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26th Anniversary of Founding of People's Republic of China Celebrated

FULL of revolutionary pride and enthusiasm, people across China's vast land warmly celebrated the 26th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1. They rejoiced over the great victories scored in socialist revolution and construction during the past 26 years, the great victories of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the important results the people of various nationalities throughout the country had achieved in conscientiously carrying out Chairman Mao's important instructions on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism, on promoting stability and unity and effecting a rise in the national economy.

Grand Reception

Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, gave a grand reception at the Great Hall of the People on the eve of National Day in the name of Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council.

Among the more than 4,000 people attending the reception were Chinese leaders; leading members of departments of the Party, the government and the Chinese People's Liberation Army; representatives of all fronts in Peking; representatives of the participants in the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture and the Third National Games, as well as friends from the five continents.

Present were Party and state leaders Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chu Teh, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsion, Su Chen-hua, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chu-chwen, Li Su-wen, Yao Lien-wel, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Shen Yen-ping; and President of the Supreme People's Court Chiang Hua.

Distinguished guests attending the reception and seated at the main table were:

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk; Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, Vice-Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional National Union Government of Laos, and Madame Phoumi Vongvichit; Iosif Banc, leader of the Romanian Party Workers' Delegation, Alternate Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Member of the Secretariat of the R.C.P. Central Committee and Chairman of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and
Hamad A.A. Alaydi, Head of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking; and Djawoto, Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Journalists’ Association.

Mr. Shang Chen and his wife now in Peking on a visit to his home land were also seated at the main table.

When Chinese Party and state leaders and the distinguished foreign guests entered the banquet hall amid joyful music, the hall burst into a warm prolonged ovation.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping proposed a toast amid warm applause.

He said: "The Chinese people are greeting the glorious festival of the 26th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China in an excellent situation at home and abroad.”

He said: “At the time of joyous celebration of this festival, I wish to extend, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council of the P.R.C., our warm congratulations and cordial greetings to the people of all nationalities in our country fighting on the various fronts of socialist revolution and socialist construction of the motherland. It gives us Chinese people particular joy that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Mme. Sihanouk have, after their glorious return to Cambodia, come over in time to join us in our National Day celebrations. We wish to express warm welcome to them, and also to the other friends from various countries of the five continents and our compatriots from overseas.”

The Vice-Premier continued: “In the past year, our people of all nationalities, persisting in the Party’s basic line under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, consolidated and expanded the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and started a nationwide upsurge of mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship in our country has become more consolidated and the cause of our socialist construction more prosperous. Our great socialist motherland is now in an important period of historical development. The people of the whole country must continue to follow Chairman Mao’s important instructions to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism, to promote stability and unity and boost the national economy. Our people of all nationalities must continue to persist in independence and self-reliance and work hard in the spirit of seizing the day and seizing the hour for the attainment of the magnificent goal of building China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of reunifying our motherland.”

In conclusion, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said: “The current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and the situation is excellent. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of our era. At the same time, the two superpowers are contending with each other with ever greater intensity. The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Pursuing the strategic policy ‘Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,’ the Chinese people must get prepared in every way against the growing danger of a new world war and, together with the people of the world,
Comrade Kim Il Sung Receives Chinese Communist Party Delegation


COMRADE Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, on September 24 received the Delegation of the Communist Party of China with Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, as its leader and Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, as its deputy leader. Comrade Kim Il Sung had a most cordial and friendly conversation with the delegation members.

On September 25 Comrade Kim Il Sung again met the delegation's leader Chang Chun-chiao and they had a conversation in a cordially, sincerely and friendly atmosphere.

The C.P.C. Delegation paid a friendly visit to Korea from September 21 to 27 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Towards the end of the visit, the delegation gave a reciprocal banquet on the evening of September 26. Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and Comrade Yang Hyong Sop, Member of the Political Committee, and Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, spoke at the banquet.

carry the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism through to the end."

The reception was permeated with a happy atmosphere of unity and victory.

Present at the reception were experts of various countries who are helping with China's socialist construction, and heads and military attaches of various diplomatic missions in Peking.

Gala Parties

Peking was a scene of revolutionary vigour on the National Day. The five-star national flags fluttered everywhere in the breeze. High on the Tien An Men rostrum was a huge portrait of the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao. Facing the rostrum, on the east and west sides of the square, stood the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. A portrait of Sun Yat-sen stood on the southern side of the square. The Monument to the People's Heroes towered against a background of luxuriatous pines and flowers in bloom.

The Working People's Palace of Culture and five other parks were beautifully bedecked for the gala parties which lasted through the day.

Chinese Party and state leaders joined the more than half a million workers, commune peasants, fighters of the People's Liberation Army, militiamen, teachers, students and other intellectuals, cadres and other Peking residents in the festivities. They were: Yeh Chien-yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chu Teh, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Li Su-wen, Yao Lien-wei, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Sun Chien; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Shen Yen-ping; and President of the Supreme People's Court Chiang Hua.

Wang Hung-wen, Wei Kuo-ching, Hsu Shih-yu and Li Teh-sheng joined the people respectively in Shanghai, Nanning, Kwangchow and Shenyang in celebrations. Chen Hsi-lien and Saifudin attended the festivities in Urumei, Sinkiang, which was at the same time celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, General Secretary Phoumi Vongvichit and Madame Phoumi Vongvichit, Jusuf Adjitorop, leader of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, and other foreign guests

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Comrade Chang Chun-chiao said: The Workers' Party of Korea and the fraternal Korean people gave the Chinese Communist Party Delegation an extremely warm welcome and gracious hospitality wherever it went. This fully demonstrates the great friendship and militant unity between the two Parties and two peoples. We are particularly moved by the fact that Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people, has spared some time from his heavy duties to receive and give a dinner for us, and have an intimate talk with us on questions of mutual interest between our two Parties. This is very helpful to the common struggle of the two Parties and peoples of China and Korea.

Comrade Chang Chun-chiao said: The two Parties and peoples of China and Korea have all along fought shoulder to shoulder for common revolutionary objectives, and rejoice at the victories of our common struggle. We are convinced that this great friendship will pass from generation to generation. The Communist Party and people of China resolutely support the Workers' Party and people of Korea in their just struggle against imperialist aggression and intervention and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Whatever storms may arise in the world in the future, the Parties and peoples of China and Korea will always be united, always fight together and be victorious together.

Comrade Yang Hyong Sop said in his speech that the great leader of the Korean people received Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and had a friendly, important conversation with him. This, he stressed, was of great historic significance to the consolidation and development of Korea-China friendship. He said: "During the visit, the Delegation of our Party and the Delegation of the Communist Party of China held friendly, comrade talks, sincerely exchanged opinions on the continuous consolida-

the Korean and Chinese Parties and peoples have truly become class brothers, revolutionary comrades-in-arms and kith and kin."

Referring to the visit to China last April by the Korean people's great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, he pointed out: It was an epoch-making event of great historic significance; it has added a new chapter to the history of the traditional friendship and unity between our two Parties and two peoples, and demonstrated to the whole world its invincible might.

In his speech, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao said: "The Workers' Party of Korea founded and led personally by Comrade Kim Il Sung is the vanguard of the Korean proletariat, the organizer and leader guiding the Korean people to victory in revolution. In the very difficult and complex circumstances in the past 30 years, it has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Korean revolution, leading the Korean people from one great victory to another."

He noted: The magnificent targets of Korea's Six-Year National Economic Development Plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule. This is a matter of great joy to the Korean people, and its influence will go far beyond Korea's boundary.

He said: "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, more prosperous and stronger than ever, has now risen in the East of the world with a completely new look. She has established diplomatic relations with a growing number of countries and has recently joined the movement of non-aligned countries. Her international prestige is rising, her role in international affairs growing. Holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, the Workers' Party and people of Korea oppose imperialism and modern revisionism, vigorously support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed
people, steadily strengthen militant solidarity with the peoples of the world, the third world peoples in particular, and make one new contribution after another to the revolutionary cause of the world's people."

