

PEKING REVIEW

25

June 23, 1978

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Strengthening Political Work

— Speeches at the All-Army Political Work Conference by Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping

Who Is the Instigator?

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator on the Kremlin's role in the anti-China campaign in Viet Nam

***Nuclear and Conventional Armaments
Must Be Reduced Simultaneously***

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Greeting 11th Congress of Yugoslav League of Communists

The 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of all members of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sends its warmest greetings to the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and, through it, to all members of the League and the Yugoslav people.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia headed by Comrade Tito, outstanding leader of the people of all nationalities in Yugoslavia, has applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Yugoslavia. Unswervingly leading the people of the whole country in a persistent revolutionary struggle over the decades, it has won continuous victories in the cause of socialism.

In World War II, the Yugoslav Communist Party mobilized the masses, organized an armed force to fight heroically and strenuously against the German and Italian fascist aggressors and founded a people's Yugoslavia after making heavy sacrifices. After liberation, by developing the glorious revolu-

tionary tradition, persevering in independence and maintaining initiative, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has established a socialist self-management system suited to the conditions at home, roused the socialist initiative of the working class and other working people, and promoted the rapid development of the national economy. The League immensely treasures and gallantly defends Yugoslavia's independence and sovereignty. Acting on the proposal of Comrade Tito and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia has built an all-people defence system and is prepared at all times to repulse any aggressors. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia firmly adheres to the foreign policy of non-alignment, resolutely combats imperialism and hegemonism, safeguards unity among the non-aligned and other developing nations and supports the people of various countries in their struggle to strive for and defend national independence and oppose aggression. It has thus won appreciation and acclaim from the people of various countries.

We are convinced that the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will set its future policy and

tasks on the basis of summing up experience and successes gained since the 10th Congress, and will certainly further mobilize the people of all nationalities in Yugoslavia to win new victories in the cause of socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

China and Yugoslavia shared a common experience in history. After victory in revolution, both persevered in the policy of building socialism independently. In recent years, the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries have grown steadily. President Tito's successful visit to our country last year and the talks held between Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and President Tito have brought the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Yugoslavia to a new stage of all-round development. We are deeply convinced that the revolutionary friendship and co-operation between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples in their future joint struggle will definitely develop further and be strengthened.

May the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be crowned with every success!

**The Central Committee
of the Communist
Party of China**

June 19, 1978

Peking Welcomes Fiji Prime Minister

After bidding farewell to President Habyalimana of Rwanda, Peking welcomed another government leader from the third world—Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara of Fiji.

The Prime Minister of Fiji, a South Pacific country made up of some 300 islands, arrived in Peking on June 11. That evening, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet in his honour.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien pointed out in his speech at the banquet that a united anti-hegemonist struggle is developing in the South Pacific region. President Mara's current visit, he added, will push the amicable relations between China and Fiji to a new stage. The Vice-Premier expressed appreciation and support for the resolutions adopted last year at the Eighth Conference of the South Pacific Forum on the establishment of 200 nautical-mile exclusive economic zones by its member states in 1978.

In his speech the Fiji Prime Minister expressed the hope that his visit will further develop, on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit, the links and the friendship between the two countries. He also said: "I would like to mention how proud we are to have within our society many people of Chinese origin. They have contributed immensely to the development of our country, adding their own rich talents

and skills to the varied pattern of life in Fiji, and we accept them as full and equal members of our society."

Fiji gained its independence in 1970 and established diplomatic relations with China in 1975.

On June 13, Chairman Hua met with the distinguished guest from Fiji. During the meeting he said that Prime Minister Mara's visit showed his trust and support for China. He added: "Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Fiji, the development of the relations between the two countries has been satisfactory. We hope that China and Fiji will make further efforts to develop their friendly relations, learn from each other, and help and support each other."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien held talks with Prime Minister Mara during his stay in Peking.

Chairman Hua Meets Ieng Sary

During his meeting with Kampuchean Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary on June 14, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng spoke highly of the heroic struggle waged by the Communist Party and people of Kampuchea for state independence and national liberation.

Chairman Hua said: The Communist Party of Kampuchea has grown up in the course of struggle and can withstand any tests.

Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary said that the two Parties and two peoples of Kampuchea and China are comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe. He emphatically pointed out that the struggle of the Kampuchean people was only to defend their national independence and state sovereignty. The Kampuchean people, he declared, would redouble their efforts to build their country through self-reliance.

Ieng Sary and his party stopped over in Peking on their way home after attending the Tenth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Present at the meeting were Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Ships to Bring Chinese Residents Back From Viet Nam Set Sail

The first two ships sent by the Chinese Government to Ho Chi Minh City and Hai Phong to bring home Chinese residents persecuted by the Vietnamese authorities, set sail from Whampoa Harbour, Kwangchow, on June 15.

Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Director of the

Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs Under the State Council, addressed the 6,000 people from all walks of life at a send-off meeting held at the wharf. He pointed out that in order to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese, the Chinese Government has decided to send ships to Viet Nam to bring home persecuted Chinese residents. This, he declared, is in full accord with international practice and is the legitimate right of the Chinese Government in safeguarding the interests of overseas Chinese. That the Vietnamese authorities should allege that in so doing China is "disregarding the sovereignty of Viet Nam" is a preposterous charge and is without any valid grounds.

He said: Since the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities, prompted by the needs of their

domestic and international policies, have persecuted Chinese residents. This has aroused utmost indignation among the Chinese people and went against international public opinion.

Liao Cheng-chih went on to say: Though in recent years the Vietnamese authorities have taken a series of actions vitiating the relations between the two countries and a variety of anti-China steps, the Chinese side, mindful of the larger issues and concerns, has all along exercised self-restraint and tolerance. That the relations between the two countries should have deteriorated to such an extent is a situation we did not expect. It is our hope that the Vietnamese authorities will do what they have declared, match their deeds to their words, truly value the traditional friendship and fundamental interests of the two peoples, stop forthwith

their erroneous practice of ostracism, persecution and expulsion of overseas Chinese, provide facilities for ships to be sent by the Chinese Government to bring home the victimized Chinese, and refrain from any further acts detrimental to the friendship between the two peoples.

IN THE NEWS

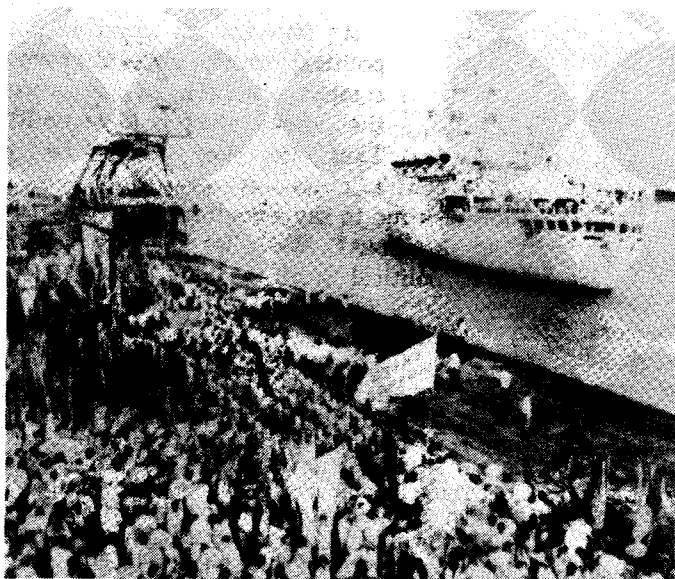
- Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on June 14 met with a press delegation from Zaire led by Mokolo Wa Mpombo, Commissioner of State for National Orientation.

- Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Ulanfu on June 14 met with the Bangladesh Buddhist Delegation led by M. Asafuddowlah.

- On June 15, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met with the Thailand-China Friendship Association Delegation led by Chatichai Choonhavan, chairman of the association and former foreign minister.

- That same day Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met with the Thai Trade Delegation led by Minister of Commerce Nam Phoonwathu.

- Vice-Premier Chen Mu-hua on June 17 met with T.A. Lambo, Deputy Director-General of the World Health Organization of the United Nations, and the health ministers of six African countries (The Rwandan minister was represented by a senior official).



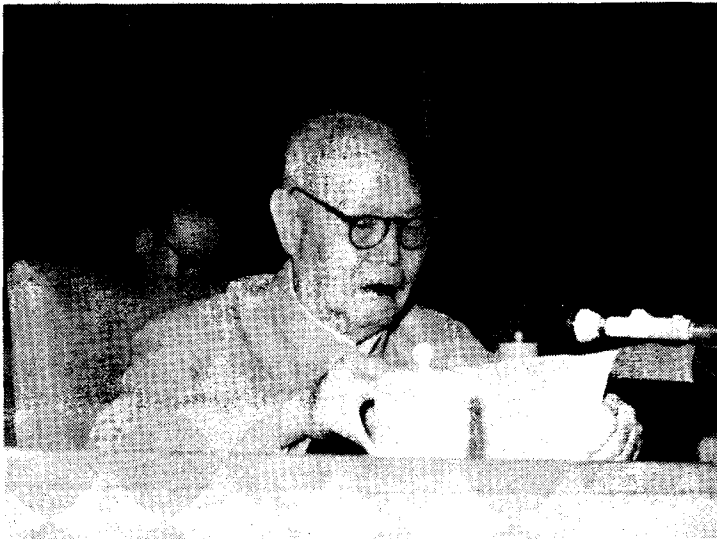
People in Kwangchow give a warm send-off to ships sent to bring back persecuted Chinese residents in Viet Nam.

At All-Army Political Work Conference

Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying's Speech

May 29, 1978

- Briefly reviewing the history of the People's Liberation Army in the last 50 years and stressing that political work is the lifeblood of our army.
- Strengthening or weakening political work has always been an important aspect of the two-line struggle in the Party.
- Restoring and carrying forward our army's fine traditions in political work in the new historical conditions, giving full play to the role of political work and enhancing the combat effectiveness of the People's Liberation Army.



Comrades:

I warmly hail the convocation of the All-Army Political Work Conference!

