionism abroad. These years are also a decade of setbacks and internal and external difficulties for the Soviet revisionists. At home, they have failed to attain the yearly targets of both the last and the current five-year plans. Six of the last ten years have registered drops in farm products and this year's crop is even worse. The whole national economy is now beset with difficulties and threatened by crises. Brezhnev himself has acknowledged the shortage of manpower and financial resources. The class and national contradictions within the Soviet Union have grown sharper and sharper with the new tsars sitting, so to say, on the top of a volcano. Internationally, the third world, as the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, has, in the course of struggle, come to see ever more clearly the true colours of the Soviet social-imperialists who call themselves its "natural ally," and is thus directing the struggle more and more against this deadly enemy. As the second world's struggle against hegemonism in recent years has showed a new advance, Moscow's aggression and expansion in Western Europe have met with rebuffs. The struggle of the East European countries and peoples against Kremlin domination and oppression is gaining in strength. For the Soviet revisionists, the going is tougher and tougher.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." "Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." Baring its teeth and looking formidable, Soviet social-imperialism in reality is outwardly strong and inwardly weak. Its bid for world domination can only result in throwing more nooses around its neck with the ends of the ropes being handed to the people of the various countries. There can be no escape from its eventual destruction.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 10, 1975. Subheads are ours.)

# Reasonable Proposal for Solving The Korean Question

THE draft resolution submitted by Algeria, China and 41 other nations on the Korean question was adopted on October 29 after several days of heated debate at the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly. This is a victory for the Korean people and a common victory for the people of the third world countries who support each other and fight in unity. It shows that the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland enjoys increasingly strong sympathy and support the world over.

The 43-nation draft resolution points to the key to the Korean question and the correct way to solve it, and is therefore just and reasonable. The draft resolution calls for the dissolution of the "U.N. command," withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the signboard of the United Nations and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement of Korea by a peace agreement among the real parties to the armistice agreement. Obviously it conforms with the urgent desire of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, reflects the current situation in the Korean Peninsula and the rest of Asia and the demand of the times and is conducive to improving basically the situation in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia. The implementation of the draft resolution will create favourable conditions for expediting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

In contrast to the 43-nation draft resolution, the draft resolution on the same question tabled by the United States and other countries makes no mention at all of the vital issue — the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea. While saying that the "U.N. command" is to be dissolved, it proposes as a precondition that "alternative arrangements" must be made to maintain the armistice agreement. This is really setting up an obstacle. Instead of leading to the peaceful solution of the Korean question, this draft resolution can only deepen the division of Korea and aggravate tensions in the Korean Peninsula.

That U.S. aggressor troops have hung on in south Korea for a long time is the root cause of the recurrent tensions in the Korean Peninsula and the main obstacle to the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country by the Korean people. The formation of the "U.N. command" is completely illegal. It has in fact become a "U.S. command" in every sense and a U.S. tool of aggression. Therefore, the dissolution of the "U.N. command" must be coupled with the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea. The stationing of U.S. troops in south Korea under whatever pretext violates the principle on the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, which has been confirmed by

the U.N. General Assembly, and also contravenes the provisions of the Armistice Agreement of Korea concerning the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. No matter how nice-sounding the U.S. statements are, such as "easing" tensions in the Korean Peninsula and "maintaining" "peace and security," they are aimed at legalizing the stay of U.S. troops in south Korea under the guise of dissolution of the "U.N. command," so that the United States can continue to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea and perpetuate the division of the country.

Thanks to the common effort of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other countries in the world, a "consensus" on the Korean question was reached at the 28th U.N. General Assembly, which affirmed the three principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and dissolved "the United Nations commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea." This was helpful to promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. But the Pak Jung Hi clique in south Korea, with U.S. support and connivance, has repeatedly trampled upon the spirit of the "consensus" of the 28th U.N. General Assembly and the Joint Statement of North and South Korea, rejected all the reasonable proposals and positive suggestions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, obstinately pursued the policy of national division, the policy of "two Koreas," fabricated the lie of a so-called threat of "southward invasion," stepped up its suppression of the south Korean people, constantly made military provocations against the northern part of the Republic and intensified tensions in the Korean Peninsula. It is evident that all these perverse actions of the Pak Jung Hi clique have the support of the United States. Twenty-two years have elapsed since the armistice in Korea and there is no reason at all for U.S. troops to continue to remain in south Korea. If the United States really wants to settle the Korean question, it must withdraw all its aggressor troops together with their weapons and equipment. This is the key to the settlement of the Korean question.

The independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the general trend and popular demand which no reactionary force can obstruct. The Korean people are the masters of Korea. The Korean question should be settled by the efforts of the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference whatsoever. The Chinese people resolutely support the struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland and resolutely oppose the interference in the internal affairs of Korea by foreign forces. The October 31 statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the adop-

tion of the 43-nation draft resolution at the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly has once again stated the just stand of the D.P.R.K. on the settlement of the Korean question. The Chinese people resolutely support it. We are firmly convinced that no matter how the United States may try to obstruct a reasonable

settlement of the Korean question, the Korean people, with the support of the people the world over and of the justice-upholding countries, will certainly win victory in the sacred cause of reunifying their fatherland.

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, November 2*)

## Hypocrisy of Soviet Representative

**I**N the debate on the Korean question at the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet Representative Malik in his speech distorted the history of the Korean people's struggle while pretending to support their cause for the reunification of their fatherland. Malik asserted that the Korean question "was engendered by the cold war." This provided a cover for the U.S. aggression in Korea and at the same time slung mud at the revolutionary policy followed by the Soviet Government and people in the Stalin era. Moreover, Malik changed the Korean people's slogan "independent and peaceful reunification" of the fatherland into "peaceful and democratic reunification" of Korea. The change of one word from "independent" to "democratic" has emasculated the principle of "independence" which is the most im-

portant of the three fundamental principles for solving the Korean question. Malik's act was by no means accidental. Comparing Malik's words with those of the "representative" of the Pak Jung Hi clique, one can see that they had one point in common. The clique, too, was for "peaceful and democratic reunification" and against the "independent and peaceful reunification" of Korea. The only difference is an explanatory note made by the clique in this regard, which says that the population in south Korea is greater than that in the north, and so "democratic reunification" will be in favour of the clique. This shows how the Soviet representative saw eye-to-eye with the puppet clique on the question of principle concerning the unification of Korea.

Furthermore, under the guise of "supporting" the Korean people's struggle, Malik peddled the "detente" fraud and hawked once again the "Asian collective security system." This, too, has laid bare the hypocrisy of Soviet social-imperialism.

## Small and Medium-Sized Industries Play Big Role

by Chiang Hung

**I**N summing up the experience gained in China's socialist construction, Chairman Mao in 1956 pointed out: "We must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises and make full use of the industrial base left over from the old society, so as to effect the greatest economy and do more with less money." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) Practice has proved that when the policy of simultaneously developing large enterprises and small and medium-sized ones is carried out in earnest, initiative from both central and local authorities can be fully brought out, the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry

as the leading factor in developing the national economy can be better implemented and rapid development of industrial production can be achieved by adhering to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, China has not only built many large modern enterprises but a great number of small and medium-sized ones have mushroomed in the cities and rural areas and are playing an increasingly active role.

### Initiative From Both the Central and Local Authorities

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "It is far better for the initiative to come from two sources [central and local authorities] than from only one." The active development of small and medium-sized enterprises, including commune- and brigade-run enterprises, can give full rein to the initiative of the local authorities in

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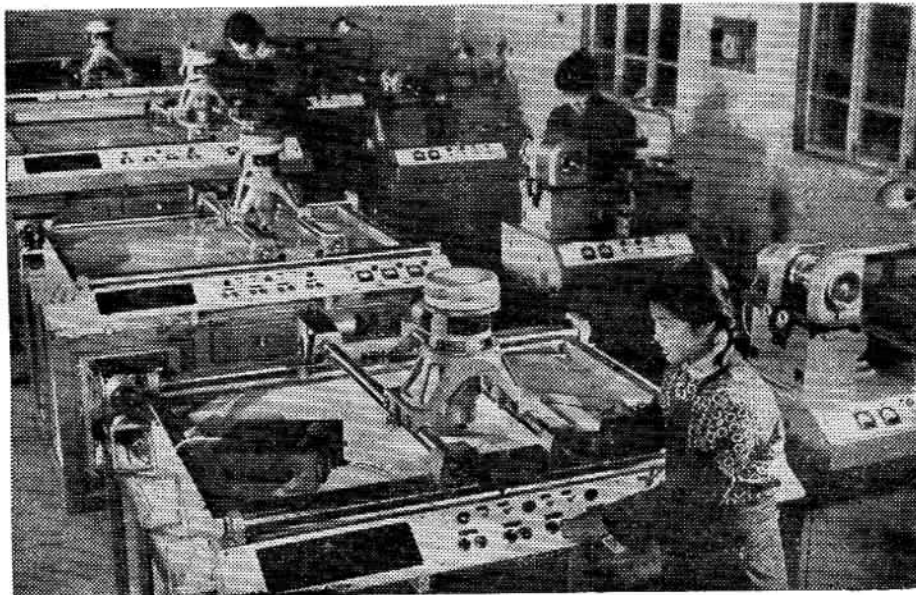
building their own industries under the unified planning of the central authorities.