"The Communist Party and people of China," he declared, "hold that the reunification of Korea should be realized on the basis of the principles and guidelines put forth by Comrade Kim Il Sung, and resolutely stand for the solution of the Korean question by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference. U.S. imperialism must withdraw all its aggressor troops and military equipment. The Communist Party and people of China firmly support the correct policy and solemn stand of the Workers' Party and Government of Korea on the reunification of the fatherland and firmly support the just struggle of the south Korean people."

Comrade Chang Chun-chiao said: "The international situation characterized by great disorder under heaven continues to develop in a direction favourable to the proletariat and the peoples throughout the world and unfavourable to imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. "In the present excellent international situation, the Communist Party and people of China will remain united with the Workers' Party and people of Korea, strengthen revolutionary solidarity with the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of the third world, strengthen the militant solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of all countries, and carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and the struggle against modern revisionism."

Viet Nam Party and Government Delegation Ends Visit

The Viet Nam Party and Government Delegation led by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, wound up its official friendly visit to China and left Kweilin for home on September 28. It was given a warm send-off at the airport by Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Wei Kuo-ching, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chang Tsai-chien, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Mao Yuan-hsin, Secretary of the C.P.C. Liaoning Provincial Committee, Political Commissar of the P.L.A. Shenyang Units and Vice-Chairman of the Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee; Pasang (woman, Tibetan nationality), Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Secretary of the C.P.C. Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee; Tsai Hai-lung (Korean nationality), Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Political Commissar of the P.L.A. Kirin Provincial Command and Secretary of the C.P.C. Committee of the Yenpen Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Kirin Province; and Su Ching, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Minister of the State Planning Commission.

Seeing the delegation off at the airport were Party and state leaders Chang Chun-chiao, Li Hsien-nien, Wu Teh, Wu Kuei-hsien and Hsu Hsiang-chien and leading members of the departments concerned.

When the delegation arrived in Urumchi and the leader, deputy leaders and other members stepped down from the plane, they were warmly greeted by leading members of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region Saiufudin, Yang Yung, Ismayill Amat and others. Children of various nationalities presented each delegation member with bouquets.

More than 100,000 people of various nationalities lined the streets in the festively decorated city to give the delegation a rousing welcome.
Speech by Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of Chinese Delegation

Following is the full text of the speech by Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the plenary meeting of the 30th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the morning of September 26.—Ed.

Mr. President,

Profound changes have taken place in the international situation since the 29th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. A serious capitalist economic crisis plagues most parts of the world. All the basic contradictions in the world are further sharpening. The trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have advanced valiantly and won a series of significant victories in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. On the other hand, the contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony has become more and more intense. The whole world is in greater turbulence and unrest. Rhetoric about detente cannot cover up the stark reality. The danger of war is visibly growing.

First of all, it should be pointed out that the great victory of the three Indo-Chinese peoples has shaken the world. The Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples have thoroughly defeated U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, thus making an important contribution to the anti-imperialist cause of the people of the world and greatly inspiring all oppressed nations and oppressed people. Their victory is a brilliant example showing that a weak nation can defeat a strong, and a small nation can defeat a big.

The peoples of Asia are strongly against superpower interference and control and against the attempt of any country to seek hegemony in any part of Asia. The Southeast Asian countries want their region to become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside powers. This position of theirs has won the recognition and respect of an increasing number of countries. The struggle of the South Asian peoples against expansionism and hegemonism has made new progress. In West Asia, long-standing disputes have been resolved by the countries concerned which excluded foreign influence and conducted consultations on an equal footing, thus creating favourable conditions for friendly co-operation among the countries in the region. The Gulf countries are getting united in the common struggle against superpower infiltration and control.

In Africa, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and the Comoros have achieved independence one after another. This is the result of their persistence in protracted struggles, particularly in protracted armed struggles. The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against racism and white rule is developing in depth. The situation on the African continent is most encouraging.

The struggle of the Latin American peoples to combat imperialism and hegemonism, safeguard state sovereignty and defend their national natural resources and economic rights and interests has continued to surge forward. They have reinforced in various ways their unity in the struggle.

Furthermore, we are pleased to see that in Oceania, Papua New Guinea has achieved its national independence recently.

In order to change the old international economic order and oppose the shifting of economic crises, the third world countries have, in pursuance of the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the U.N. General Assembly at its Sixth Special Session, advanced many reasonable proposals and waged unremitting struggles at various conferences and achieved marked successes.

The unity and struggle of the third world countries, extending from the political to the economic sphere, have ushered in a new stage in the revolutionary cause of the people of the world against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

The countries of the second world have also heightened their struggle against superpower and particularly social-imperialist control, intervention, subversion and threat of force. The trend among the West European countries to get united against hegemonism has continued to grow. The second world has increased its dialogue and contacts with the third world. Such co-operation will doubtless have good prospects for development as long as it is based on mutual respect for sovereignty and equality.
The contention between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, extends to all parts of the world. They are intensifying their strife in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Atlantic, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention. Social-imperialism is making a feint to the East while attacking in the West. This was revealed, rather than covered up, by the conference on security and cooperation in Europe. The two superpowers do reach some agreements from time to time, but these only erect a facade, behind which they are engaged in bigger and fiercer contention.

Take for example the agreement in principle reached at the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting last November on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. This agreement only sets a numerical limit on the arms in question, which exceeds the amount each side possesses at the moment, while qualitatively it sets no limit at all. It is evident, therefore, that such an agreement should more appropriately be called an agreement on strategic arms expansion rather than an agreement on strategic arms limitation. Facts are at hand to prove this. Since the signing of this agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union have both stepped up their development and deployment of new-type strategic arms, each trying hard to overpower the other.

Of late, the Soviet Union has made use of the conclusion of the European security conference to turn out much propaganda alleging that detente has progressed to a new stage. This is sheer deceptive talk. We are aware of the eager desire for security on the part of the many small and medium countries which participated in that conference. We are also aware that they have no illusions about its agreements which have no binding force. What security, let alone detente, is there to speak of when Europe remains in the prolonged state of tense armed confrontation? While chanting "peace and security" in the conference hall, the Soviet Union made moves to aggravate tension outside. It not only concentrated massive military forces and carried out unbridled provocations in the seas of Northern Europe and the Mediterranean, but also brazenly stretched its tentacles to the Iberian Peninsula. Such deeds of expansion coupled with words of detente are a huge mockery of the European security conference. From its inception we considered the European security conference a European insecurity conference. Now that this conference has ended, is there greater security in Europe? In our view, no. It has not altered the basic situation in Europe in the least. If one should be so naive as to believe in the Soviet propaganda, that would be dangerous indeed.

The Soviet leadership hankers after a so-called "Asian collective security system." Now that the European security conference has been a success, as they say, we Asian countries should learn from its example. What a bright idea! The situation in Asia, however, is different from that in Europe. It was only a short while ago that a superpower was driven out of Indochina. So the purpose of the Soviet Union is not the preservation of Asian security; rather it is to "fill the vacuum" and at the same time divert world attention to Asia to cover up the fact that Europe is the focus of its strategy. As for the principle of the inviolability of existing frontiers that was stressed at the European security conference, what implications would it have in Asia? Is it that the Soviet Union wants us to recognize as legal its occupation of the territories of some Asian countries while at the same time allowing it to reserve the right to support one Asian country in violating the existing frontiers of another, as it did in 1971? To put it bluntly, the idea of a so-called "Asian collective security system" peddled by the Soviet leadership is designed to facilitate its contention with the other superpower for hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and serves as a means by which it seeks to divide and control the Asian countries. But the Asian countries, which won their independence after protracted struggles, know well that in order to be masters of their own house they must never "let the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf through the front gate." China's attitude towards this stuff of "Asian collective security system" is clear-cut: First, we are against it; second, we despise it.

As Lenin pointed out time and again, imperialism means war. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, war is inevitable. The content of imperialist politics is world domination, and the continuation of this politics is imperialist war. Since both superpowers are after world domination, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. The so-called "balance of power," even if it exists, is only a transient and superficial one. It will not do to depend on a "balance of power" or a so-called "balance of terror" for maintaining peace. Khrushchov's brainchild that peaceful coexistence is the only alternative in this nuclear age is a hypocritical lie. If the Soviet Union took this stuff seriously, why should it frantically develop conventional armed forces in addition to energetically developing nuclear arms, and maintain an offensive posture far exceeding its defence needs? With the superpowers contending so fiercely and expanding their armaments so madly, they are bound to go to war against each other some day. This is independent of man's will. The superpowers are the source of a new world war, and the danger of war comes mainly from the wildly ambitious social-imperialism. The frequent meetings between the superpowers and their profuse talk about detente precisely prove that there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world. What characterizes the current world situation is decidedly not an irreversible process of detente but the approaching danger of a new world war.