Chairman Hua, the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission pay close attention to this conference and attach great importance to political work in the army. The speech by Chairman Hua is very important. I fully support it. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching has made the report "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions in Political Work and Improve Our Army's Combat Strength in the New Historical Conditions." It is a very good report and I completely agree to it. Although I was not in Peking recently, I always kept the conference

in mind. The conference was first suggested by the Military Commission in 1975, but due to disruption and sabotage by the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" it failed to materialize. Now it has been convened, and has gone on well, fulfilling the long-cherished wish of all comrades in the army. "People are in high spirits when involved in happy events." Like you comrades, I am very glad.

The current conference focuses on the important question of how to carry forward our fine traditions in political work and improve the combat strength of our army in the new historical conditions.

Thus the key link, the principal contradiction, is grasped. You comrades ask me to say something, but what should I speak about? Well, let me say something about political work as the lifeblood of our army.

At the recent All-Army Political Work Conference of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of its Military Commission, and Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee and its Military Commission, made important speeches. The full text of Chairman Hua's speech was published in our last issue. In this issue, we publish the full texts of Vice-Chairman Yeh's and Vice-Chairman Teng's speeches. Notes are ours. — Ed.

Chairman Mao regarded revolutionary political work as our army's lifeblood from the day he founded it. Our army is the army of our Party. Without Party leadership, without political work to ensure the Party's absolute leadership over the army politically, ideologically and organizationally, our army would cease to exist. Wholehearted service to the people is the sole purpose of our army. Without political work to arouse proletarian consciousness among the cadres and fighters and to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies, our army would not be able to uphold its purpose and would isolate itself from the people. Unity is where the strength of our army lies. Without political work to ensure the solid internal and external unity of our army and its organizational purity and consolidation, it would fall into a state of disorganization and disintegration. Discipline is the guarantee for implementing our political line. Without political work to ensure the strict enforcement of military and political discipline on the basis of political consciousness, the army would be no more than a heap of loose sand. Our army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution; it has the duty of fighting. It is therefore imperative to solve the fundamental question of for whom one performs military service and for whom one fights so that the troops have a high morale and a heroic spirit to vanquish all enemies, so that they fight courageously to carry out the Party's programme, line and tasks, forging ahead unflinchingly even if they have to go through fire and water. But all this could not come about without effective political work, which is the source of our army's combat strength.

The gist of all that I have said is that no matter when and what the circumstances, our army can only strengthen but never weaken its political work. Otherwise, it would face the danger of getting away from the Party's leadership, of changing its proletarian character, of losing its combat strength and of having its leadership usurped by bourgeois careerists. The Party's political work in the army has a direct bearing on the army's strength, success, existence and development. Herein lies the profound significance of the statement that political work is the lifeblood of our army. In

1954, while examining the "Rules and Regulations for Political Work in the Chinese People's Liberation Army," Chairman Mao reiterated the importance of political work and wrote the following words to counter the tendency of Peng Teh-huai to disparage political work: "The political work of the Communist Party of China in the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the lifeblood of our army."

A review of the history of the growth of our army will help us to get a clearer and deeper understanding of why it is said that political work is the lifeblood of our army. Many of our veteran comrades witnessed how Chairman Mao initiated political work in our army by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution in the Autumn Harvest Uprising¹ and at the initial stage of the founding of our army. Many of them heard Chairman Mao instructing on how political work should not be neglected and how the work could be done well. Chairman Mao's instructions were simple but profound, specific and vivid. Many veterans saw how our proletarian army, thanks to the power of its political work, grew from small to big, from weak to strong, and how our armymen, heroic and indomitable, forged ahead valiantly, without growing conceited with victory or wavering in face of difficulties. I believe the comrades present here, the veterans in our army, can all cite their experiences to prove that political work is indeed the lifeblood of our army.

The reorganization of the army at Sanwan² marked the beginning of political work in our army as initiated by Chairman Mao. At that time, Chairman Mao mainly solved two fundamental problems. One was to establish Party organizations at various levels: Party groups in squads, Party branches in companies, and Party committees in battalions and regiments, adopted the system of Party representatives at and above the company level, and set up a Front Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao himself as its secretary. By doing this, the whole Red Army was put under the absolute leadership of the Party. The other was to do away with the way and commanding methods characteristic of the army of the old type and establish the relationship between officers and

men in our army as a relationship between class brothers.

In the period of the struggle in the Ching-kang Mountains, Chairman Mao put forward the idea that the leading position of proletarian ideology was of paramount importance for our army. He stressed the need to strengthen political education so that the Red Army men understand that they were fighting for themselves and for the people and not for somebody else. By that time, the three major principles for political work—unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people and the disintegration of the enemy forces—had in fact taken shape. Chairman Mao applied proletarian democracy in army building—that was a great creation. Our army's officers and men were entirely equal politically and shared hardships in common. When the enemy captives came in contact with the Red Army, they immediately felt that the Red Army and the white army were worlds apart. After our army took Chaling³, Chairman Mao formulated the three main rules of discipline and six points for attention, which later developed into the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention. That was something of exceptional importance. They embodied the essence of the proletarian army and were an expression of the three major principles for political work in matters of discipline. Officers and men in the Red Army were near and dear to each other like brothers. The army and the people were united and related to each other like fish and water. Cadres played an exemplary role, and Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh carried provisions as others did. Life was hard and fighting was frequent at that time. The foe encircled us thousands strong; steadfastly we stood our ground. What we relied upon was Party leadership and political work. Speaking of the experience and lessons of the Northern Expeditionary War⁴ in his brilliant article *The Struggle in the Ching-kang Mountains*, Chairman Mao wrote that as Chen Tu-hsiu's⁵ opportunist line dominated in the Party at that time, our Party had no organizational roots among the soldiers when we were in the Kuomintang army, and even among Comrade Yeh Ting's⁶ troops there was only one Party branch to each regiment; that was why we could not stand up to any

serious test. Nevertheless, the independent regiment under the command of Comrade Yeh Ting had very powerful combat strength and became the Iron Army that struck terror into the hearts of the enemy because there were in the regiment Communist Party members, Party organizations and political work under the leadership of the Party. Why could Comrade Yeh Ting's troops win many victories and especially in the key battle of Tingszuchiaio, why could it defeat the troops of the warlord Wu Pei-fu with a force inferior in number and turn the situation in the war? The main reason lay in the above-mentioned fact. This also showed that it makes a great difference whether there is Party-led political work in the army.

The Kutien Meeting⁷ was of epoch-making significance for both the building of our army and the promotion of its political work. The resolution of the Kutien Meeting drawn up by Chairman Mao was a great programme for building up our army. In it Chairman Mao stressed the necessity of educating the armed forces in Marxism-Leninism and in the Party's correct line and of correcting various non-proletarian ideas. He pointed out that without the raising of its political level and the elimination of various deviations within the Party, the Red Army could not possibly have been founded or expanded, still less could it shoulder major fighting tasks. Chairman Mao emphatically repudiated the purely military viewpoint and criticized the mistaken idea of placing military affairs and politics in opposition to each other or even giving military affairs a leading position over politics. He pointed out explicitly that military affairs are one means of accomplishing political tasks. This criticism of the purely military viewpoint was a repudiation of any deviation from the Party's leadership or slighting and even negating political work. If this kind of deviation had not been corrected, our army would have taken the Kuomintang's path of warlordism. From the Kutien Meeting till today, our army's political work has made tremendous progress, but its basic principles and its foundation were laid down at the Kutien Meeting.

The Long March of 25,000 li was a great undertaking that shook the world. The Tsunyi Meeting⁸ put an end to the domination of the Wang Ming⁹ line and established Chairman

Mao's leading position in the whole Party. Afterwards, our Party smashed Chang Kuo-tao's¹⁰ retreatist-flightist line and his scheme to split the Party and the Red Army, thus ensuring the success of the Long March in accordance with Chairman Mao's line. The difficulties encountered in the course of the Long March were rarely met in human history, and the revolutionary heroism and stamina displayed by the Red Army were likewise unprecedented. The immense power of political work revealed itself in the circumstances of extreme difficulties and hardships. The Red Army had to take pass after pass, cross rivers in the teeth of danger, and negotiate snow-capped mountains and marshes. Its officers and men had to stand exposure, deprivation and hunger. Yet they maintained a most touching and noble class solidarity, and their countless heroic exploits moved us to song and tears. Several dozen years have elapsed but those images and scenes of the past keep reappearing before our mind's eye. But for Chairman Mao's leadership, the Party's correct line and the vigorous political work which ensured the Red Army's indomitable combat strength, the accomplishment of the Long March would have been inconceivable.

The beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan marked a great historic turning point. The Red Army was redesignated as the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, and an anti-Japanese united front was formed by our Party and the Kuomintang. But at this crucial juncture, Wang Ming pushed a Right capitulationist line, discarding the political commissar system of our army and turning political departments into "political training offices" like those of the Kuomintang. Succumbing to the Kuomintang's allurements of wine and women, some individuals took pride in becoming officers under the Kuomintang and were loathed to continue plain living, and a new warlordism reared its head. Chairman Mao firmly corrected Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line, criticized the deviation of neo-warlordism and promptly restored the political commissar system and the political departments, thereby upholding the principle of the Communist Party's absolute leadership over the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. In those days, Chairman Mao put in a great effort to grasp the political work in the army and in

1938 he undertook to be concurrently the Director of the General Political Department. On his instruction in 1942 the resolution of the Kutien Meeting was reprinted and issued to every officer down to each company commander as an obligatory textbook to be learnt through and through. The Report on the Question of Political Work in the Army, which was issued in the name of the Political Department of the Rear Detachment and was prepared in 1944 under the guidance of Chairman Mao, was another historic document on the political work of our army following the resolution of the Kutien Meeting. It served to eliminate the influence of the Wang Ming line over political work, carried forward our fine tradition and further raised the prestige and standing of our army's political work. The great rectification campaign and the success of the Seventh Party Congress under the leadership of Chairman Mao led to unprecedented unity and unanimity of the whole Party and the whole army in politics, ideology and line. It was the full exercise of the role of political work on this basis that enabled our army to pass the rigorous test of war and win the great victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

During the War of Liberation, there was an important development of the political work in our army. In 1947 Chairman Mao personally revised and approved for distribution a report by the third column in Liaotung Province on the experience of pouring out grievances. On Chairman Mao's instruction, democracy in the political, economic and military fields was practised throughout the army and an ideological education movement of a new type was launched in 1948 using the methods of "pouring out grievances" (the wrongs done to the labouring people by the old society and by the reactionaries) and making three check-ups (on class origin; performance of duty and will to fight). This movement greatly enhanced the political consciousness, revolutionary unity, discipline and combat strength of all officers and soldiers. At the same time it most effectively speeded up the process of reforming large numbers of captured Kuomintang soldiers into Liberation Army fighters. Thus it played an inestimable role in effectuating the strategically decisive engagement that overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek regime and won the nationwide victory.