Large modern industries with advanced techniques and high labour productivity constitute the chief material basis for effecting the technical transformation of various branches of the national economy. It is entirely necessary, therefore, to build a number of large industrial enterprises step by step and in a planned way. They require, however, big investments, large equipment and high techniques. As a province or a prefecture has limited resources, funds and equipment at its command, it is not possible for it to set up such enterprises in any great number unless it goes to the central authorities for aid. Small and medium-sized enterprises, on the other hand, need less investment and are easier to equip, and their techniques can be mastered more quickly. They can be built in a short time and both the turnover of funds and accumulation are fast. Local authorities can make full use of these advantages and, in the light of available conditions, including manpower and material resources, set up their own enterprises. Thus, all positive factors can be brought into play and local resources fully utilized, resulting in a more rational distribution of industries. Viewed apart, the small and medium-sized enterprises are insignificant both in scale and output, but together, their output is quite a large amount. Take chemical fertilizer for instance. The output of synthetic ammonia by small chemical fertilizer plants in Kiangsu Province today is four times the total produced by its large plants. If we rely solely on large enterprises to the exclusion of small and medium-sized ones, our industrial development will inevitably lead to fewer, slower, poorer and more expensive results.

There are bright prospects for the development of small and medium-sized industries. More than 80 per cent of China's population live in the vast countryside where resources are rich. There is, therefore, tremendous potential in labour force and material resources for developing industry. With mounting enthusiasm from the commune members for building industry, especially after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, more and more commune- and brigade-run enterprises have been set up in the rural areas.

### Taking Agriculture as the Foundation

As far as the various localities are concerned, it is also necessary to build up more small and medium-sized industrial enterprises in order to better implement the general policy of **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor** in developing the na-



A workshop of an optical instrument plant run by the city of Soochow in Kiangsu Province.

tional economy and to speed up the tempo of agricultural mechanization.

Chairman Mao has said: **"The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization."** To achieve this, a good way is to have the counties, communes and brigades produce small farm machinery and tools and do repairs on their own to complement big farm machinery plants. China has a fine tradition of intensive and careful cultivation and there are great differences in terrain, climate and system of cultivation in various parts of the country. All these set special and varied demands on the types of farm machinery and tools needed. By putting the emphasis on small and medium-sized industries, not only more and a greater variety of farm machinery and tools better suited to local conditions can be produced to meet the needs of agricultural development but they can be supplied more easily and in good time. In recent years, tractor plants have been set up in every prefecture in Kiangsu Province, producing different types of tractors to suit local natural conditions and cultivation systems. For instance, medium-sized tractors are produced for the plains and small walking-tractors for areas along the Yangtze River crisscrossed by waterways. All this has expedited the mechanization of agriculture in the province.

In the past, owing to the interference of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, local industries developed very slowly in Wusih County, Kiangsu Province. There were only six tractors in the whole county in 1965. Since the Cultural Revolution began, the mass movement **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** has surged forward more vigorously than ever. In order to increase grain production and make more contributions to the country, the poor and lower-middle peasants have taken an active part in improving cultivation systems and raising the multiple-cropping



index. During the busy farming season, there was usually a more urgent demand for more and better farm machinery, equipment for water conservancy and power generating, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and building materials. Following Chairman Mao's policy of walking on two legs, the cadres and masses in Wusih County produced the machinery needed by actively setting up through self-reliance various industries at the county, commune and brigade levels. In 1974, more than 1,600 factories were set up throughout the county which not only produced ordinary small and medium-sized farm tools but also turned out a large number of tractors and diesel engines. Now more than 90 per cent of the total cultivated area in the county are ploughed by tractors. Cultivation, threshing, plant protection, irrigation and drainage and grain- and fodder-processing have been basically mechanized or semi-mechanized. The 1974 average grain output in the county was 11 tons per hectare.

The active setting up of small and medium-sized industries to develop farm production and the gradual building of a local industrial system to serve agriculture have given a powerful impetus to agricultural production. The rise in farm production has, in turn, set new demands on industry and promoted industrial development as well. The machine-building and building material industries must be developed in order to supply agriculture with machinery for drainage and irrigation, for processing agricultural and subsidiary products, and for cultivation and transport, while the chemical industry must be developed to produce more insecticides and chemical fertilizers. The growth of these industries has spurred the further development of the coal, metallurgical, power and raw material industries.