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We hope that the people of all countries will heighten their vigilance and get prepared against the growing danger of a new world war. It is better to be prepared than unprepared. Without preparations one will suffer. The superpowers look strong but are inwardly weak and very isolated. The more evils they do, the more thoroughly they will reveal their true features, and the stronger the resistance of the people of the world will become. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing on a world scale. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people. And the future of the world will be bright.

Mr. President,

Numerous questions will be considered at the current session of the General Assembly. The Chinese Delegation would like to state our views on some of them.

1. The Question of Opposing Colonialism

The past year was a year in which the African people continued to win important victories in their struggle for national independence and liberation. With the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system and the glorious birth of a number of newly independent states, the African national-liberation movement has advanced to a new stage, and the last strongholds of colonialism in southern Africa are assailed from all sides by the multitude of African people and countries persisting in struggle.

But even before old-line colonialism dies out, the two superpowers have already stepped in. The United States has long supported colonial rule in Africa, and southern Africa in particular. The Soviet Union, flaunting the banner of "socialism," has infiltrated into the African national-liberation movement to sow discord and stir up trouble in an attempt to bring the movement within its social-imperialist orbit.

All revolutionary people of the world are saddened by the civil war in Angola. Differences within a national-liberation movement are something normal. The correct attitude is to encourage unity in their common struggle to combat the enemy and drive out the colonialists. That is why the Organization of African Unity has recognized and supported all the three liberation organizations in Angola engaged in armed struggle and has made tireless efforts to promote unity in the Angolan national-liberation movement. But the Soviet leadership which considers itself as the patron of the national-liberation movement disregards the agreement reached among the three Angolan organizations on unity against the enemy and has, through its propaganda media, identified one organization as revolutionary and censured another as reactionary in a deliberate attempt to create division. Furthermore, it has sent large quantities of arms, including heavy arms, to one of the Angolan organizations. That was how the civil war was provoked in Angola. The other superpower, on its part, has not lagged behind. The situation in Angola is becoming ever more complicated.

From the very beginning China has given her support to the national-liberation movement in Angola. We gave military aid to all three Angolan liberation organizations to help them fight Portuguese colonialism. Being aware of their differences, we have all along urged them to unite against the enemy. After the agreement on independence was reached between the Angolan national-liberation movement and Portugal, we stopped giving new military aid to the three Angolan organizations. Such are the facts, and facts are more eloquent than words. The Soviet slanders against China can in no way cover up the truth; instead, they serve to lay bare the true features of the Soviet Union.

The civil war in Angola instigated by the Soviet Union is a bad thing, but a good thing too. It is good precisely because it serves as teaching material by negative example. All revolutionary movements are bound to go through twists and turns. We believe that the broad masses of the Angolan people, after experiencing setbacks and detours, will certainly uphold unity, persist in struggle, frustrate the superpower and particularly social-imperialist schemes and achieve their independence and liberation. Their temporary difficulties and sacrifices will not only greatly enhance their own political awareness, but provide a profound lesson for the liberation movements of the oppressed nations throughout the world.

An excellent situation prevails in Africa. It was because the racists in southern Africa were driven into a corner that Vorster of South Africa proposed "dialogue" between the minority white regime of Southern Rhodesia and the Zimbabwe national-liberation organizations. This signifies only the weakness of the racists and not at all their strength. Through such tactics they intend to disintegrate the national-liberation movement and to preserve the reactionary white rule. The recent Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity penetratingly stated that "Vorster's detente manoeuvres on Rhodesia are a transparent trick to frustrate majority rule and to disarm the freedom-fighters." The conference stressed the necessity of armed struggle, called on the Zimbabwe people to immediately intensify their armed struggle and expressed the determination...
to fight by every means possible the white racist regimes until their complete elimination. We warmly support this correct stand. We have always advocated the use of revolutionary dual tactics against the reactionaries' counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Armed struggle is fundamental; the people's armed forces must be strengthened and not weakened, negotiations or no negotiations. Deviations and detours may sometimes occur in the complicated struggle against counter-revolutionary dual tactics. But the people will sum up their experience, overcome difficulties and continue to advance. Through long and tortuous struggles the people of southern Africa will eventually win the complete liberation of the African continent.

2. The Korean Question

The independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the common aspiration of the entire Korean people. Over the years the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward many reasonable proposals and propositions for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Thanks to its initiative, an agreement was reached with the south Korean authorities in 1972 on the three principles for independent and peaceful reunification, which were affirmed by the U.N. General Assembly in 1973. However, Korea remains divided today, because the Pak Jung Hi clique, supported by the United States, has abandoned these principles and sabotaged the north-south talks.

Under the impact of the great victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples this year, U.S. imperialism became panicstricken. It endlessly repeated the myth of a so-called "threat of a southward invasion from the north" concocted by the Pak Jung Hi clique, deliberately played up the tension on the Korean Peninsula and even declared that it would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons there. Backed and abetted by the United States, the Pak Jung Hi clique pursued its policy of national division with greater frenzy, issued a succession of "emergency laws," declared a state of war and intensified its suppression of the people in south Korea. It looked as if a Korean war were touch and go. As a matter of fact, that was much ado about nothing. It is now clear that the United States and the Pak Jung Hi clique have acted in this way merely to create a pretext and deceive the people of the world so that U.S. troops may hang on in south Korea and the division of Korea may be perpetuated. If there is a danger of war on the Korean Peninsula, it can only originate from the south Korean authorities that constantly clamour for "reunification by prevailing over communism," and absolutely not from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which insists on independent and peaceful reunification.

The draft resolution on Korea submitted by the United States, Japan and other countries this year claims a "preparedness" to terminate the United Nations command. But there is no mention at all of the withdrawal of foreign troops from south Korea. Obviously, its purpose is, under the cover of terminating the U.N. command, to legalize the presence of U.S. troops in south Korea and create "two Koreas." The U.S. attempt to thrust the Pak Jung Hi clique into the United Nations is part of this scheme. Clearly, such a draft resolution can by no means lead to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, no matter how nicely it is worded. It is absolutely unacceptable to us.

We have consistently held that the Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. The draft resolution on Korea submitted by Algeria, China and other countries proposes that the United Nations command be dissolved and all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations be withdrawn, and that the Korean Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement signed by the real parties to the armistice agreement. It also puts forward a series of positive measures to remove tension between north and south Korea, prevent armed conflicts and promote the normalization of the situation. This proposal is entirely just and reasonable. It not only meets the eager desire of the entire Korean people but is conducive to the fundamental improvement of the situation on the Korean Peninsula and in northeast Asia.

The United Nations command must be dissolved. From the day of its formation it has been illegal and a tool of U.S. aggression. In fact, it has become a U.S. command long since.

However, the dissolution of the U.N. command must be coupled with the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea. For what would be the point of merely changing the name while keeping everything else intact? Continued presence of U.S. troops in south Korea under whatever name contravenes the principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and will only aggravate the tension on the Korean Peninsula. The question of withdrawal of all the foreign troops from Korea should have been discussed and settled within three months after the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement. This has been delayed for no less than 22 years because of obstructions placed by successive American administrations. And 17 years have passed since the Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew on their own initiative from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to facilitate a peaceful settle-

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ment of the Korean question. Now there are no foreign troops in north Korea, but U.S. troops still hang on in south Korea. For how much longer does the United States intend to prolong such a state of affairs?