The Korean war was one of the largest modern wars after World War II. Around the time the Chinese People's Volunteers left for Korea, Chairman Mao personally drafted orders and instructions, enjoining the comrades of the volunteers to show respect for the Korean people, army, Government and Party as well as for Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people. He also urged them to cherish every hill, every river, every tree and every blade of grass in Korea and go through thick and thin together with the Korean comrades, stick together with them in life and death and fight to the end to defeat the common enemy. Chairman Mao pointed out that this was the political basis for accomplishing the military task of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. Because the volunteers acted upon Chairman Mao's instructions and carried forward the fine traditions of our army's political work, they displayed a high order of patriotism, internationalism and revolutionary heroism, became the most beloved people and, together with the Korean people, defeated the U.S. aggressors.

Coming to the period of socialist revolution and construction, there have been further important developments in the whole set of theory, line, policies, principles and methods Chairman Mao established for our army's political work during the protracted revolutionary war years. These have an immense impact and far-reaching influence not only on the revolutionization and modernization of the army but also on all fields of endeavour throughout the country.

"The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Army" passed at the 1960 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission was a collective work pooling the wisdom of comrades present who contributed their thoughts, ideas and words. It was revised under the guidance of Chairman Mao and approved by him. Its basic content set forth in 14 articles was a continuation and development of the tradition of the Kutien Meeting and a summary of the experience in army building and in the political work of the army since nationwide liberation. In a note to the document, Chairman Mao wrote that it comprised guidelines for army building and army political and ideo-

logical work, and that moreover its basic spirit was applicable in Party organizations at all levels, government offices, schools and industrial enterprises. It has now been made a study material for political work after whatever was smuggled into it by Lin Piao has been deleted.

In the struggles to smash the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the members of the People's Liberation Army were weathered through storm and stress and underwent severe tests. They greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines and improved their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and to apply policies. In response to Chairman Mao's call, many officers and soldiers took an active part in supporting industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the Left, exercising military control and giving political and military training. Despite interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," most of them acquitted themselves quite well. In the course of the struggles, our army acquired new experience in its political work.

To uphold and strengthen political work or to weaken and abolish it — this has always been an important facet of the struggle between the two lines in the Party. Wang Ming first went "Left" and practised dogmatism and then went Right and practised liquidationism. Chang Kuo-tao practised warlordism and splittism. They both opposed our army's political work initiated by Chairman Mao and resisted the Party's absolute leadership over the army. Peng Teh-huai, who copied straight from foreign experience and favoured the system of one-man leadership, denigrated and weakened our Party's political work. Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who were a bunch of vicious counter-revolutionaries, set new records with the havoc they wrought in our army's political work. From Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao to Lin Piao and the "gang of four," they all played various tricks to disrupt our army's political work, which is its lifeblood, all for the purpose of changing our army's proletarian character.

As soon as Lin Piao came to power, he set out to sabotage our army's political work in an all-round way to spoil the Party's revolutionary style of study and oppose the comprehensive and systematic study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. He advocated the shoving aside of everything else by politics, which in effect meant the shoving aside of proletarian politics by bourgeois politics. Resorting to two-faced tactics, he lauded political work to the skies but in fact dashed proletarian political work to the ground. The "gang of four" and Lin Piao were jackals of the same lair. They distorted and tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Pretending to be Left but being truly Rightists, they pushed fascist autocracy and tried to change the proletarian character of our army completely so as to detach the army from the Party leadership and turn it into a tool for their plot to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who formed a direct line of succession, deliberately tried to disarray or destroy our army's political departments organizationally in addition to sabotaging army political work in theory, ideology and style of work, rejecting its practice of seeking truth from facts and spoiling the lively situation in political work. First came Lin Piao with his clamour, "smash the General Political Department, the palace of hell." Then followed the "gang of four" who continued assailing and blackjacking the General Political Department. They hurled unfounded charges at the army's supreme organ for political work, and slandered the lower political organizations as "branch palaces of hell," "replicas of the palace of hell," etc. All this was a sinister plot. They were by no means confining their attacks to the General Political Department but were brazenly aiming their blows at Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission. Their vicious scheme was to negate totally the achievements of army political work since the founding of New China and rob army political work of its unified leadership to serve their own criminal aim of opposing and disrupting the army, usurping Party leadership and seizing power. Comrade Lo Jung-huan¹¹ during his lifetime waged a sharp struggle against Lin Piao. He made important contributions to our

army's political work. He was a good director of our General Political Department and an example for all of us to learn from. Led by Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission, our army's political work has since the founding of New China achieved outstanding successes, carried forward its own fine traditions, ensured the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies and united the whole army to fulfil the fighting tasks assigned it by the Party. The overwhelming majority of our political cadres are good or fair. The slanders and false charges hurled by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" at the General Political Department, at lower political organizations and political cadres must all be repudiated. Their pernicious influence in the field of political work must be thoroughly eliminated. The harm they did to our army's political work was serious; however, once their pernicious influence is thoroughly wiped out and the positive and negative experience summed up, the political work of our army will certainly register a new and greater development. Of this we are fully confident.

Our army, after over two decades of war, has lived for over two decades in peaceful conditions. Changes have taken place in all fields and many new problems have cropped up. These problems stand out all the more as a result of disruption and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Under these new historical conditions, the fine tradition in political work established since the Kutien Meeting should be restored and carried forward, full use should be made of political work in its role as the leading factor and the guarantee of task performance, there should be conscientious rectification in the army so as to raise its combat strength. As Chairman Hua said at the National Science Conference: "Far from being weakened, political and ideological work should be strengthened in the new period of development in our socialist revolution and construction," and we must "make our political and ideological work an important guarantee for bringing about socialist modernization." Political work is the lifeblood of our army in the new historical conditions just as it was before.

Our army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to safeguard the

accomplishment of the general task for the new period and to cope with any war of aggression, social-imperialism or imperialism may unleash, we must be prepared against war. Any hankering for being "peacetime soldiers" or "peacetime officers" is no good. Bourgeois ideas and petty producers' force of habit would dampen our army's will to fight. We must be good at grasping the class struggle in the ideological field, raise the cadres' and fighters' consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, firmly establish the idea that our army is always a fighting force and be ready at all times to fight to defend the motherland and to liberate Taiwan. A modern war will be more ruthless and more intense than past wars, and this requires a higher level of political consciousness and spirit of sacrifice, more proficient technique and tactics, military skills and commandship, tighter unity, stricter discipline and a higher degree of centralism. All these cannot be achieved without political work. In order to win any future war against aggression we still have to rely on the magic weapon of people's war taught us by Chairman Mao. It will take vigorous political work to arouse and organize armymen and people in their millions in order to bring into full play the power of our armed forces system comprising the field armies, the regional forces and the militia and to create a vast sea of masses in which to drown the enemy. Here, let me read a passage from *On Protracted War* which Chairman Mao wrote in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan: "This question of the political mobilization of the army and the people is indeed of the greatest importance. We have dwelt on it at the risk of repetition precisely because victory is impossible without it. There are, of course, many other conditions indispensable to victory, but political mobilization is the most fundamental." This passage by Chairman Mao was a profound and penetrating explanation of the status and role of political work in war. It remains a guideline of great significance for us to win victory in any future war against aggression.

Comrades, I would also like to speak on the question of how to bring up revolutionary successors and carry on the fine traditions of our

Party and our army. This is a major topic for our political work. The old comrades among us should, in the revolutionary spirit of "crossing these blue hills adds nothing to one's years," carry the revolutionary work through to the end and choose and bring up successors for the revolution. Let everybody be a Po Lo¹² and develop a sharp eye for discovering able people and putting them at suitable posts. We have the great Mao Tsetung Thought, the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission, both headed by Chairman Hua, the five requirements Chairman Mao set for successors and his basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts"¹³; we have the veteran comrades who are enthusiastic about passing on their experience, helping and guiding the young; we have all the military academies exerting their best efforts and we have young comrades who study diligently and practise hard. With these, I am confident that large numbers of outstanding successors will grow up so that we can rest assured. Comrade Chu Teh put it well in one of his poems: "Generations of heroes are cropping up in our Party, and I need not let worries turn my hair grey."

It is a task for the whole army together to restore and carry forward our army's fine traditions in political work and raise its combat strength under the new historical conditions. It is a task for the Party committees at all levels, for the political commissars, for the military commanders, for the rear service and technical cadres, for cadres and fighters alike. Of course, it is all the more so for the political departments and the political work cadres. In short, an excellent situation should be brought about in which everybody does political work. Only thus can political work give forth its infinite power. While all comrades of our army should safeguard the prestige of political work, it is primarily up to the political commissars, political departments and political work cadres at all levels to raise this prestige by their own exemplary role. Our political cadres should fully realize their responsibility and the honour attached to their work.

The teacher's pioneering work goes down in history. Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao performed splendid deeds for the

revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. Included is our army's political work which he initiated, a monument that is equally immortal. His teachings on political work in a revolutionary army are an important part of proletarian military science and a significant development of Marxist theory on military affairs. They are unprecedented and without parallel. We must study his theory and instructions on political work accurately and as an integral whole, take them all up in a systematic way and apply and develop them in the new historical conditions. We should study Chairman Mao's brilliant thought and learn from his great revolutionary practice, learn from the noble revolutionary qualities of Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and devote all our energies to better political work in our army, so as to preserve its qualities as a proletarian army, and to speeding up the army's revolutionization and modernization.

Finally, I express my ardent wish that comrades unite as one and perform new meritorious deeds on the new Long March under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission, which are headed by Chairman Hua!

NOTES

¹The Autumn Harvest Uprising—This refers to the uprising staged by the peasants and workers under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung in eastern Hunan and western Kiangsi Provinces in September 1927. The first division of the First Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army was formed in the uprising.