### Self-Reliance

To rely on one's own efforts and actively develop small and medium-sized industries while at the same time building large ones, or to go in avidly for the building of large enterprises to the neglect of small and medium-sized ones — this is a reflection of the two-line struggle on our industrial front. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao advocated building "big, modern and all-inclusive" industries, opposed the policy of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts** and pushed a revisionist line. Those who have blind faith in things "big, modern and all-inclusive" are metaphysical in their way of thinking. They do not understand that small things can be transformed into big ones and the less advanced indigenous and incomplete things into modern and all-inclusive ones.

In the city of Changchow, plans to set up a big and comprehensive tractor plant for making walking-tractors were drawn up on two occasions. Both plans fell through. Then the city made self-reliance and tapping the potential of old factories the basis of its work. More than a score of small factories co-ordinated in manufacturing different tractor parts and accessories;

with each factory working to the best of its ability in its specialized field. In two years, their combined annual production capacity rose to 3,000 walking-tractors, and this has been further increased through technical innovations to 15,000 today. Changchow's experience points to a quicker way of industrial development. Under a unified plan, it has made full use of what factories and resources it originally had, used simple indigenous methods, organized various factories and co-ordinated their efforts to form a serial production line and turn out some major products; at the same time technical transformation has been carried out in a planned way so as to gradually raise the level of mechanization and automation. (See *Peking Review* issues 22 and 23, 1975.)

### Consolidating and Expanding the Collective Economy

The development of industries run by the communes and brigades is of great significance to the consolidation and expansion of the collective economy of the people's communes, to quickening the pace of agricultural mechanization and to the development of the socialist economic base and superstructure. At the present stage, the economy of people's communes in China generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit. This system of ownership will gradually make the transition to the system whereby the production brigade and later the commune is the accounting unit. An important condition for bringing about this transition is a major development of the economy at the commune and brigade levels, and to achieve this, it is necessary not only to promote the all-round development of agriculture but to vigorously develop commune- and brigade-run industries as well. In Wusih County, owing to the relatively fast growth of commune- and brigade-run industries, the proportion of commune and brigade economy is also comparatively large. In 1974, they owned 55 per cent of the total fixed assets of the three levels — the commune, the production brigade and the production team.

**"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** Practice in the 26 years since the founding of New China has proved that, so long as Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is followed, industry advances in big strides along the socialist road; but when there is interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, industry will depart from the socialist orientation, slow down its pace and even stagnate or decline. In summing up the experience of developing industry, small and medium-sized industries included, we have further raised our consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and we are more determined than ever to implement the policy of simultaneously developing large enterprises and small and medium-sized ones and build more and better industrial enterprises of the latter two types so as to make greater contributions to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## "Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (6)

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society — after the deductions have been made — exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labour costs. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.

Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass into the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.

Hence, *equal right* here is still — in principle — *bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange exists only on the average and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still perpetually burdened with a *bourgeois* limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labour. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labour in the same time, or can work for a

longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal right* is an unequal right for unequal labour. It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the worker as natural privileges. It is, therefore, a *right of inequality*, in its content, like every right. Right by its very nature can consist only in the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable only by the same standard in so far as they are brought under the same point of view, are taken from one *definite* side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded *only as workers*, and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Further, one worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, and so on and so forth. Thus, with an equal performance of labour, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.

Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

**Question:** Why did Marx say the principle of distribution according to work is the same as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, i.e., the principle of exchange of equal values? Why did he add that "content and form are changed"?

**Answer:** Before answering this question, we must first of all have a clear understanding of the principle of exchange of equal values. By exchange of equal values is meant that commodities are exchanged according to their equal amounts of value (the value of a commodity is determined by the labour time socially necessary for its production). For example, if three metres of cloth

consist of nine hours of labour and a chair also consists of the same amount of labour, the former can be exchanged for the latter because their values are equal. This is called exchange of equal values. Distribution according to work means one who gives such and such an amount of labour to society (after deducting one's labour for the common funds) can draw from society his share of the means of consumption equivalent to that amount of labour. That is why Marx said that the same principle prevails in regulating "distribution according to work" as in regulating exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values.

Then why did Marx add that "content and form are changed"?