Korea cannot remain for ever in a state of armistice. The U.S. representative's idea for the United States and the south Korean authorities to propose to the parties of the armistice the convening of a conference to discuss ways to preserve the armistice agreement is of no avail. The Korean Armistice Agreement has been in existence for 22 years, and how much longer will it be preserved? Moreover, as is known to all, the parties of the Korean Armistice Agreement have in fact changed a great deal. The Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea long ago. Most components of the United Nations command have dispersed and evaporated into thin air. So how can such a conference be convened? As for the exploration at such a conference of the possibility of a larger conference to negotiate a more fundamental arrangement, is it not even more impractical? After the armistice in 1953, under the provisions of the armistice agreement a political conference of a higher level should have been held to settle the Korean question. However, owing to sabotage by the United States, even its preliminary talks failed to produce any result. Subsequently in 1954, the Korean and Chinese sides made tremendous efforts in Geneva to urge the convening of a political conference of a higher level in the hope that a peaceful settlement of the Korean question could be realized. At the time, the U.S. representative, stubbornly and arbitrarily clinging to his own course, went so far as to refuse to reopen any discussions on the Korean question in the future. Thus, the United States single-handedly slammed the door to a political conference on the Korean question. In the actual circumstances at present, the practical way is for the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement to negotiate and sign a peace agreement to replace the armistice agreement. The facts over the past two decades and more prove that U.S. interference in Korea is the root cause of constant tensions in Korea. Therefore, the key to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question lies in the conclusion of a peace agreement to replace the armistice agreement and in the withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

The United States asserts that as there is no normal international boundary between north and south Korea, the armistice agreement and the demilitarized zone stipulated therein absolutely must not be changed. We cannot accept this view. Korea is only in a state of temporary division. Between north and south Korea there can be no normal international boundary but only a provisional demarcation line. Since both north and south Korea have agreed on the mutual non-use of force and on reunification by peaceful means, why should it be impossible for some necessary measures to be agreed on to settle this problem pending the peaceable reunification? It is groundless to assert that a war will break out in Korea in the absence of the armistice agreement.

The Chinese Delegation maintains that the draft resolution on Korea sponsored by Algeria and other countries is one that can solve the problem. We hope that the current session of the General Assembly will seriously consider and adopt this draft resolution.

3. The Middle East Question

Since the October War, the Middle East has reverted to a state of "no war, no peace." This is the result of the fierce and many-sided contention between the two superpowers carried on against the will of the Arab and Palestinian peoples.

During this period, disengagement agreements were signed between Egypt and Israel and between Syria and Israel. Recently, a second disengagement agreement has been signed by Egypt and Israel. Nevertheless, the Middle East question is far from being settled.

It is mainly the two superpowers that are to be held responsible for this state of affairs. In the two years since the October War, one superpower proposed a "comprehensive solution" and the other a "step-by-step solution" of the Middle East question, each trying hard to boost itself and denigrate the other and masquerade as a friend of the Arab and Palestinian peoples. In fact, while the United States has no intention of bringing about a thorough settlement of the Middle East question, the Soviet Union is still less inclined to do so. It may be recalled that when the October War in the Middle East was at its most critical juncture and thereafter, the Soviet Union withheld the shipment of arms already promised to Egypt and even pressed for the repayment of debts. How can one expect such a perfidious country to support in earnest the Arab people in their just struggle for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of the Palestinian national rights?

Both superpowers have the need to maintain a state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East—brief fighting followed by a period of truce, with both war and peace kept under control. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, they contend for spheres of influence, places of strategic importance and oil resources in the Middle East. Taking advantage of the same, they sell munitions in order to reap fabulous profits and alleviate their own economic difficulties. Again taking advantage of this, they test new weapons in
preparation for a new war on a larger scale. All this is done at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people in the Middle East.

Countless agreements on the Middle East have been reached inside and outside the United Nations in the past 20 odd years. Now, in retrospect, is there any agreement that has been strictly observed by the Israeli aggressors, or that has brought about a basic change in the Middle East situation? None, practically none. In this final analysis, it is not agreements on paper but the struggle of the people that will determine the future of the Middle East. What calls for close attention and vigilance now is that a superpower is taking advantage of the present situation to sow discord and attempt to undermine Arab unity. The Arab and Palestinian peoples must never be taken in.

The Chinese people have consistently supported the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors and have all along opposed superpower contention in the Middle East. We believe that the Palestinian and Arab peoples will continue to strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle and carry their fight against aggression and hegemonism through to the end.

4. The Question of Disarmament

Disarmament is an old question. At a time when there is a growing danger of a new world war, it is fully understandable that the people of all countries, and those of the third and second world countries in particular, should feel more concerned about this question. After the European security conference, the Soviet leadership has become particularly clamorous for “complementing political detente by military detente,” preaching that the most important task now is general and complete disarmament. This is making political profit out of the well-intentioned desire of the people of the world. It is a calculated fraud.

Anyone having respect for realities can see that in Europe there is no political detente at all but a fierce and all-sided contention between the two superpowers. Immediately after the conclusion of the European security conference the Soviet Union violated Norway's air space. Is this not another proof that the so-called detente is just empty talk? To advocate in these circumstances the expanding, developing in depth and spreading of detente can only make people laugh their heads off.

Exploiting the developing countries' keen desire to develop their national economies, the Soviet Union recently has again trumpeted its proposal for a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the use of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. The Soviet Union deems this proposal its masterstroke, and its representatives have tried to sell it to us here for no one knows how many times. But so far they have failed to inform us just how big the real Soviet military budget is. It would probably take several years to get this clear. And who knows how many more before military budgets can truly be reduced as proposed by the Soviet Union? This magnificent Soviet plan, to use a Chinese saying, is “to draw a pie to satisfy hunger.” If the developing countries were made to wait for such assistance, wouldn’t they be left helpless like “the stranded fish which is promised water to be fetched from a distant sea?”

China's views on disarmament are known to all. We are for disarmament. But it must be genuine and not phoney disarmament. We are against phoney disarmament, and still more against the Soviet attempt to use a disarmament conference as a veil to cover up the truth of its arms expansion and war preparations. The two superpowers are quickening their pace towards a new world war. At this juncture, a disarmament conference in whatever form will only create illusions of peace, serve to deceive and lull the people of the world and bind the hands of the numerous small and medium countries. This is what we are firmly against.

As regards a world disarmament conference, China keeps to her position set forth long ago, namely, it must have a clear aim and the necessary pre-conditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-conditions are: all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances, and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear-missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. But now the superpowers even refuse to undertake the minimum obligation of not using nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries. How can it be said that conditions are ripe for holding a world disarmament conference?

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Historical experience merits attention. The more the imperialists diffuse a smokescreen of disarmament, the bigger is the danger of war. Before World War II a large-scale international disarmament conference lasting nearly three years was held under the sponsorship of the League of Nations after nearly seven years of preparation, and hundreds of proposals and suggestions were discussed. But the results? Arms expansion instead of disarmament, and war instead of peace. The only effect of that conference was to put many countries off guard and as a result, they were caught unprepared by the outbreak of World War II and suffered a great deal.

We hold that the United Nations should not repeat the mistake of the League of Nations.

Nevertheless, as was expected, the Soviet Union tabled at this session of the General Assembly a proposal for the "complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests." This is old ware in new wrappings and another of its tricks for maintaining nuclear monopoly. China's stand on this question is clear to all and we will not repeat it. As regards the Soviet proposal for the prohibition of the manufacture of what it calls new types of weapons even more formidable than nuclear weapons, its aim is none other than to divert people's attention from the immediate issues by talking about remote things. Let it be discussed by those who are prepared to manufacture such weapons. There is no need to bring it up here to scare people.

5. The Question of Development

Since the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly, the third world countries have waged effective struggles and put forward a series of reasonable proposals and ideas for transforming the old international economic order based on exploitation. The oil-exporting countries have bravely stood up to superpower intimidation and threats and kept a firm hold on their oil resources and their right to fix oil prices. Many countries have adopted measures against transnational corporations to regain their sovereign rights in varying degrees. Various associations of raw material-producing countries have been set up one after another. The third world countries have put forward a number of proposals, such as the integrated programme for commodities and the indexation of prices, for the transformation of the present irrational international economic order. The situation of the struggle in the economic field against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is excellent.