²The reorganization of the army at Sanwan—After the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Comrade Mao Tsetung led the insurgent troops to the Chingchang Mountains. On their way, at Sanwan in Yunghsin County, Kiangsi Province, he reorganized the troops.

³Chaling—In eastern Hunan Province.

⁴The Northern Expeditionary War—The great revolutionary war of the Chinese people against imperialism and feudalism in 1926-27.

⁵Chen Tu-hsiu—A leader of the Chinese Communist Party in the period following its founding.

In the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he pushed a Right opportunist line which caused the defeat of the revolution.

⁶Yeh Ting—One of the outstanding military leaders of our Party. He was the commander of an independent regiment of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army in the Northern Expeditionary War. In 1926, he routed the troops of Wu Pei-fu, one of the main forces of the enemy, in the battle at Tingszuchiaio in Hsienning County, Hupeh Province. Troops under Yeh Ting's command were known as the Iron Army.

⁷The Kutien Meeting—This is a reference to the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army held in December 1929 at the village of Kutien in Shanghang County, Fukien Province. The meeting adopted a resolution drawn up by Comrade Mao Tsetung.

⁸The Tsunyi Meeting—When the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army reached Tsunyi in Kweichow Province in January 1935, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held an enlarged meeting there and established Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party.

⁹Wang Ming—A major representative of the opportunist lines in our Party. In the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), he pursued a "Left" opportunist line while later, in the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he advocated a capitulationist line holding that in the united front everything should be submitted to the Kuomintang and all should secure the Kuomintang's consent.

¹⁰Chang Kuo-tao—A leading person of the Fourth Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. When the Fourth Front Army joined forces with the First Front Army in the summer of 1935 in northwest Szechuan Province, Chang Kuo-tao opposed Chairman Mao's policy of moving northward to fight the Japanese invaders, set up his own bogus central committee and arbitrarily led the troops to retreat southward.

¹¹Lo Jung-huan (1902-63)—One of the outstanding leaders of our Party and army. He was Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

¹²Po Lo—A famous ancient judge of horses.

¹³"Three do's and three don'ts"—This refers to the basic principles: Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.

Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

June 2, 1978

- Expounding Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of seeking truth from facts.
- Stressing the importance of eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and comprehensively and accurately mastering Mao Tsetung Thought.
- Calling on everyone to use the method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice to study and solve the question of restoring and carrying forward the fine traditions in political work and improving our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions.
- Leading cadres are urged to set a good example in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with practice in revolution.



Comrades!

This All-Army Political Work Conference is another important historic meeting held by the army following the last meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee

of the Communist Party of China. The speeches made by Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh are very incisive, very important, and I fully endorse them. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching's report is very good and I fully agree.

The conference has discussed and revised three draft documents. They are: The Resolution on Strengthening Political Work, the Regulations for Political Work and the Regulations for Cadres in the Service. Once they are examined and approved by the Military Commission, the army's political work will have rules and regulations to follow.

This conference concentrates on studying and solving the problem of how to carry forward the fine traditions in political work and improve our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions. In line with Chairman Mao's thought and taking into account the realities of our army, the conference is raising problems, analysing them and solving them. This is very good and highly necessary. It is concentrating on central task, has a clear-cut theme, and focuses attention on the main thing. It is going on better and better every day. The conference is being held in a healthy atmosphere, with full democracy and a free airing of views. At the same time there is no equivocation about questions of principle. Therefore, the con-

ference sets a good example for the lower levels. In short, the conference has been completely successful.

I am going to deal with four points:

First, seek truth from facts.

We hold meetings, make reports, pass resolutions and do everything else, all for the purpose of solving problems. Whether what we say and do can solve any problem and whether it can reach a correct solution—the key lies in whether we integrate theory with practice, whether we sum up experience well and whether our approach to objective reality is to seek truth from facts and proceed from the actual conditions in everything we do. Only if we do all this is it possible for us to solve problems correctly or fairly correctly. But whether the solutions prove correct or entirely correct—this needs to be tested in future practice. If we do not do the above, then it is certainly impossible for us to solve any problem or solve it correctly.

Many comrades in our Party persevere in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of revolution. This is very good and we must continue to do so. There are other comrades, however, who talk about Mao Tsetung Thought every day, but often forget, abandon or even oppose Chairman Mao's fundamental Marxist viewpoint and method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in doing everything and integrating theory with practice. Furthermore, some people even maintain that whoever persists in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice is guilty of a heinous crime. In essence, their view is that one may only copy straight from Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and should rest content with mechanical copying, transmitting and reproduction. They would insist that to do otherwise is to go against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the guidance coming from the Party Central Committee. What they raise is no minor issue. It involves the whole approach to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

There is no doubt that we must at no time violate the basic principles of Marxism-Lenin-

ism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But we must integrate them with reality, analyse and study actual conditions and solve practical problems. To decide guidelines for our work in the light of actual conditions—this is the most fundamental way of thinking and working method every Communist must firmly bear in mind. To seek truth from facts is the starting point and the fundamental point in Chairman Mao's thought. This is materialism. Otherwise, when we hold meetings, we can only put out empty talk and cannot solve any problems.

Ever since Chairman Mao joined the communist movement and since he first created our Party, he had always advocated and practised investigation and study of objective social conditions and resolutely combated the erroneous tendency of divorcing theory from practice, of doing everything from wishful thinking or strictly according to books and instructions from above regardless of concrete conditions. In 1929, in the resolution of the Kutien Meeting, Chairman Mao pointedly opposed subjective guidance of work, pointing out that it would "inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism." In 1930 he specially wrote the essay *Oppose Book Worship*, in which he set forth the scientific thesis, "no investigation, no right to speak." He firmly opposed the erroneous mentality of those who kept saying in discussions within the Communist Party, "show me where it's written in the book," as if whatever was written in a book was right. Chairman Mao said: "To carry out a directive of a higher organ blindly, and seemingly without any disagreement, is not really to carry it out but is the most artful way of opposing or sabotaging it." He added: "When we say Marxism is correct, it is certainly not because Marx was a 'prophet' but because his theory has been proved correct in our practice and in our struggle. We need Marxism in our struggle. In our acceptance of his theory no such formalistic or mystical notion as that of 'prophecy' ever enters our minds."

After the victory over Wang Ming's Left-deviationist line which had caused a serious defeat to the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the lessons in this struggle and wrote a series of immortal works in 1936 and 1937, such as *Problems of Strategy in China's*

Revolutionary War, On Practice and On Contradiction, which laid the ideological and theoretical foundation for our Party. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. . . . The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice." He said: "Our dogmatists are lazy-bones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulas, and thereby completely deny and reverse the normal sequence by which man comes to know truth." In dealing with guiding principles for war, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgments, and his correct judgments stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance." When we were fighting battles in the past, we all understood that failure to study our own situation and that of the enemy, failure to know both ourselves and the enemy, spelt defeat.

Some people in our Party who opposed Mao Tsetung Thought, however, did not change their stand because of these teachings of Chairman Mao's. Therefore, in 1941 and 1942 Chairman Mao started the great rectification campaign. The main documents guiding that campaign were his works *Preface and Postscript to "Rural Surveys," Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party's Style of Work and Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing*. In the campaign, he repeatedly emphasized the fundamental viewpoint and attitude of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. He said: "'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them

and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us." Such an attitude "is the manifestation of Party spirit, the Marxist-Leninist style of uniting theory and practice. It is the attitude every Communist Party member should have at the very least." Against this attitude is the subjectivist method which, contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism, "is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit." Chairman Mao admonished all comrades in the Party not to "regard Marxist theory as lifeless dogma" and "regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies." This would "impede the development of theory and harm themselves as well as other comrades." Chairman Mao pointed out that "there is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality." Basing himself on this fundamental Marxist viewpoint, Chairman Mao in his report to the Seventh National Congress of the Party defined the style of work which integrates theory with practice as the first of the three great styles of work of our Party.

Afterwards, Chairman Mao repeatedly explained this viewpoint and this style of work. For instance, in 1953 Chairman Mao said: "The central leading organ is a factory which turns out ideas as its products. If it does not know what is going on at the lower levels, gets no raw material or has no semi-processed products to work on, how can it turn out any products?" In 1956 he said: "Integration of theory with practice is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism. According to dialectical materialism, thought must reflect objective reality and must be tested and verified in objective practice before it can be taken as truth, otherwise it cannot." In 1958 he said: "The ideas, opinions, plans and methods of the doughtiest hero can only be a reflection of the objective world. The raw and semi-processed materials that go into them can only come from the practice of the people or from his own scientific experiment. His brain can only play the part of a processing plant turning out finished products, or else it is utterly useless. Whether or not such finish-

ed products made by man's brain are useful and correct has to be tested by the masses of the people." In his essay *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* written in 1963, Chairman Mao pointed out: "They [correct ideas] come from social practice, and from it alone." He added that whether or not one's ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) coming from social practice "do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not." Only if man's knowledge is applied in social practice and goes through the test of practice can its correctness or incorrectness be proved, and "there is no other way of testing truth."

Chairman Mao always insisted on using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to raise, analyse and solve problems. He always discussed problems in the light of different times, places and conditions. Chairman Mao said that in writing articles he himself seldom quoted from Marx and Lenin, and that he felt uneasy that his words were quoted frequently and over and over by the newspapers. People should learn to write in their own words. This, of course, does not mean not to quote from others at all. It means not to quote from others on all occasions. What is important was to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyse and solve problems. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought would lose its vitality if it were not integrated with the actual conditions. It is the duty of us leading cadres to integrate instructions of higher levels up to and including the Party Central Committee with the actual conditions of our own units in solving our problems. We must not function like a "message centre" and simply transmit instructions.

Comrades, let us think this over: Is not seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice the fundamental viewpoint of Mao Tsetung Thought? Is this fundamental viewpoint outdated, and will it ever become outdated? How can we be true to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought if we are against seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and

integrating theory with practice? Where would that lead us to? Obviously, that would only lead us to idealism and metaphysics, and to losses in our work and setbacks in our revolution.

Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee uphold the fundamental viewpoint of Mao Tsetung Thought of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice. Using this viewpoint, Chairman Hua in his report to the 11th Party Congress summed up the experience of the Party's 11th struggle between the two lines and; later on, put forward the general task for the new period in his report at the Fifth National People's Congress. Applying the same method, Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh, in their reports at the Military Commission meeting last year, put forward the new task of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war. That is why these congresses and meeting won the warm support of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country.