First, let us deal with the change in content. Under capitalism, labour power has become a commodity and the exchange between capital and labour power reflects the relations of exploitation and enslavement of the workers by the capitalists. The capitalists and their apologists proclaim far and wide: Workers work for capitalists who pay them wages, this is a fair and reasonable exchange of equal values. But facts show a completely different picture. The value of labour power and the value created by labour power when in use are of entirely different amounts. The former is determined by the labour time needed to maintain the minimum subsistence of the workers and their family members. This only represents part of the workers' labour time. The value created by them in the other part of their labour time is exploited by the capitalists as surplus value. Herein lies the secret of the capitalists' exploitation of the workers. But this secret is concealed under the cloak of exchange of equal values. As regards distribution according to work under socialism, what is regulated through exchange of equal values is the exchange between a given amount of labour in one form and an equal amount of labour in another form. For example, the labour for making thermos flasks and for producing rice is different in form, but the workers get their wages by doing a given amount of labour in making the flasks and buy a certain amount of rice, thus effecting an exchange of equal amounts of labour with the rice-growers. Under socialist conditions, exploiting others' labour by virtue of possessing the means of production is not allowed; therefore, "no one can give anything except his labour" and people take part in distribution only on the basis of labour. And only the means of livelihood are distributed to individuals for personal use, while the means of production are not distributed among individuals to become their private property. In this way, the relations of one person exploiting another are eliminated. This is the difference in content.

Why did Marx say that the form is changed too? Because Marx conceived at that time that under the single ownership by the whole people, the distribution of consumer goods is carried out directly with a certificate, instead of taking the form of value and using money as the medium of exchange. This is different

from the form of commodity exchange under capitalism. In the case of China today, since ours is not a single ownership by the whole people and there exist two kinds of public ownership, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, it is still necessary to retain a commodity system and exchange through money. That is why the distribution of consumer goods still mainly takes the form of exchange through money.

**Question:** Marx said that the equal right embodied in distribution according to work is still—in principle—bourgeois right. How should we understand this remark?

**Answer:** Bourgeois right is characterized by the covering up of actual inequality with equality in form. We should be aware that socialist society applies the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" and this requires every labourer to take part in social labour to the best of his ability while society measures and distributes consumer goods according to an equal standard—labour. This principle puts an end to the exploiting classes' unequal principle of distribution characterized by "those who work get little while those who gain do not work," and brings to the labouring people the equal right of receiving an equal amount of products according to an equal amount of labour. Historically, this is a progress.

But the equal right embodied in distribution according to work remains one in which equality in form is a cover-up for inequality in fact and is still confined to a bourgeois limitation. Why? Marx explained this in two points: First, individual labourers are different from one another physically and mentally, as are their skills. This being the case, the amount of labour they supply in the same length of time and the duration of time in which they can work are different. Therefore, their rewards are different, though they all do their level best in productive labour. Second, the burden on individual labourers in terms of the number of mouths to be fed in a family differs, and consequently their living standards are unequal on a per-capita basis, even if they supply the same amount of labour and get the same rewards. Some families are comparatively well-off, while others are relatively poor. From this it can be seen that the equal right embodied in distribution according to work is, in principle, still bourgeois right. It remains equality on the face of it while concealing inequality in fact. If such a state of affairs is allowed to expand without restriction, it will lead to polarization. From the Marxist point of view, to eradicate this defect, it is necessary to replace "distribution according to work" with "to each according to his needs." But since this cannot be achieved in the socialist period, we still have to use the principle of distribution according to work to serve the socialist cause. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we can only take proper measures to limit the negative role of

(Continued on p. 31.)

# ROUND THE WORLD

## CAMBODIA-THAILAND

### Agreement to Establish Diplomatic Relations

The Delegation of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary paid an official visit to Thailand from October 28 to November 1.

During the visit, the delegation held talks with a delegation of the Thai Government on questions of common interest and signed a joint communique on October 31.

The joint communique said: The difference in the political, economic and social systems of Cambodia and Thailand does not constitute an obstacle to peaceful coexistence and amity between the two nations and their peoples. On the contrary, the nations and the peoples of Cambodia and Thailand can coexist in peace and amity based on the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

It added that the two governments solemnly gave their reaffirmation to refrain from allowing the use of their territories by any third country for any aim and in any form, directly or indirectly in violation of the above-mentioned principles.

The joint communique said that the two delegations also discussed ways and means to develop close cooperation in the fields of economy and commerce and were in agreement that such relations should be conducted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The joint communique pointed out that the tradition of peaceful and friendly coexistence had existed between the peoples of the two countries since ancient times.

"Founded upon such common aspirations," the joint communique

said, "the Government of Cambodia and the Government of Thailand have thus agreed to establish diplomatic relations between their two countries at the ambassadorial level as from the date of the signing of this joint communique."

## ANGOLAN CONCILIATION COMMISSION

### Appeal for Reconciliation Among Liberation Movements

The Conciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) on Angola recently issued a report proposing that the three liberation movements immediately cease hostilities, reconcile and form a government of national union and attain independence as scheduled.