There are two conflicting positions on the question of development. The position taken by the third world is for maintaining independence and self-reliance, transforming the old economic order of exploitation of the third world by a few big powers and establishing a new economic order on the principles of sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. The other position, taken by the superpowers, stresses "interdependence" or "international division of labour" between the exploiting and the exploited countries in an attempt to preserve the old economic order. Are the industrially developed countries and the raw material-producing countries interdependent? Yes, they are. This interdependence has been in existence ever since the emergence of a single world market. The point is what kind of interdependence. It may be said that there is an interdependence between the horse and its rider. But we all know it is the horse that takes the burden and not the rider. As for "international division of labour," it is in essence one and the same as "interdependence." With the emergence of colonialism and imperialism, a new and international division of labour sprang up in the world that converted one part of the globe into a chiefly agricultural field of production serving the other part which was a chiefly industrial field. But to call such cosmopolitan exploitation internationalism is an idea that could only be engendered in the brains of the social-imperialists. Whether or not there is exploitation in the existing international economic relations and whether or not an end should be put to such exploitation — this is a real problem of great importance today.

Towards the demand of the third world for transforming the old international economic order, two differing attitudes are adopted by different industrially developed countries. One is dialogue, and the other confrontation. Since the use of oil as a weapon by the oil-exporting countries, one superpower has kept hurling abuses and waving the big stick at them and even threatened them with armed intervention in an attempt to coerce them into submission. The other superpower has chimed in, saying that oil prices should not be raised unilaterally and asserting threateningly that the aggravation of the oil problem may cause a new flare-up of international tensions. Both take an out-and-out imperialist attitude. We are firmly against this attitude. Facts show that this attitude, far from subduing the oil-exporting countries, only stimulated them to closer unity and hardened their fighting will. We are in favour of dialogue. In the past year and more, many second world countries have frequently tried dialogue with a number of third world countries, and some of these attempts have yielded positive results. Ties between the second world and the third
world have been strengthened. This is a good phenomenon in the international economic life of today.

In the face of the worsening capitalist economic crisis and the shifting of crisis by industrialized countries, the third world countries have advanced such proposals as the integrated programme for commodities, the indexation of prices and the democratization of the international financial institutions in order to improve their trade terms and develop their national economies. These are entirely justifiable and are minimum demands. But they have met with opposition from a few major industrialized countries. For they constitute a violation of the so-called free market system, which is allegedly sacred and inviolable. Instead, those industrialized countries have put forward a series of concrete proposals allegedly designed to “promote economic development.” As a matter of fact, the so-called free market of today has never been free ever since the emergence of monopoly capital. This market is free only for monopoly capital and the industrial powers and not for the developing countries. In the ‘50s, for example, the prices of oil and many other raw materials were kept so low. Was that determined by supply and demand? No, it was determined arbitrarily, or “freely,” if you like, by big monopoly capital. To transform the old international economic order, it is imperative to touch this free market system of gaining profits at the expense of others. Otherwise, no matter how many concrete proposals the superpowers may submit or how much money they may promise, these in essence are nothing but a kind of alms and relief which can at best temporarily mitigate a little the difficulties of the developing countries but will not help them shake off exploitation and control. The root cause of their poverty will still be there. The gap between the poor and rich countries will keep widening.

The oil weapon has opened up new vistas for the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle in the economic field. The key to the victories of the oil struggle lies in upholding unity and daring to touch what the industrial powers regard as sacred and inviolable. All raw material-producing countries should get organized and fight in defence of their proper interests. Some people accuse OPEC of being a monopoly organization, a cartel. Why don’t they stop and think that cartels, trusts and transnational corporations were inventions of the industrial powers and that to date they still weigh down heavily on the developing countries. Are we to tolerate the injustice of the magistrates being allowed to burn down houses while the common people are forbidden to use fire even to light lamps? All the developing countries should unite more closely. It is true that among the developing countries some are in the greatest need. Other countries should give them more help, and they have already begun to do so. The neediest and other developing countries share common experiences and face common tasks. To call the neediest countries the “fourth world” is groundless or ill-intentioned. There are no savours in the world. To develop the national economy, a country must persist in independence and self-reliance. Political independence is not won easily, so it is essential to give play to state sovereignty to eliminate gradually but firmly the forces of imperialism and all forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The old international economic order was evolved over centuries of colonialist and imperialist plunder and exploitation. It is impossible to thoroughly change it at one stroke. The Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly is a continuation of the struggle of the Sixth Special Session. The struggle against exploitation will be a long one. United as one and persisting in our efforts, we developing countries will surely attain our goal.

Mr. President,

Before concluding my speech, I would like to state briefly our opinions on the review of the U.N. Charter. We are in favour of reviewing the Charter and making the necessary amendments. Nothing in the world is immutable. The situation within and outside the United Nations has changed, and it is only natural that the Charter should be amended accordingly so as to suit the changed situation. This is common sense. Basing themselves on the purposes and principles of the Charter, many countries have put forward views in principle on the revision of certain provisions of the Charter, such as expanding the power of the General Assembly, restricting the power of the Security Council, changing the composition of the Security Council, limiting or abolishing the veto right of the states permanent members of the Security Council. We think that these views deserve serious consideration. Since the U.N. Charter was drawn up by men, why can’t it be revised by men? But the superpowers are greatly upset by the changed situation within the United Nations. One superpower describes the democratic voting in the General Assembly as a “tyranny of the majority.” The other goes further; at the mere mention of the phrase “review of the U.N. Charter,” it flies into a rage and breaks into abuse, calling people in favour of reviewing the Charter “reactionary forces.” It mortally fears that it might be deprived of its privilege to abuse the veto power. We would advise this “natural ally of the developing countries” to calm down a bit and not get so exasperated. If you are sure that you have the truth, why are you so afraid of dissenting views? A review of the U.N. Charter is the general trend and popular demand. We believe that a rational solution acceptable to all can be found so long as the nations, big and small, carry on patient consultations and repeated discussions on the basis of the principle of equality for all. If anyone still resorts to deliberate obstructions, that can only help people see more clearly who are champions of the special privileges of the minority. Therefore, we submit that the work of the review of the Charter should be continued.

Thank you, Mr. President.
At a time when the nation was about to greet the 26th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the 17-day Third National Games, a mammoth gathering of unity and victory, closed on September 28 in a joyous atmosphere.

A Review

Since the Second National Games in September 1965, the Chinese people have gone through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and are now in the thick of the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Alongside the rapid development of agricultural and industrial production, physical culture and sports also have made great headway. This year's national games were a grand review of the progress made.

Marked by the largest ever number of entries participating in some 30 events and a variety of spectacular displays, the games drew more than 10,000 men and women athletes of more than 30 nationalities including Han, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur from 31 sports delegations representing all provinces, municipalities directly under the central authorities, autonomous regions and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The Taiwan provincial sports delegation took part in the national games for the first time. Young and junior athletes accounted for about 70 per cent of the total entries including workers, peasants, P.L.A. fighters, students, teachers and overseas Chinese, the youngest being seven years old. They competed in 28 events for the adult group and 8 events for the junior group, of which handball, badminton and fencing were practically non-existent in old China.

During the games, one team and four athletes toppled three world records on six occasions, two athletes twice equalled two world records, three athletes broke one Asian Games record on three occasions, 49 teams and 63 athletes chalked up 62 national records on 197 occasions, and four teams and 41 athletes smashed 64 national records in junior events on 151 occasions.

The games were interspersed with displays of traditional sports such as wrestling by minority peoples from Yunnan Province, horsemanship, horse-racing and polo by equestrians from Inner Mongolia and swings and jumping board by Koreans from Kirin Province, and military sports like parachuting, motor-cycling, model-airplane flying, model-boat sailing and speedboat racing. All these added colour to the games and reflected the rich and multifarious sports activities of the Chinese people.

Serve the Masses

Thirty per cent of the more than 800 matches and contests took place on the grounds of factories, rural people's communes, P.L.A. companies, schools, government organs and other grass-roots units with free entrance, the aim being for the convenience of the masses and for promoting sports among them. Demonstrations of
Third National Games Successfully Close

THE Third National Games of the People's Republic of China came to a successful close on the afternoon of September 28 at the Peking Workers' Stadium.

Attending the closing ceremony were Party and state leaders including Chu Teh, Yeh Chien-yung, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien and Su Chen-hua.