For many years no all-army political work conference has been called. Now that such a conference is called, what method should we adopt in its proceedings? Obviously, we can and should only use the method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice to sum up past experience, analyse the new historical conditions and put forward new problems, new tasks and new guidelines. It is only in this way that problems can be tackled and solved correctly at this conference. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching has made a good report at our conference. The report is good because it proposes pertinent solutions after studying the problems posed by the new historical conditions. This is a proof that we firmly uphold Mao Tsetung Thought in our concrete actions. Otherwise, if we just copied past documents word for word, we could not solve any problem, let alone solving it correctly. In that case, even if we paid lavish lip service to Mao Tsetung Thought, we would actually be running counter to it. We must eliminate the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," set things to rights and shatter spiritual fetters to effect a great emancipation of our minds. This is indeed a quite serious task.

Second, on the new historical conditions.

In view of the fact that the 11th Party Congress, the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the meeting of the Military Commission had been held and that the line, principles and tasks of the whole Party and the whole army had all been decided, we asked ourselves while preparing for this conference what problems it would mainly solve. Judging from the problems and conditions actually existing in the armed forces, the most important thing is to study and solve the problem of how to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work and to improve our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions. This is precisely to act on Chairman Mao's teaching about seeking truth from facts in studying, analysing and solving practical problems.

We are historical materialists and we cannot leave aside the given historical conditions in studying and solving any problem. From the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, we went through 20-odd years of war and have passed another 20-odd years in a peaceful environment. That means a big change.

The switch from an environment of protracted war to a peaceful environment makes the biggest difference to an army. Our political work remains unchanged as regards its fundamental task, its essentials and its basic contents, and we have the same store of fine traditions. But times have changed, conditions have changed and the recipients of our work have changed so that the methods of solving problems have to change, too.

In formulating the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention, Chairman Mao varied their specific contents according to different circumstances. He first laid down three rules of discipline and then six points for attention. Later on, there were some changes in the content of the three rules of discipline. The rule "don't take anything from the workers and peasants" became "don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses"; the rule "turn in all things taken from local bullies" was changed first to "turn in all money raised" and then to "turn in everything captured." To the six points for attention were

added two more: "don't bathe within sight of women" and "don't search the pockets of captives." When the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention were reissued in 1947, again some revisions were made in the contents. "Put back the doors you have taken down for bed-boards" and "put back the straw you have used for bedding" were replaced by "don't hit or swear at people" and "don't damage crops." "Don't bathe within sight of women" was changed to "don't take liberties with women" and "don't search the pockets of captives" became "don't ill-treat captives." The basic spirit of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention cannot be changed and it remains unchanged. If we do not study how to implement them in the light of the new conditions, however, we shall not be able to carry them out effectively. Take the rule "turn in everything captured" at present, there is no such a thing as turning in everything captured when we do not fight any battles. We need to study how to act in the spirit of this rule under the new historical conditions.

The principle of unity between the army and the people cannot be changed. But our relations with the people are now different in content. In the countryside, there used to be the individual economy, but now it has been transformed into the collective economy; our troops used to be in the country, but now many units have entered the cities and are quartered in barracks. These are new conditions. An important problem for a better army-people relationship is to help develop the collective economy. An army should discuss whether it could help one or two communes or study how to help factories if there is any nearby. It is our duty to take account of the new conditions in trying to improve army-people relations in various ways and correctly solve problems in these relations.

There have been many new changes within the army, too. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching in his report has analysed the organizational and ideological problems in the army. Cadres now face many new problems. Soldiers also have their new characteristics. Since the recipients of our work are different, it is essential that new contents be added to our education work. The practice of recalling past bitterness and contrasting it with the present happiness should,

of course, continue. But it is not enough to do this alone. It is necessary to study how to raise the level of political consciousness of the soldiers under the new historical conditions. As far as the relations between officers and men are concerned, they are different from those during the war years. How to uphold this principle of unity between officers and men—this needs careful study.

The rear service department is also holding a meeting. It should also concentrate on the new conditions and new problems in its field of work, which stem from the new historical conditions. For instance, many new problems have cropped up here as military science and technology develop and our military equipment improves step by step. We used to have millet plus rifles, which were not too heavy a burden on the rear service department. But it is different today. Our army has to rely heavily on supplies from the rear in regard to provisions, arms and ammunition, equipment and appliances. There are also continuous changes in the way of stocking war materials. All this needs careful and detailed study. Besides, our belongings used to be comparatively few. Now they have multiplied. This presents the new problem of how to do a good job in the management for all the rear service work. It requires a whole range of regulations and solutions that are suited to the new conditions as well as a constant fight against violations of financial regulations and against waste and extravagance.

What I have said above is all on new circumstances and new problems resulting from the new historical conditions. By proposing at this All-Army Political Work Conference the topic of carrying forward the fine traditions in political work and improving our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions, we are raising and solving the problem of specific line and policies for political work after making an analysis of the actual state of affairs in this field. We are doing this precisely for the sake of better implementation of the general task in the new period and the principle of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war. This is in full accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction that there should be specific lines and policies for specific fields

of work in addition to the general line and general policies. If we did not analyse and solve the problems that have cropped up in the new historical conditions, we would be unable to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work or improve the army's combat strength in the absence of war and would therefore be unable to accomplish the general task for the new period.

Our revolutionary teachers Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao always attached importance to specific historical conditions and paid attention to studying history and present conditions and deriving laws from them by which to guide the revolution. To ignore the new historical conditions is to chop up history, to divorce oneself from reality and to abandon dialectics for metaphysics.

Third, without destruction there is no construction.

When we talk about seeking truth from facts, about the new period of development and new historical conditions, we must say something about destruction and construction. At present and for some time to come, "destruction" means in-depth exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and, collaterally, of Lin Biao too, so as to eliminate their pernicious influence; "construction" means learning Mao Tsetung Thought accurately and as a comprehensive system and restoring and carrying forward the fine traditions and style of work of our Party and army in the new historical conditions.

The movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is on the whole going on well in the army, so I won't elaborate. The development is uneven, however. We must carry on the struggle in a thorough, deep-going way and carry it through to the end. We must never try to hold it back.

The exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" is the key link for all work at present and for some time to come. If this key link is not grasped well, there will be no clarification of what is right and what is wrong, no clear-cut class alignment, the leading bodies cannot be soundly constituted, the style of work cannot be improved, and there will be no good basis for unity and no fruitful work. In short, without destruction there will be no construction.

In order to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," it is imperative to expose and criticize Lin Piao's line at the same time. Some people say they are afraid that the inclusion of Lin Piao among the targets for exposure and criticism along with the "gang of four" might involve the risk of negating the Cultural Revolution, and that this might be construed as digging up bygone problems to the detriment of unity. That is wrong.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were partners, colluding long ago to sabotage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. To expose and criticize the "gang of four" and, collaterally, Lin Piao, is exactly to settle accounts with their crimes in sabotaging the Cultural Revolution and to protect the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution which Chairman Mao personally initiated and led.

Lin Piao, who did great harm to the army, was scarcely criticized in the past. This problem was covered up by the "gang of four," who refused to criticize Lin Piao, went through the motions of criticizing Confucius, but directed their real attack at Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Vice-Chairman Yeh. It is logical that Lin Piao should be included among the targets of exposure and criticism along with the "gang of four," there is no question of "dwelling on bygones."

In order to strengthen unity, it is imperative to make an in-depth exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and to link it with the exposure and criticism of Lin Piao. This is exactly for the purpose of distinguishing right from wrong and strengthening unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only thus can the overwhelming majority be really united. We should place full confidence in those who, having erred in the tenth struggle between the two lines [the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique-Tr.], made a sincere self-criticism, really mended their ways and have since acquitted themselves well politically. Of course, it will be necessary to deal severely with those who persisted in their errors and refused to correct them, and followed the "gang of four" in doing evil. Otherwise, it would be impossible to clarify rights and wrongs, achieve unity and straighten things out.

In exposing and criticizing Lin Piao and the "gang of four," it is necessary to get into realities and straighten things out in every aspect. Straightening things out involves both destruction and construction. It means primarily straightening out the leading bodies and rectifying the style of work.

Making a good job of reorganizing or straightening out leading bodies is of key importance at present. The main reason why problems have piled up and remain unsolved in some units is that the leading bodies there have not really been well reorganized. We should firmly enforce the rules adopted at the meeting of the Military Commission as to what kind of people can be placed on leading bodies and what kind of people cannot be placed on leading bodies nor be assigned important work. We should lose no time in making a good selection and consolidation of leading bodies at all levels.

We must make a good job of straightening out leading bodies. In 1975 we criticized those leading bodies which were weak, lazy and lacking in unity. But that state of affairs still exists today in some leading bodies. We should boldly arouse the masses to uncover the contradictions and clarify the rights and wrongs. The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" must be abolished, and bourgeois factionalism must be eliminated and discredited.

The question of training successors must be resolved because it has a bearing on the overall question of army building and a future war against aggression. The young cadres can become worthy successors, provided we select the right candidates, do a good job of passing on experience, helping and guiding them, and give them better school education. We veteran comrades should take the long view on this problem, actively play our role of mainstays and select and train our successors carefully. Only when we have done this job well, will we be able to go meet Marx, Chairman Mao and Premier Chou with equanimity.

One important aspect in straightening out leading bodies is to rectify the style of work. Leaders at all levels must improve their style of work, getting rid of any bureaucratism and going deeper into things. In every undertaking or piece of work, we must make in-depth inves-

tigation and study and solve problems in the light of the realities of our own units.

If the army wants to have an exemplary style of work, it must raise efficiency. Army units must work hard and lead simple lives and carry out their tasks with drive and sweep. Slackness, procrastination, discussion without decision and the shelving of decisions are impermissible. They must continue to stress observance of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention. Orders must be obeyed in all actions. It is possible to win victory only when we march in step.

Straightening things out also involves the restoration of the functions, role and prestige of the political organs. We have often said that within three years or so the functions, role and prestige of the political organs must be restored and raised to the level attained in the days of the Red Army, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation. To achieve this, we must discard the ways of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and reassert Chairman Mao's theory on political work and foster our traditional style of work, carrying them forward under the new conditions. Before this conference I said that the functions, role and prestige of the political organs must be restored and that the conference must at least achieve this.