Acting jointly, the three liberation movements last January negotiated with the Portuguese Government and reached an agreement providing that independence will be proclaimed on November 11 this year. But because of instigation by one superpower—the Soviet Union, a civil war broke out there, causing death to thousands of Angolan people. The other superpower, on its part, has not lagged behind, with the result that the situation in Angola has become more complicated than ever before. In its effort to seek a solution to the Angolan problem, the Conciliation Commission made an investigation in Angola and gave a report on the situation to the current chairman of the O.A.U. and all its member states.

The report noted that "Balkanization of Angola cannot guarantee its economic viability and would facilitate foreign intervention."

"There is varying evidence as to the intensity of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Angola through the supply of arms and (or) personnel," the report stressed.

The report recommended that the O.A.U. condemn "the resort to the employment of mercenaries and sup-

ply of arms, the two basic elements of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Angola"; and condemn South Africa "for its aggression against Angola and invasion of Angola by forces of any other countries whatsoever."

It also recommended that the O.A.U. "take all necessary measures to prevent any attempt at the internationalization of the Angolan problem." It held that "no member states (of the O.A.U.) should recognize any liberation movement in the event of the latter declaring unilateral independence."

O.A.U. Assistant Secretary-General Noureddine Djoudi who visited Angola with the Conciliation Commission said recently that he had seen "Soviet arms in very large amounts in Angola. "There is definitely evidence of the presence of South African troops in the southern part of the country," he said.

## ZAIRE

### Protest Against Soviet Threats

The Zaire Press Agency on the evening of October 29 broadcast a statement by Nguza Karl Ibond, Permanent Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Popular Revolutionary Movement (M.P.R.) of Zaire, categorically rejecting Soviet provocation and threats against Zaire on the Angolan question.

The statement said that Mobutu Sese Seko, Chairman of the M.P.R., convened a special meeting of the M.P.R. Political Bureau on October 29, at which he made public a message on the Angolan situation from the Soviet Government delivered to him through the Foreign Ministry of Zaire by the Soviet Charge d'Affaires ad interim in Zaire on the previous day.

The statement pointed out that the message "contains three extremely serious elements: a deliberate provocation, a grave, groundless and slanderous accusation, as well as intolerable menaces tinted with intimidation." "Our country disdainfully rejects the ignominious allegations and calls the attention of inter-

national public opinion to the gravity of the Soviet menaces," it added.

"As the whole world knows," the statement continued, "the Summit of the Organization of African Unity has formed a conciliation commission (on Angola) and all of us are looking forward to the result (of the commission's work). We are even expecting to hold a special meeting of the O.A.U. The Soviet Union has precisely chosen such a moment to make an open threat to a member of the inter-African organization." In so doing, it pointed out, the Soviet Union practises the law of the jungle in international relations.

It noted: "Since the start of the liberation war in Angola, the Soviet Union has refrained from supplying the Angolan fighters with heavy arms." But after the outbreak of the civil war there, the Soviet Union "has been introducing armoured vehicles, missiles, missile launchers and other sophisticated weapons into Angola" and they were "placed at the disposal of one liberation movement."

It added that the Republic of Zaire, indignant with this ignominious provocation, had lodged the strongest protest with the Soviet Union and categorically rejected the Soviet Government's note and its contents.

"Zaire," the statement said in conclusion, "officially informed the Moscow authorities that if the escalation of the diplomatic notes and the

despicable provocations and intimidation of a big power should continue, for the sake of self-defence, we would be obliged to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union for the third time."

#### YUGOSLAVIA

### Keeping Its Vigilance

Military exercises were carried out on a comparatively big scale recently in various parts of Yugoslavia to review its people's achievements in strengthening overall defence and preparedness to resist foreign aggressors.

A staff headquarters exercise lasting several days took place in the Republic of Slovenia in mid-October. It included the joint operation and close co-operation of local defence units, state organs, social organizations and factories and mines in the nationwide defence system.

At the same time, a series of tactical exercises were carried out in Bosnia with the Yugoslav People's Army, local defence units and state organs participating. The participants displayed a high level of combat power under complicated weather and geographical conditions.

In late October, a joint military exercise was held in the Republic of Macedonia by units of the People's Army, local defence units, state organs and local inhabitants. Display-

ing a high level of training and combat preparedness, they successfully accomplished the task of repulsing the "aggressors."

In a speech at Zladibor on October 29, President Tito said: "Today, Yugoslavia is a thorn in the side for many. Some people abroad would like to see us not as what we are today." He added: "All sorts of hostile elements deny what has been achieved. They want, first of all, to split Yugoslavia and then to ride roughshod over our people. They will not succeed."