Distinguished foreign guests attending the closing ceremony and seated in the front row on the rostrum were:

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk; and

Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, Vice-Premier of the Lao Provisional National Union Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Madame Vongvichit.

The competitors of various nationalities and representatives of advanced grass-roots units in promoting mass participation in sports joined 80,000 workers, peasants and soldiers in the capital at the closing ceremony.

Chuang Tse-tung, Minister in Charge of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, addressed the ceremony. He said: Thanks to the close attention and leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the concerted efforts of all comrades taking part in the work of the games and the unstinted support of the departments concerned and the masses in the capital, the Third National Games have been a grand sports gathering of unity and victory. Striving to implement Chairman Mao's great call "Promote physical culture and sports and build up the people's health" and the principle of "friendship first, competition second," he added, the games have reviewed the progress made in physical culture and sports since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the new outlook of Chinese sports workers and athletes. The games surely will give impetus to the development of mass physical culture and sports on a still wider scale and to the raising of standards at a still faster pace.

Members of the presidium of the Third National Games gave prizes to the competitors who had broken world and national records during the games, representatives of advanced grass-roots units in promoting mass participation in sports, representatives of those who gave exhibitions of the traditional sports of China's minority nationalities, military sports and children's sports, and representatives of the Chinese Mountaineering Expedition which had successfully ascended Qomolangma Feng again.

Also at the closing ceremony were foreign guests attending the Third National Games, foreign friends visiting Peking and diplomatic envoys of various countries to China. Visiting groups of Hong Kong and Macao sports circles were also present.

traditional and military sports were also free. Spectators were charged only two or one jiao (one jiao equals approximately five U.S. cents) for a ticket to watch matches or contests in gymnasiums or stadiums instead of the original three or two jiao. This was the case even with finals. Tickets also were distributed among grass-roots units so as to enable the masses to see the competitions.

Apart from referees and judges, more than 1,000 workers, peasants and soldiers were invited to comment on athletes and teams politically and ideologically as well as their performance and skill.

This and the above-mentioned arrangement of competitions are an important measure to ensure that work on physical culture and sports in China relies on and serves the workers, peasants and soldiers. It is a significant reform in sports competitions resulting from the Great Cultural Revolution.

From the Masses

Taking part in the games were also representatives of more than 300 advanced grass-roots units selected from all over the country and P.L.A. companies for their outstanding achievements in promoting mass participation in sports activities, who swapped experiences in an effort to further develop mass sports.

Physical culture and sports are a component part of the superstructure and serve the economic base. They were created by the labouring people to build up the physique and stamina so as to effectively fight the elements. Archery had been recorded as early as the

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Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods more than 2,000 years ago. But under the rule of the reactionary classes in the past, sports were turned into a pastime and a tool for gambling among the ruling classes.

In old China under reactionary Kuomintang rule, physical culture and sports were on the decline; little funds were provided and the equipment was poor. The negligible number of sports facilities available were mostly found in big cities, catering only to a handful of the pleasure-seeking rich. The labouring people could hardly keep body and soul together, let alone take part in sports activities.

Since the founding of New China, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao have shown great concern for the health of the people. In 1952 Chairman Mao pointed out: “Promote physical culture and sports and build up the people’s health.” He further pointed out in 1957: “Physical culture is of major importance concerning as it does the health of our 600 million people.” Again in 1960, he issued the call to the nation: “Wherever feasible, physical culture and sports of all kinds should be encouraged, such as physical exercises, ball games, running, mountain climbing, swimming and traditional Chinese taichi boxing.”

Leading physical culture and sports organs have been formed at national and local levels and leading groups in grass-roots units, such as factories, mines, rural people’s communes, government organs and schools, to take charge of promoting sports among the masses. Seven physical culture institutes have been set up in the country and physical culture departments are included in 26 universities and colleges. More than 1,500 spare-time junior physical culture schools have been established in various places to take in promising youngsters from middle and primary schools for free specialized training. To date, such schools have a total enrolment of 120,000 trainees and a staff of about 6,000 full-time or part-time trainers. Attention has also been paid to organizing kindergarten children to go in for physical training. In recent years, nearly 130,000 preschoolage children in more than 1,300 kindergartens and nurseries in Peking have taken part in sports activities.

All this has created favourable conditions for the labouring people and their children to participate in sports and made for the widespread development of mass sports activities. Manned by over 10,000 workers and staff members, the Shanghai No. 3 Steel Plant boasts 8,000 regular participants in physical exercises, running and other activities. Nearly 10,000 of the 17,000 members of a people’s commune in Haian County, Kiangsu Province, go in for sports. In a production brigade in mountainous southern Anhwei Province, one out of every four women members is a basketball player, many of them mothers with several children. The several hundred Kuchung people living in the dense virgin forests in the southwestern frontier province of Yunnan were in the backward state of employing the “slash and burn” farming method before liberation. They have now moved out of the forests to live in permanent abodes. While making big efforts to develop production, they also go in for basketball, archery, swimming and other sports.

The more than 10,000 competitors taking part in the national games this year were selected from sports enthusiasts among the masses.

Improvement

The level of China’s sports has kept improving thanks to the mass basis.

Since the founding of New China, large numbers of gymnasts have emerged and many have become...
The socialist system in China is superior to the capitalist system. But since it is born out of the old society, it is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it has emerged. "Championitis" is the very expression of these birth marks in the field of sports.

With the repudiation of the revisionist line in sports and manifestations of "championitis" during the Great Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, athletes have greatly heightened their ideological consciousness. The principle of "friendship first, competition second" has gone ever deeper into their hearts. Evidence of this was their fine sportsmanship and superb performance.

Praiseworthy was the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self as displayed by Yu Yen-hsiao and Li Shu-min, women cyclists from Kansu and Shansi Provinces.

Bearing the brunt of the wind, the cyclist in the van is liable to expend more energy and stamina than the others and more often than not the latter can easily overtake the former in the final spurt. Shortly after winning the women's 30 km. individual race, Yu Yen-hsiao entered the 70 km. team race and was leading. By the time the contestants reached the 40 km. mark, rain was falling. After Yu and another cyclist slipped and fell, she immediately went over to help the other to her feet. Just then, Li Shu-min came speeding up and an accident seemed imminent. In split seconds, Li, without the slightest hesitation, swerved and bumped into a roadside ditch. An accident was averted, but Li herself was injured.

After her injuries were dressed, Li got on her bike again and pressed forward. Inspired by Yu's example, she caught up with the other competitors and took the lead to bear the brunt of the wind. The race ended with cyclists from Liaoning, Tientsin and Kirin taking the first three places. They warmly greeted Yu and Li at the finish, showering praise on them for their fine conduct.

Instances like this were not uncommon. Everywhere competitors practised together and exchanged techniques before a match or contest and got together to sum up experience and draw on lessons after it was over. An atmosphere of unity and friendship prevailed throughout the games.
Since we published in issue No. 9 the translation of “Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat” which originally appeared in “Renmin Ribao” and “Hongqi,” many readers have written to us for some explanations. Beginning with this issue, we publish in series “Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: Questions and Answers” for our readers’ reference. — Ed.

No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

_Marx to J. Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852)_

**Question:** How should we understand the basic spirit and significance of this passage from Marx?

**Answer:** What Marx said is a masterly generalization of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It comprehensively describes the entire process of the emergence, development and withering away of this dictatorship and elucidates its historical inevitability and historical tasks.

This passage was given an incisive explanation by Lenin in _The State and Revolution_ when he said: “In these words Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity, firstly, the chief and radical difference between his teaching and that of the foremost and most profound thinkers of the bourgeoisie; and, secondly, the essence of his teaching on the state.”