Political work is the Party's work, and the political organs are working organs of the Party. Higher political organs should guide, supervise and examine the work of lower Party committees, political commissars and political organs. This is our long-standing tradition.

We must be strict in straightening things out. A driving spirit is essential in readjusting the leading bodies, rectifying the style of work or straightening out the political organs. We must conduct a rigorous check on cadres in the process and make such check-ups a regular, persistent practice.

Four, exemplary role of cadres.

This is a matter of great importance. It is very important for leading cadres, senior cadres in particular, to be exemplary. The rank and file always watch how cadres match their words with deeds. Company commanders and political instructors cannot bring up good soldiers if they fail to set good examples. Leading cadres will

not be able to foster good habits and ways of doing things in their units and make them combat-worthy if they fail to set good examples.

Emphasis must now be placed on cadres playing an exemplary role. For instance, when transferred, one must move house. How can this be done if senior cadres who are being transferred do not set an example? When an order comes, one must promptly report for duty, and senior cadres must take the lead in doing this. They must also take the lead in plain living and hard work.

Whether the work of a unit is thorough and down-to-earth hinges on whether its leading cadres are exemplary in going deep into the unit to make investigation and study and in proceeding from reality to analyse and solve problems. Recently, leading cadres of many units have started to go among the rank and file. This is very good.

When we demand strictness in running the army, we mean first of all strictness with the leading bodies and the senior cadres. Senior cadres must be exemplary in acting on the fundamental principles of "practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," in hard work and plain living, and in seeking truth from facts. In a word, they must be exemplary in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with revolutionary practice.

Political work cadres must lay still more emphasis on being exemplary. That is what we did during the war years of the past. At that time, if you were not brave in battle but feared death, if you were not of one heart with the rank and file and did not stay in contact with reality and with the masses, your political work would go unheeded. A political work cadre must not say one thing and do another. It was stipulated in the political work regulations of the Red Army period that "in doing political work, the political instructors rely solely on their direct contact with the masses and their familiarity with the Red Army fighters"; "both in the performance of their duty and in their personal behaviour, the political instructors must be models for all armymen, and achieve this by their words and deeds." In order to

(Continued on p. 29.)

Comrade Kuo Mo-jo Deeply Mourned

COMRADE Kuo Mo-jo, an outstanding Chinese proletarian cultural fighter, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, died after a prolonged illness on June 12, 1978 in Peking at the age of 86.



of various circles, as well as some 2,000 people of the capital.

Comrade Yeh Chien-ying presided over the memorial meeting, and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping delivered the memorial speech.

Vice-Chairman Teng's Memorial Speech

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping said: "With immense grief, we mourn deeply for this revolutionary who strove for communism steadfastly and unswervingly all his life and this outstanding proletarian cultural fighter."

A memorial meeting was held on June 18 in the Great Hall of the People in Peking. The national flag flew at half-mast over Tien An Men Square, Hsin Hua Men Gate and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that day.

At the memorial meeting, a portrait of Comrade Kuo Mo-jo hung above the urn containing his ashes which was draped with the flag of the Communist Party of China.

A wreath was presented by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, and the four Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing attended the memorial meeting and presented wreaths.

Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C., also presented a wreath.

Also present at the memorial meeting were other Party and state leaders, leading members of various departments, well-known personages

He said: "Comrade Kuo Mo-jo was not only a revolutionary scientist and man of letters but a revolutionary thinker, statesman and renowned social activist. His contributions to science and culture and his meritorious service in revolutionary practice won him esteem from the entire Chinese people and progressive people the world over."

Comrade Kuo Mo-jo, he went on, was an eminent writer, poet and playwright and a Marxist historian and scholar of ancient Chinese scripts. As early as in the period of the May 4th Movement of 1919 he eulogized the people's revolution, socialism and communism in poems filled with revolutionary passion. He initiated a new style of poetry in our generation and was the founder of the modern poetry movement in China. He was the pioneer in China in applying a Marxist viewpoint to the study of Chinese history. In combining creatively the study of ancient Chinese scripts and ancient Chinese history he opened up a new approach to historical research. He made important contributions in various fields of social sciences including literature, art, philosophy, history, archaeology, studies of inscriptions on bronzes, oracle

bones and tortoise shells, and in translating and introducing Marxist theoretical writings and progressive foreign literature and art to this country. Over a long period of time he was a leader and administrator in scientific, cultural and educational work. He made indelible contributions to the development of scientific, cultural and educational work in China. Like Lu Hsun, he was a famous scholar of broad and profound learning and a man of marked talent in the history of modern Chinese culture. Following Lu Hsun he became a brilliant standard-bearer on the Chinese cultural front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Comrade Kuo Mo-jo, he continued, plunged into revolutionary cultural activities against imperialism and feudalism in his early years. He participated in the Northern Expeditionary War in 1926, took part in the Nanchang Uprising in 1927 and joined the Communist Party of China in August that year. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Kuo Mo-jo organized and united progressive cultural figures in Kuomintang-ruled areas into a movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation. After victory was won in the War of Resistance, he marched courageously at the van of the democratic movement and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, rendering powerful support to the people's War of Liberation. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Kuo Mo-jo continued his writing while shouldering heavy responsibilities of leadership in state affairs, scientific, cultural and educational work and international exchanges.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping said that Comrade Kuo Mo-jo was an outstanding member of the Chinese Communist Party. He loved the Party, the motherland and the people all his life, was loyal and devoted to the Party's cause and cherished deep proletarian feelings for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and for the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. He persisted in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, had a clear-cut and firm class stand and stood steadfastly on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in successive inner-Party struggles between the two lines, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie

in the ideological and cultural fields and in the international struggle against imperialism and revisionism. His pen was always at the service of the revolution and his heart was always with the people. Comrade Kuo Mo-jo warmly acclaimed the great victory of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in smashing the "gang of four" at one stroke. "The 'gang of four' has been ferreted out! What wonderful news!" he wrote. "Support Chairman Hua and support the Party Central Committee!" he cried, expressing the common aspiration of hundreds of millions of people.

Vice-Chairman Teng went on to say that Comrade Kuo Mo-jo's life was one of revolution and of struggle. He is an example to the people of the whole country, particularly to scientific, cultural and educational workers and to the intellectuals.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping concluded: The death of Comrade Kuo Mo-jo has deprived us of a great scientist, a great man of letters and of an old comrade-in-arms who had been in the struggle with us for a long time. This is a great loss to our Party and our country, particularly to the country's science and culture. We should turn grief into strength, rally more closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, firmly implement the line of the 11th Party Congress, and work hard to build vast contingents of proletarian scientific and technological and cultural personnel, raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation and fulfil the general task for the new period!

At the memorial meeting, there were also wreaths from other Party and state leaders, from the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the State Council, the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee and other departments concerned. There were also wreaths from foreign friends.

When Comrade Kuo Mo-jo was critically ill, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and other Party and state leaders had called on him in the hospital and inquired after his health.

Comrade Kuo Mo-jo's ashes will be scattered over the fields of the Tachai Production Brigade—pace-setter of Chinese agriculture—in accordance with his wish.

Who Is the Instigator?

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

WHAT is the role of the Soviet leadership in the campaign of ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents launched by the Vietnamese authorities? Anyone who respects facts can see how Moscow is exulting at Viet Nam's campaign against China and Chinese residents in Viet Nam, as if it had come across a windfall. With the escalation of Viet Nam's campaign, the Soviet Union has come on the scene to bluster and cheer, so much so that Moscow is obviously regarding itself as Viet Nam's guardian. The Kremlin is openly urging Viet Nam to press ahead with its anti-China and anti-Chinese activities to the very end. It is now very clear that the Soviet leadership is the main backer and instigator of the anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign in Viet Nam.

Viet Nam's large-scale expulsion of Chinese residents began in April this year, and it was then that the Soviet Union collaborated closely with Viet Nam over the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam and venomously vilified China. Major Soviet mouthpieces such as *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Red Star*, TASS and Radio Moscow opened up with a barrage of anti-China commentaries, articles and features. Evidently, they are making it their job to attack China on behalf of the Vietnamese authorities. What is particularly significant is that the attacks against China by the Soviet and Vietnamese mass media are so identical in tone and so closely synchronized that one cannot be distinguished from the other.

Here are the facts:

The Vietnamese authorities claimed that they did not expel the Chinese residents and their leaving Viet Nam en masse was "caused by the Chinese side." The Soviet propaganda machine immediately declared that the issue was started by "Peking's current campaign con-

cerning the position of Chinese emigrants in Viet Nam."

The Vietnamese authorities distorting facts said that "a number of bad elements among the Hoa people have deceived, instigated, threatened and coerced Hoa people to leave Viet Nam." The Soviet propaganda machine picked this up and blared that "hostile elements have put pressure on the Chinese nationals" and that "those who do not return will be regarded as traitors."

The Vietnamese authorities attacked the Chinese actions taken to protect the legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese residents as being "aimed at creating difficulties to the construction of socialism in Viet Nam." The Soviet propaganda machine at once asserted that China's purpose "is to create additional difficulties of various kinds for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam."

The Vietnamese authorities assailed China for "the mobilization of a big country's huge information and propaganda machine to stir up unhealthy and unfriendly sentiments towards the Vietnamese people." The Soviet propaganda machine repeated this almost word for word: China's "massive propaganda machine is mobilized to fan up unhealthy and unfriendly feelings towards the Vietnamese people." And so it goes on.

Moscow's Incitation

One cannot help asking whether these similar and mutually reinforcing tunes and arguments of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam were a mere coincidence or formulations based on consultations. Was one closely following the other or giving instructions?

Moscow has given a clear answer. It did not disguise its frenzied incitation. Moscow said that Viet Nam should persist "no matter how many difficulties are encountered today

and tomorrow, no matter how tortuous the future road will be," and that "the heroic Viet Nam's long-tested loyal friends, first of all, the Soviet Union, are giving great assistance." With ulterior motives Moscow even extolled Viet Nam's "militant spirit" in "resisting" the Chinese "aggressors" in the Han, Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching Dynasties, etc. Obviously, Viet Nam's intensified anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign has its domestic and international causes. The international background of the issue is the sinister role played by the Soviet instigator.