He declared emphatically that "Yugoslavia is a non-aligned country" and that "we shall continue to follow this policy in the future." The President went on to say: "There is no need for us to fear anyone. Everywhere in Yugoslavia, in every town, in every republic and autonomous province, wherever you go, you see the firm resolve of the people to defend the country's freedom and its achievements if they should be threatened."

Vladimir Bakaric, Vice-President of the Yugoslav Federal Presidency, told a meeting in Zagreb on October 21 that Yugoslavia had recently uncovered "some unlawful organizations" whose "political line is to join the 'camp,'" that is, "to join all the organizations from the Warsaw Pact to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance."

(Continued from p. 6.)

educated young people better accept re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants and really develop our talents to the full." "We must use our own hands and work hard to build our still very backward rural areas into a thriving and prospering paradise."

The letter continued: "All of us are members of the Communist Party or Communist Youth League and we are determined to do our best to restrict bourgeois right, narrow the three major differences,

consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and realize communism." "Learning from Tachai in real earnest, we pledge to build the communes and production brigades where we live and work into Tachai-type advanced units in two to three or three to four years."

"As we are all cadres at rural grass-roots level," the letter added, "the Party has set higher demands on us. We should devote our main energy to learning from Tachai in agriculture and join the poor and lower-middle peasants in upholding

the Party's basic line, carrying out mass criticisms of revisionism and capitalism and exerting ourselves to build socialism." "We will apply our cultural and scientific knowledge to the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, go all out for farmland capital construction, vigorously develop farm mechanization, energetically promote scientific farming and constantly strengthen the socialist collective economy, so as to create a solid material foundation for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat."

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## **Karamai Oilfield Thrives**

THE Karamai Oilfield, situated in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region on China's northwest frontier, has now tripled its production capacity and output of crude oil as compared with 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolution.

It is now 20 years since oil began gushing from the first well of this big oilfield, the first of its kind opened up in China after liberation. Acclaimed as a "pearl in the desert," Karamai is thriving as never before. By the end of last June, the oilfield had fulfilled half of the tasks set for this year in oil extraction, refining, maintenance and stimulation of wells, transport of crude oil and capital construction. New progress was made in July and August. The January-August output of crude oil surpassed the former peak annual output.

Attached to the oilfield is a base for agricultural and side-line occupations. This year grain, oil-bearing crops and vegetables were planted on 1,700 hectares of land. Besides this, more than 10,000 pigs were raised, and 300,000 fish. The oilfield is basically self-sufficient in vegetables.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, some people at the oilfield were influenced by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and hidebound by foreign conventions. In their opinion the condition of the oil layers in Karamai allowed only for gradual injection of water and slow extraction of oil, resulting in low output. This seriously impeded rapid expansion of exploitation throughout the oilfield.

Since the second half of last year the Party committees at various levels at the oilfield have mobilized the workers to thoroughly criticize the revisionist line and found out ways of extracting oil at a high speed and on a rational basis by injecting water at high pressure. As a result,

the speed of extraction has reached the country's advanced level. With daily output hitting an all-time high, Karamai now produces about one million tons more crude oil annually.

Last winter a mass movement for technical innovation was carried out to tap potentialities. Many wells formerly with low output have entered the high production brackets, while at the same time the construction of new wells has been speeded up.

## **Electronic Scanner Microscope**

UNDER the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, workers and scientific and technical personnel at the Peking Scientific Instruments Factory under the Chinese Academy of Sciences have successfully designed and trial-manufactured an electronic scanner microscope with high resolving power. This was accomplished in the spirit of independence and self-reliance and by using domestically available materials. Performance of the instrument, as certified by the department concerned, is up to the required standard and production in batches is already underway. This achievement has filled another gap in China's production of big precision scientific instruments and marks a new level of attainment in this field of work.

The electronic scanner microscope is a big precision scientific instrument developed in the past 10 years. It has a high resolving power of about 100 angstrom units (one angstrom equals to one hundred-millionth of a centimetre) and a magnification from 20 up to 100,000 times. It can produce a three-dimensional image and directly examine a piece of metal in uneven cross section, the surface of a catalyst and a whole spore, something other microscopes cannot do. Therefore, it

is a much-needed instrument for metallurgy, mineralogy, semi-conductors, physics, chemistry, electronics, medicine, biology and light industry.

## **Film Projection Network**

TENS of thousands of film projection teams are busy at work in China's vast rural and pastoral areas and on offshore islands. In 1974, on an average, members of a people's commune on the outskirts of Shanghai attended film shows 24 times, those in the countryside of Kwangtung Province in south China more than ten, and those in Chingtunghsia County, Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in the northwest, once a month.