The fact is that before Marx some bourgeois scholars had perceived classes and class struggle. For example, in studying the history of Europe, French bourgeois historians Thierry, Guizot and Mignet had realized that the British revolutions in the 17th century and the French revolutions in the 18th century were class struggles fought against the feudal aristocracy by the bourgeoisie. In their study of capitalist political economy, British classical politico-economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo had made some economic analysis of the various classes. They held that landowners, workers and capitalists were the “three basic classes” in capitalist society and all its products were distributed “among the three classes in society”; they also expounded and proved the antagonistic relations between wages, profits and land rent. But the bourgeois scholars explained history in an idealist way. They did not understand the real economic root cause of the emergence and existence of classes. They advocated that classes have “existed from all eternity” and “would remain for ever.” They only recognized the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal aristocracy but denied the necessity of the proletariat’s struggle against the bourgeoisie. In essence, their doctrine was intended to defend the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. (See “Bourgeois Scholars on Classes and Class Struggle” in our issue No. 20, 1975.) Fundamentally different from the doctrine of these bourgeois thinkers, Marx’s teaching on class struggle is entirely linked with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He applied the historical materialist viewpoint to reveal the objective law governing the emergence, development and abolition of classes and point to the outcome of class struggle which necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and, through that dictatorship, to the abolition of all classes and to the classless communist society.

On the question of the state, Marxists aim at totally abolishing it, but they maintain that this aim can be realized only by persisting in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and completely abolishing classes. That is why Lenin said: “The essence of Marx’s teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from classless society,” from Communism.” (_The State and Revolution._)

**Question:** Why did Marx say that “the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production”? 

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Answer: This means classes have not existed for all time, nor will they remain for ever. The existence of classes is a historical phenomenon. Their emergence, development and abolition are determined by the level of the development of social production. In the long period of primitive society, it was impossible for classes to come into being because there were no surplus products due to the very low production level, nor were there conditions for personal appropriation of property and for exploitation of man by man. Later, with the emergence of private ownership of the means of production based on surplus products resulting from the development of social production, the phenomenon of exploitation of man by man appeared and gave rise to classes. Because of the varying levels of production development, the classes that appeared in slave, feudal and capitalist societies have been different. Nevertheless, they made their appearance under the conditions in which production developed to a certain extent, but not to the full. Classes will lose the material conditions for their existence and will finally be abolished when production is highly developed.

Question: Throughout history, the slaves’ class struggle against the slave-owners did not lead to the dictatorship of the slave class and that of the peasants against the landlords did not lead to the dictatorship of the peasantry. Why then does the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie necessarily lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Answer: The law of the historical development of society shows that an advanced mode of production inevitably replaces a backward one and a progressive social system is bound to replace a decadent one. The exploited classes’ struggle against reactionary ruling classes is the real motive force pushing the history of society forward.

The revolutionary movements launched by the slave class against the slave-owning class’ rule in history played a tremendous historical role in overthrowing the slave system. The slave class, however, could not win final victory and establish its own rule. What replaced the dictatorship of the slave-owning class was the dictatorship of the feudal landlord class. This was because the slave class did not represent any progressive mode of production and social system, whereas the rising landlord class was the representative of these at that time. Likewise, the peasantry was the main force in overthrowing the landlord class’ reactionary rule. Yet the peasants could not win final victory because their class did not represent any progressive mode of production and social system. They could only overthrow the landlord class under the leadership of the bourgeoisie (old democratic revolution) or under the leadership of the proletariat (new democratic revolution), and the struggle resulted in establishing either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or that of the proletariat.

Unlike the slave class and the peasantry, the proletariat is not only an exploited and oppressed class but also represents the advanced socialist mode of production and social system. It shoulders the historical mission of guiding the advance of society towards communism and represents the fundamental interests of the labouring people. The insuperable contradiction between the productive forces (highly socialized large-scale production) and the relations of production (capitalist private ownership) in capitalist society can only be resolved by the proletariat through socialist and communist revolution. Therefore, in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, not only can the proletariat, led by the Marxist political party, surely unite with the broad masses of the people and overthrow bourgeois rule through violent revolution, it also can certainly establish its own class rule, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with that of the proletariat and use the socialist system to defeat the capitalist system. This is the inevitable trend of historical development and an irresistible objective law.

Question: How should we interpret the dictatorship of the proletariat as “only constituting the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society”?

Answer: This means the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not bring an end to class struggle, but is a continuation of class struggle in a new situation. The historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the “abolition of all classes” so that human society will advance to the classless communist society.

All past revolutions took as their ultimate political aim the establishment of the dictatorship of a certain class. This is not the case with the proletarian revolution. In seizing political power and establishing its dictatorship, the proletariat aims at continuing the struggle against the bourgeoisie and reaching the goal of finally abolishing classes. In the historical period of socialism, there are still the bourgeoisie and the soil engendering it and there is the possibility of a capitalist restoration at any time. Only by unwaveringly and persistently exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and carrying the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end can the great historical mission of “abolition of all classes” be fulfilled.

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

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

Question: Why does the proletarian revolution differ from past social revolutions in that there must be a period of revolutionary transformation after the over-
Throw of bourgeois rule? Does this period refer to the historical period of socialism?

Answer: The period of the revolutionary transformation as mentioned by Marx does refer to the socialist period, that is, the initial stage of communism. That such a period is necessary is determined by the characteristics and historical mission of the proletarian revolution which differs from all other revolutions of the past. The latter all resulted in replacing one form of private ownership with another. The new mode of production had emerged and developed in the old society prior to the outbreak of revolution. Thus to attain the aim of revolution, there was no need to go through a transition period, though sometimes repeated struggles were necessary. The proletarian communist revolution, however, is aimed at eliminating private ownership root and branch, introducing public ownership and completely doing away with classes and class exploitation. The economy under public ownership cannot possibly take shape within the old society. And total abolition of classes is a historical task to be fulfilled over a longer period of time. Therefore, the seizure of political power by the proletariat does not mean the end but the beginning of revolution. To thoroughly eliminate private ownership, classes, class exploitation and all class differences, eradicate all birth marks in economic, moral and intellectual respects left over from the old society and based on private ownership and create material and intellectual conditions for communism, it is necessary to carry out a series of fundamental reforms in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and go through an unprecedentedly sharp and complex class struggle. Hence the necessity for a period of revolutionary transformation.

Lenin pointed out in *The State and Revolution* that whether or not to recognize that historically there must inevitably be a special stage or a special phase of transition from capitalism to communism is a distinction between scientific socialism and utopian socialism and between Marxism and opportunism. Distorting Marx’s theory on the transition period, the Soviet revisionists babble that this period is only a short and transient period of transition from capitalism to the first stage of communism (socialism). This is exactly the same tune they sing when they negate classes and class struggle in socialist society, liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and advocate the “state of the whole people.”

As early as on the eve of the liberation of the country, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: “To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li.” (Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.) After nationwide victory, he earnestly admonished us: “Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle.” The basic line for the entire historical period of socialism formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party and his series of instructions on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat have further indicated the direction of our march forward.

Question: What is meant by political transition period? Why can the state in this period be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat?

Answer: The political transition period mainly refers to the period from the overthrow of the state ruled by the bourgeoisie to the complete withering away of the state. The state is still necessary in this transition period so as to lead to its withering away. And the state in this period cannot be anything other than that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because the transition period “inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms.” (Lenin: *The State and Revolution.*) Not only do the overthrown exploiting classes dream of a come-back at every turn, but bourgeois right, the birth marks left over from the old society and the soil generating new bourgeois elements and capitalism still inevitably exist in socialist society. Hence the necessity for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. It is only through the fierce and protracted class struggle in which the proletariat defeats the bourgeoisie that conditions can be created step by step in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and the transition from capitalist to communist society can be completed with the final withering away of the state.

The struggle between Marxism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other has always focused on whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or to oppose it. All opportunists do everything they can to distort and obliterate the essence of this dictatorship and deny its necessity. Lassalle made a big fuss about a “free state” and Kautsky trumpeted the “parliamentary road,” while the Soviet revisionist renegade clique peddles the “state of the whole people.” Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao shamelessly raised a hue and cry about the theory of the “dying out of class struggle” and “he who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish.” The purpose of these opportunists and revisionists is to oppose the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to defend and restore capitalism. The more feverish their opposition, the more fully it proves that it is necessary to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the entire historical period of socialism. Like food and clothing, this is something we cannot do without even for a moment. (See “Historical Tasks of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat” in our issue No. 11, 1975.)

(To be continued.)