To bolster and support Viet Nam's anti-China and anti-Chinese activities, the Soviet propaganda machine fiercely attacked China's handling of the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam as "interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs," "an attempt to continue to aggravate the situation" and "a manifestation of great-power hegemonism," etc. This trick of turning around and charging the victim is nothing clever. But the Vietnamese authorities and their propaganda machine have parroted the Soviet tune. Such slanders must be refuted.

Clearly, it was the Vietnamese authorities which carried out large-scale persecution of the Chinese nationals and only when all attempts to dissuade had proved ineffective, and the situation had become intolerable did the Chinese Government take some essential measures to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese nationals. It published a statement on the real facts, provided accommodation for the Chinese nationals forced out by Viet Nam and sent ships to bring home the persecuted Chinese nationals. How can this be described as "interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs" and "attempt to aggravate the situation!" According to Moscow's logic, the Chinese Government would not have been regarded as interfering in Viet Nam's internal affairs and would have been easing tension only if it had applauded the persecution of Chinese nationals by Viet Nam, ignored victimized Chinese nationals driven out of Viet Nam and refused to let them into the country. It is absolutely preposterous!

As to those gentlemen in Moscow, their talk about opposition to hegemony only raises deri-

sive laughter. Isn't the word "hegemony" taboo to you? Did you not fly into a rage when opposition to hegemony was mentioned in a proposed bilateral treaty which has nothing to do with you at all? It is no one else but the Soviet hegemonists who want to strain Sino-Vietnamese relations so as to fish in troubled waters and achieve hegemony in Asia.

Something Deserves Close Attention

Undisguised Soviet incitement and instigation in Viet Nam's campaign of persecuting Chinese nationals and opposing China is a new trend in Asia and in the international situation and it deserves close attention. The Soviet Union has a vicious motive in doing so.

For years the Soviet Union has been trying to poison China's relations with Southeast Asian countries on the issue of overseas Chinese. Now, it avails itself of the anti-Chinese campaign in Viet Nam to hurl scurrilous charges against China, alleging that China is using overseas Chinese to "interfere in the internal affairs of other countries" and "engage in subversive activities," and slandering the overseas Chinese as "a fifth column" which poses "a grave menace" to Southeast Asian countries. It leaves no stone unturned in doing so because it feels ever more acutely that China stands solidly in the way of its penetration, control and expansion in Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole.

China resolutely supports the Southeast Asian countries' stand of maintaining national independence and guarding against hegemonism, firmly calls for the preservation of peace, security and stability in the region and ruthlessly exposes the Soviet Union's divisive and subversive machinations in the Asian and Pacific region, machinations to gain control there. That is why the Soviet Union sees China as a thorn in its flesh.

As for the Chinese nationals residing in the Southeast Asian countries, the Chinese Government's policy has been consistent. It supports and encourages the overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile, as

well as those who are already citizens, automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, the Chinese Government expects them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside and live amicably with the people there. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned.

This stand of the Chinese Government is open and aboveboard and has won widespread approval. And Moscow will get nowhere in its attempt to make use of the issue of Viet Nam's anti-Chinese campaign to poison China's friendly relations with Southeast Asian countries, relations which are being consolidated and are growing steadily. China is a socialist country which always means what it says. We are confident that the Southeast Asian countries will see through the Soviet manoeuvres to estrange them from China.

Soviet Move in Southeast Asia

Seen in the international context, the Soviet Union's instigating Viet Nam to persecute Chinese nationals and oppose China evidently is a major step in the Kremlin's intensified effort to penetrate into and expand its influence in Southeast Asia. It is well-known that Moscow's strategic emphasis is still on Europe, but Asia, including Southeast Asia, is an area long coveted by the Kremlin. At present, Moscow is stepping up its strategic dispositions along the arc from Africa through West Asia to Southeast Asia so as to dominate the Indian Ocean, gain a hold over the Pacific and have an edge on the United States in their contention for hegemony. To this end, it is using Cuba to engage in large-scale expansion in Africa, the Middle East and the Red Sea region, increasing its military presence in the region of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans and carrying on subversive activities in the littoral states; and it is also anxiously seeking a base it can count on in Southeast Asia. It backs up the anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign in Viet Nam with a view to bringing that country into its strategic framework for world domination. It is a move both to oppose China and to edge out U.S. influence, gain control over

Southeast Asia and improve its own strategic position in the world. It is for this reason that the Southeast Asian countries and those interested in peace, security and stability in the region are closely watching developments there and are on their guard against this strategic manoeuvre of the Soviet Union.

China and Viet Nam are good neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. For decades, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have supported each other and fought side by side in protracted revolutionary struggles and built up a profound friendship between comrades-in-arms. The Chinese people have done their best to support the Vietnamese revolution. They believe that in doing so, they are fulfilling their bounden internationalist duty. They have done nothing wrong and have no qualms about their relations with the Vietnamese people.

China exercised restraint for quite a long time after Viet Nam started its anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign. It took the first step only when Viet Nam had taken the 11th step. Soviet meddling and instigation is one of the principal factors in the Vietnamese authorities' current unbridled anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign and their moves to poison relations with China. The Kremlin has spared no efforts to bind independent Viet Nam to its chariot for global expansion and has Viet Nam pull its chestnuts out of the fire for it. Press comments in some countries pointed out that Viet Nam has become "a fertile ground" for Moscow's anti-China operations and that "the Soviet Union is casting a long shadow over Viet Nam."

But things will develop independently of the will of Moscow. The Vietnamese people, who have waged protracted and valiant struggles for national liberation and who so deeply cherish their national independence will certainly not allow their destinies to be manipulated by a superpower. The peoples in Southeast Asia are on the alert against Soviet expansionism in Asia. Soviet social-imperialism will reveal to the hilt its features as an expansionist and aggressor, and serve as a teacher by negative example in its attempts to bring Viet Nam under its control and thereby menace the whole of Southeast Asia. It will come to no good end.

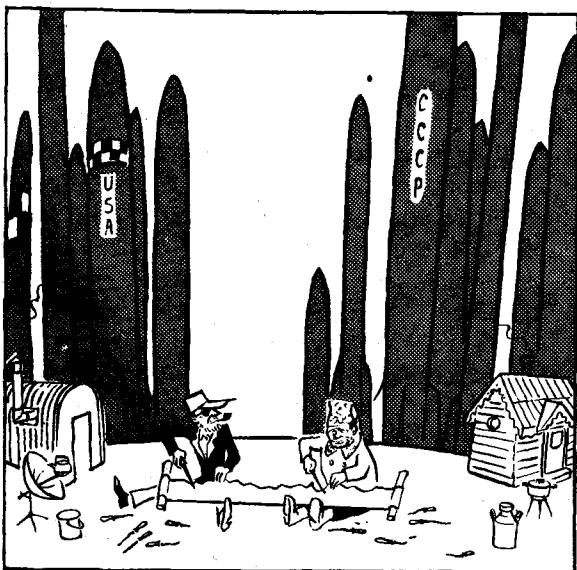
(June 17, subheads are ours.)

Nuclear and Conventional Armaments Must Be Reduced Simultaneously

DISARMAMENT must start with the two superpowers. However, should they reduce only their nuclear armaments or should they reduce their conventional armaments as well? This is an important question under debate at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament.

Superpowers' Fraud

The arsenals of the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — are full






The more disarmament talks, the more armaments.
by Lan Chien-an

of nuclear weapons of mass destruction as well as highly destructive conventional weapons. Nuclear disarmament alone, important as it is, cannot eliminate the danger of war. Therefore, a reduction in conventional armaments is also a matter of urgency. But, while they talk glibly about nuclear disarmament, the two superpowers deliberately downgraded the question of conventional disarmament. For instance, conventional disarmament ranks fifth in the so-called 8-point disarmament proposal contained in U.S. Vice-President Mondale's speech. This of course was not a thoughtless oversight. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko claimed that the main danger of war stemmed from the nuclear armaments race. He demanded that priority be given to the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and even asserted that his country would not be the first to use these weapons. These remarks were directed against the nuclear deterrence strategy of the United States and its allies. The Soviet Union knows that it has an overwhelming conventional superiority in Central Europe and that the whole defence system of the West will collapse once this strategy of nuclear deterrence is undermined.

A Conventional War More Probable

With the two superpowers' chicanery in mind, representatives of small and medium-sized countries came out expounding their own viewpoints. They pointed out that although the two superpowers already possess thousands of strategic nuclear weapons each, they are stepping up the development and manufacture of new types of nuclear weapons. This is why people throughout the world demand nuclear disarmament and the elimination of the danger of nuclear war. At the same time, the Soviet Union is making an all-out effort to expand its

SOVIET-U.S. STRATEGIC ARMS RACE

		1963 *	1969 *	1970	1971	1972 *	1973	1974 *	1975	1976	1977
ICBM's 	U.S.S.R.	90	1028	1299	1513	1527	1527	1575	1618	1527	1477
	U.S.A.	424	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054	1054
Submarine-launched missiles 	U.S.S.R.	107	196	304	448	500	628	720	784	845	909
	U.S.A.	224	656	656	656	656	656	656	656	656	656
Long-distance bombers 	U.S.S.R.	190	145	145	145	140	140	140	135	135	135
	U.S.A.	630	560	556	505	455	422	437	432	387	373

* Here 1963 refers to the time before the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty; 1969, before the U.S.-Soviet SALT talks began; 1972, when the provisional agreement on certain measures for limiting strategic offensive weapons was signed; 1974, before the U.S.-Soviet joint statement on limiting strategic offensive weapons was published.

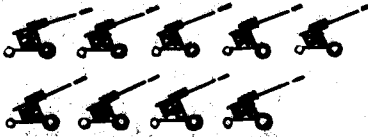





arsenal of conventional weapons, which already equals that of the United States and Western Europe put together. The United States has also stressed the need to shift its emphasis in arms expansion to conventional weapons. Both world wars were fought with conventional weapons and the two superpowers are the only countries capable of launching a world war, so when they clash, they may fight a nuclear war, but it is more likely that they will fight a conventional war. Therefore, conventional armaments and nuclear weapons should be reduced simultaneously. Veselin Djuranovic, President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, said: "In view of the fact that since the Second World War, numerous local wars and military interventions have been conducted exclusively with conventional weapons, we consider that increased attention should be devoted to the adoption of concrete measures with respect to this type of

weapon." He proposed that negotiations on the reduction of both conventional weapons and nuclear weapons should be held simultaneously.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau cited figures to remind people how serious the question of conventional armaments is. He said that there could be no first and second priorities between nuclear and conventional disarmament.