These figures show conspicuous advances in rural film projection work. Living in the countryside, the majority of China's population were unable to see films in the old society. After countrywide liberation, the situation gradually improved. But before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, owing to the interference of the revisionist line in literature and art which put emphasis on cities to the neglect of countryside in film projection work, film projection network serving the peasants made little headway. People in frontier areas and mountainous villages still could not see any films. A new situation has emerged since the Great Cultural Revolution as a result of criticism of the revisionist line in literature and art.

Showing movies in the vast rural areas is an application of the Party's policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this way film art can play a more effective role as a powerful weapon "for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."

Since 1970 the model theatrical works born in the midst of the proletarian revolution in literature and art have been successively put on the screen. Up to now *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, *Song of the Dragon River*, *Shachiapang* and other

films based on model revolutionary operas have been shown in almost every production brigade (a brigade includes one or several villages) throughout the country. Inspired by the communist spirit of the heroes and heroines in these films, audiences are determined to follow their example.

Mobile projection teams also show scientific and educational films on a wide scale in the countryside to help promote the development of socialist revolution and construction.

At present about half of the rural film projection teams have China-made 8.75 mm. projectors which use

film nearly half the ordinary width. This makes the equipment much lighter and more convenient to handle. Thus people living in out-of-the-way villages can now see films. Two women projectionists of a commune's mobile team put up their movie screen right in front of the homes of three families living on a high mountain 1,000 metres above sea level in Fukien Province, east China.

Professional and peasant part-time projectionists try hard to render the best possible service to their peasant audiences. Some of them give lantern slide shows. Some show films

on board fishing boats on lakes or out at sea. In areas inhabited by national minorities, projectionists explain the film in the language of the nationality concerned and give a running translation of the dialogue as the action unfolds. During the busy autumn harvest season, six Tibetan youths of a film projection team in Nedong County in the Tibet Autonomous Region not only showed films at night but also helped peasants to get in the harvest and repaired machines in the daytime. Last year they gave 410 film shows in the rural and pastoral areas, their audience reaching 250,000 people all told.

*Continued from p. 27.)*

distribution according to work. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party and state have always paid attention to doing this.

The bourgeois right that exists in socialist society is the soil engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. By advertising such nonsense as "material incentives," "putting money in command" and "the ruble is the locomotive," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has done its utmost to expand bourgeois right with respect to distribution and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his gang spared no effort to praise the Soviet revisionists' fallacies, saying that "material incentives" are a "formula." Energetically promoting the insidious tactics of "luring others with high positions, providing them with handsome salaries and investing them with important power," they tried hard to use such things as "high positions" and "handsome salaries" to foster a number of new bourgeois elements as their pillar for restoring capitalism. We must relentlessly repudiate all this revisionist trash, topple the ideology of bourgeois right, carry forward the communist spirit and dedicate ourselves to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat!

**Question:** How should we understand Marx saying "the individual producer receives back from society — after the deductions have been made — exactly what he gives to it"?

**Answer:** This is a criticism of what Lassalle called the "undiminished proceeds of labour." Marx's words mean that the products of labour in society must not be completely divided up and consumed, but a certain amount of common funds must be put aside. Such funds include the production fund for continued production and expanded reproduction, reserve or insurance fund against natural calamities and accidents, social administration fund for the general costs of administration

not directly related to production, cultural and welfare fund intended to meet common social needs, as well as national defence fund and foreign aid fund. In socialist society, these deductions from individual producers are, in the final analysis, directly or indirectly for their own benefit and conform with their fundamental interests. Distribution according to work can only be carried out after these deductions have been made.

**Question:** Since distribution according to work has many defects, why is it still necessary to apply it in socialist society?

**Answer:** This is determined by the economic and intellectual conditions in socialist society which, "just as it emerges from capitalist society . . . is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." In socialist society, social products are not yet so abundant as to apply the principle "to each according to his needs"; the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour left over from the old society still exist; morally and intellectually, various kinds of ideological influence of the exploiting classes and private ownership remain, the people's communist consciousness has not been raised to the greatest extent and labour has not yet become the prime need of people's life, and so on and so forth. In a word, because "right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby," socialist society must still apply the principle of distribution: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

*(To be continued.)*

**CORRECTION:** In Issue No. 43, p. 19, right-hand column, lines 14 and 23 from the bottom, for "exploited" read "exploiting."

New Booklet in English

**SPEECH BY  
CHIAO KUAN-HUA**

**Chairman of the Delegation of  
The People's Republic of China**

**At the Plenary Meeting of the 30th Session  
Of the U.N. General Assembly**

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