Talking about superpower aggression and expansion in many parts of the world, representatives of the Middle East, African and Asian countries pointed out that this is the root cause of world unrest. Facts have repeatedly borne out that it was conventional arms, and not nuclear arms, that the Soviet Union used when it threatened the Middle East with force, stirred up armed conflicts on the Indian subcontinent, instigated mercenaries to invade Angola and Zaire and when it started the fires of war in the Horn of Africa. The Head of the Pakistan Delegation Haji Agha Shahi said: "While nuclear weapons have remained the focus of world attention. . . it is conventional weapons that have been and will continue to be the most widely used in conflicts. The major proportion of arms expenditure is devoted to the accumulation and development of even more destructive conventional armaments." "The primary responsibility for disarmament in this field, as in the case of nuclear disarmament, rests with the superpowers," he stated. Somali Foreign Minister Abdurahman Jama Barre said: "The level of sophistication reached in the development of conventional weapons makes it necessary to cut back gradually." He added, "An important factor in the reduction of armed forces would certainly be the dismantling and prohibition of military bases on foreign soil and prohibiting the stationing of troops in foreign territories." He went on to refer to the "development of a sizable force of foreign troops in various African countries where they are carrying out the strategic designs and hegemonistic ambitions of a super-

RATIO OF ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES

	U.S.S.R.	U.S.
Artillery		
Warships and Tanks		
Submarines and Helicopters		

power, often with a highly destabilizing effect on the affairs of the African continent."

European Countries' Concern

Europe where the two world wars broke out is today the focus of contention between the two hegemonist powers. Representatives from European countries cannot but feel concerned over the reality today in Europe. The Soviet Union has in recent years greatly strengthened its conventional military deployments in Central Europe, expanded its military personnel and renewed its weapons and equipment. At the same time, it has carried out a strategy of encircling Western Europe from the Middle East, the African continent and the sea. In face of the grave Soviet military menace, how can West European countries afford to relax and go to sleep? In her speech at the session on behalf of the nine E.E.C. countries, Lise Oestergaard, Minister Without Portfolio of Denmark, pointed out: "Twice in this century Europe has been ravaged by war." "Our peoples are tired of rhetoric and propaganda." She

said that the E.E.C. countries urged that measures should be taken to curb and reverse the nuclear and conventional arms race. Christoph van der Klaauw, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, and French President Giscard d'Estaing also stressed that the reduction of conventional armaments is as important as that of nuclear weapons. President Giscard d'Estaing said: "The threat overshadowing Europe does not come from the accumulation and sophistication of nuclear weapons alone. It also stems from the presence on our continent of enormous arsenals of conventional weapons."

Lessons drawn from the two world wars and events after these wars show that like nuclear weapons, the immensely destructive conventional weapons pose a grave threat to international security. Therefore, it is no less urgent for the two superpowers to reduce their conventional armaments than to reduce their nuclear weapons. This is what peace-loving people throughout the world demand of the superpowers.

(Hsinhua Correspondent, June 7)

(Continued from p. 21.)

restore and carry forward our fine traditions in political work, we must also rely on the exemplary role of political work cadres.

Comrades attending the rear service work conference are also present here today. I would like to say that the logistics cadres, leading cadres in particular, should be exemplary, too. They must guard against enjoying priority in the distribution of things under their management or, as the saying goes, against being "waterfront towers, the first to catch the moon." More important, they must have integrity and public spirit and become good or "red" managers. They must strictly observe financial discipline and combat any violations of this discipline, any act of jobbery and back-door deals.

Our Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were exemplary by their deeds. Setting strict demands upon themselves, they worked hard and lived simply for decades. They personified the fine traditions and working style of our Party and our army. What an immense and

far-reaching influence their moving deeds have produced in the whole Party, the whole army and among the people throughout the country! This influence not only extended over our generation but will extend over generations to come. Our cadres, veteran cadres in particular, should take Chairman Mao and Premier Chou as their models and, through their deeds, do a good job in passing on experience and helping and guiding the young.

This All-Army Political Work Conference is a conference of unity and victory. All comrades present here have a bounden duty to see to it that the guidelines of this conference are fully carried out. What is more important, Party committees and political commissars at all levels must strengthen their leadership and personally and energetically attend to the implementation of the decisions. I believe that with this conference the whole army's political work will surely improve and the fine traditions of our Party and our army fostered by Chairman Mao will certainly be carried forward and reach new levels.

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

New Edition of "The 24 Histories"

A new punctuated and collated edition of *The 24 Histories*, the first of its kind in China's publication history, has all been issued recently by the Chung-hua Bookstore after 20 years of intense work.

The 24 histories were selected by Emperor Chien Lung of the Ching Dynasty in the 18th century. Running to some 40 million Chinese characters in 3,249 volumes, these histories were written by historians between the second century B.C. and the early 18th century. They ranged from Szuma Chien of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.) to Chang Ting-yu of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911).

This voluminous series of histories, written in biographical form, systematically records some 4,000 years of Chinese history up to the fall of the Ming Dynasty in 1644. It provides a rich store of historical data on China's political, economic, military and cultural developments. It also records China's foreign relations in ancient times and contains important historical material about some other Asian countries.

The old editions of the tomes were difficult to read and use because they were not punctuated and had many errors.

When Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were alive, they showed concern about bringing out an improved edition of *The 24 Histories*. On their instructions, extensive work started in

1958 to punctuate the books, check the texts and correct the errors. But as a result of the sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" who negated China's cultural heritage, the work was interrupted. The punctuated and collated edition of the first four histories—*Historical Records*, *History of the Han Dynasty*, *History of the Late Han Dynasty* and *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*, disappeared from the bookstores and libraries. Republishing the histories was resumed in 1971 only after Chairman Mao and Premier Chou had reiterated their instructions.

A publication note has been written for each of the 24 histories, giving an account of the course of its editing and writing, the value of its historical material, the different editions, and the punctuations and corrections made to the texts. The note also criticizes such idealist viewpoints as fatalism and the fallacy that history is made by heroes, and analyses how the authors tried to serve the needs of feudal rule through writing these histories.

In a note printed at the end of each history book, explanations are given to why and on what basis the text was changed. As to dubious points, the differences are pointed out and, in most cases, the collators give their judgment and opinions.

The new edition embodies the results of research on the his-

torical material done by Chinese scholars and specialists.

The Chung-hua Bookstore plans to continue improving the new edition, add an index, compile past textual studies of *The 24 Histories* and produce a series of books on the results of research on these histories.

More Scientific Exchanges With Other Countries

The Sino-Australian Plant Tissue Culture Symposium, was held in Peking last month in accordance with an exchange agreement between the Chinese and Australian Academies of Sciences. It was attended by 40 Chinese scientists and 16 noted plant tissue culture scholars from Australia, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Japan, Korea, Romania and Britain. At the 5-day symposium, participants read out and discussed at length some 50 papers on another culture, monoploid breeding, protoplast culture, somatic hybridization and tissue culture. These papers will be published in book form in August this year.

China has been actively promoting academic exchanges with other countries since the overthrow of the "gang of four."

China relies mainly on its own efforts to raise its scientific and technological level, but science and technology are the common wealth of mankind, and each nation and country has its own strong points. Making the fullest use of the latest achievements abroad is a major means for developing our science and technology at high speed.



At the symposium in Peking.



Chinese mathematicians Yang Lo (right) and Chang Kuang-hou (left) with noted British mathematician Professor W.K. Hayman during their visit to Britain.

Last year, the Chinese Academy of Sciences sent scientists and technicians abroad and invited foreign scientific and technical personnel to China for visits, studies, lectures, short-term work, and academic meetings. Taking part in these activities were some 500 Chinese and foreign scientists and technicians, many of them scientists of repute. Co-operation and exchanges covered over 100 subjects, including high energy physics, electronic computer technology, genetic engineering, remote sensing technique, macromolecular biology, plant tissue culture and geophysics.

The volume of such activities sponsored by the academy this year will double that of last year.

Chinese scientists in different fields went to Romania, Yugoslavia, Algeria, West Germany, France, Japan, Switzerland, Sweden, Australia, and the United States to acquaint themselves with new results, trends, policies and management of scientific research in these countries. Many foreign scientists have a keen interest in and support China's scientific research work. They help promote the development of China's sciences.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences has agreements on co-operation with its counterparts in a number of countries and is carrying out exchanges with them in a planned way.

Research units under the academy have established book and information exchanges with their counterparts in other countries.

Chess Championships

The 1978 national chess championships were held in China's coastal city of Amoy.

Weichi and two other variants of chess games — international-rule chess and Chinese-rule chess, similar but of greater antiquity — were on the championship programme.

Chess competition has a long history in China and is popular among the masses.

A total of 228 players from 24 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions took part. Not one well-known player remained undefeated during the 15-day competitions.

The Shanghai team, which eventually became the champion, was upset by an unknown Chekiang provincial team. It came as a surprise because three of the four Chekiang players are youngsters under 15.

The matches took place in the Workers' Palace of Culture, the stadium and at grass-roots units so as to enable more spectators to see the national championships, and to help promote these games among the masses.

A tournament for individuals and another for youngsters, both including all three variants of chess, will be held later this year.

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and Chinese-language newspapers and periodicals including **RENMIN RIBAO**, **GUANGMING RIBAO**, **HONGQI** and about 40 scientific and technical journals.

For the convenience of foreign tourists and visitors and overseas Chinese, **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre) has entrusted the Foreign Languages Bookstore in Peking, Shanghai, Kwangchow, Nanking, Tientsin and other cities as well as sailors' clubs in various Chinese ports to take orders and subscriptions.

A 1979 calendar will be mailed to those who subscribe to any of these journals for one year; those who subscribe for two or three years will get preferential rates, and gifts will be given to those who recommend one or more subscribers.

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