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Between Cadres and Peasants
— First instalment of a visit to Lankao County

by Our Correspondents Chin Chi-chu and Hsiang Jung

Chairman Mao has said: “Overthrowing the old social system and establishing a new one, the system of socialism, is a great struggle, a great change in the social system and in men’s relations with each other.” (Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work.) Not long ago, we visited Lankao County (one of China’s more than 2,000) in the eastern part of Honan Province where we saw cadres paying attention to improving their relations with the peasants. In our socialist society where the feudal and capitalist classes have been overthrown and public ownership of the means of production has in the main been realized, relations between leaders and the masses are an important link in men’s relations with one another.

There are 450,000 people in Lankao. The county administration and the 16 people’s communes, nearly 200 production brigades and 2,000 production teams have over 10,000 cadres and most of them are poor and lower-middle peasants or from their families.

The Lankao County Committee of the Chinese Communist Party exercises centralized leadership over the work of the entire county. Under the leadership of the county party committee, the county revolutionary committee is in charge of the work of the whole locality. There are 18 members on the standing committee of the county party committee. Its first secretary 49-year-old Chang Chin-li, who is concurrently chairman of the county revolutionary committee, was a member of the local guerrilla forces during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Below the county level, the people’s communes have their party committees and revolutionary committees, while the production brigades have party branches and management committees and production teams management committees.

Servants of the People
Under the socialist system, cadres should be servants of the people. They are ordinary labourers and not overlords riding on the people’s backs. As socialist society “emerges from capitalist society,” it is “still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.” (Karl Marx: Critique of the Gotha Programme.) Cadres should always guard against corruption by bourgeois ideology.

Lankao has a fine tradition in this respect. Comrade Chiao Yu-lu who was secretary of Lankao’s Party committee in 1962 was praised as “a good student of Chairman Mao and a fine example for county Party secretaries.” When he first came to Lankao, the county was hit by severe natural calamities. He led the masses in fighting the revisionist line and the once rampant capitalist tendency, and organized the peasants to struggle against the “three scourges” — waterlogging, sandstorms and alkaline soil. Big successes resulted.

Chiao was diligent in work. When heavy snows fell he visited the poor and lower-middle peasants whose living conditions were not so good and attended to their needs, and he went to the outlying districts to chart the “funnels” that wind-driven sand whistled through when sandstorms were at their peak, in order to study how to draw up a plan to hold down the shifting sand. When torrential rains poured down, he waded into rushing torrents to observe and determine the force and volume of the flow so as to take appropriate measures to check them. Although he suffered from serious liver trouble, he worked from dawn till dusk until his untimely death in May 1964.

When we visited Lankao this year, we saw that the young species of Paulownia Chiao Yu-lu planted have become trees, and that the whole county was afforested under his influence. Now the county’s 60,000 hectares of farmland are flanked by Paulownias and the roads and paths are shaded by Paulownias and poplars. The once barren sandy land has become green tree belts. Promising wheat, cotton and rapeseed cover the three old courses of the Yellow River on which nothing grew. Apple blossoms scented the orchards whose alkaline soil has been transformed and ameliorated by water from the Yellow River.

Lankao has changed. Peasants there miss Comrade Chiao Yu-lu badly and cadres in the county follow the example set by him in serving the people wholeheartedly.

Hard Work and Plain Living
Lankao’s cadres pay attention to maintaining a style of hard work and plain living.

Although production has been swiftly expanded and the people’s living standards have improved steadily, the office of the county Party committee is still in a modest house which has been repaired several times. First secretary Chang Chin-li and another secretary set up their office in a small building erected before liberation, whose walls are pockmarked.

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with bullet-holes left over from the war days. Though repairs were done on several occasions, the building was so dilapidated that it had to be pulled down and rebuilt. When Chang Chin-li heard that the county’s financial bureau had allocated money for this, he did not agree and spent the money instead to build power stations in the rural areas. Chang and the other Party secretary found two other old rooms for their office. The county Party committee provides cars for its leading members, but they choose to ride bicycles like ordinary peasants do when they go to the countryside, unless there is something urgent.

Why? Chang Chin-li was right in saying: “Hard struggle is the political quality of the proletariat, while chasing after the easy life and extravagance is an expression of the bourgeois way of living. We must always follow the glorious tradition of our Party and the People’s Liberation Army and never discard it. We cadres should set strict demands on ourselves and see to it that we share the good and the bad with the masses at all times. Wasting the wealth created by the labouring people is criminal.”

Like those in the rest of the country, Lankao’s cadres at the county and people’s commune levels get their monthly pay from the state, without other income from other channels. Cadres at the production brigade and production team levels under the commune do not get any pay from the state, but like the commune members of their respective units share in the distribution according to the principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.”

We went to see 55-year-old Chao Hsin-ch’en, a member of the standing committee of the county Party committee and Party secretary of the Kuyang Commune. This veteran comrade was a delegate to both the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses. He is not highly paid and lives a life differing very little from that of ordinary commune members. Members of his family live in the commune’s Chinehai Brigade and take part in manual labour like the others. When we got to the commune, he had already gone to the fields and we found him there immersed in work wearing a homespun black jacket and trousers. It was in 1963 when he returned to his native village to become Chinehai’s Party branch secretary. Working alongside the local peasants, he deep-ploughed the low-lying land to transform the white alkaline soil which had been subjected to waterlogging. Though they met with many setbacks, they kept at it time and again year after year. Their efforts finally paid off. During our visit, we saw that wheat was growing steadily all around. The land has changed, but Chao Hsin-ch’en has not changed in the least. He has to this day retained the fine qualities of the labouring people — plain living and hard struggle. Some peasants told us that whenever they went to the fields in early morning, as often as not Chao had already finished sweeping the main street in the village.

Taking Part in Manual Labour

Chairman Mao has taught us: “It is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour.” Lankao’s cadres regard doing manual labour as a major measure of fundamental importance for combating and preventing revisionism, and for resisting corruption by bourgeois ideology. They said: Being divorced from manual labour will surely lead to separation from the labouring people.

Cadres at all levels in Lankao now have formed the habit of consciously taking part in manual labour. The county Party committee has set up a strict system, requiring cadres at the county level to do productive labour at least 100 days a year, cadres at the commune level 200 days and those at the brigade level 300 days. After a cadre has finished a day’s work, it is jotted down in a small notebook by the production team stating when he or she was there and what he or she did. These are published at regular intervals for all to check, compare and appraise.

Instead of working in their offices, leading members of the county Party committee spend most of their time working in the rural areas while making an investigation and study. Every one of them takes part in manual labour in a fixed production team. Sometimes they go to the countryside to join rush work like building large-scale water conservancy projects in winter or deep-ploughing the soil before sowing. During the traditional Spring Festival holidays this year, leading members of the county Party committee gave up their days off to cart barley...
A commune member once borrowed a sum from his team to buy expensive gifts for his would-be daughter-in-law. This was an old practice of course. When the accountant read out this item at the monthly financial meeting, the gathering was astir immediately. Criticism from the young women was particularly severe. They pointed out that giving expensive presents to a would-be daughter-in-law was a backward custom and it showed that the idea of regarding matrimony as a money transaction has not been wiped out. The team authorities not only had failed to educate the member but had loaned the money to him. That meant the team had supported the mistaken idea. Both team leader and accountant agreed with the team members and made an on-the-spot self-criticism. The borrower of the money also came to understand through the discussion that his action stemmed from his outdated ideology.

Similar examples are too numerous to mention. Such meetings are of course not limited to the financial side only. Members can air their views about the team's political life, production plan and management as well as the work style of the cadres, thereby playing a supervisory role.

Our country is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other labouring masses are its masters. They have the right of exercising revolutionary supervision over Party and state cadres at all levels. This concept has been strengthened since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The new Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Tenth Party Congress explicitly sets forth that Party organizations and leaders at all levels must accept the supervision of the masses both inside and outside the Party and that "it is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate."

This year, the Lankao cadre's understanding has been further enhanced by studying Chairman Mao's directive on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As one of them has put it: "In their Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels said: 'All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.' Chairman Mao also has taught us: Who is it that gives us our power? It is the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the labouring masses comprising over 90 per cent of the population. The only right we have is to use this power to serve the people. It is absolutely impermissible to use it in the interest of any individual or a few. If we forget this, we will turn revisionist and that means betrayal."

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KOREA

Six-Year Plan Met Ahead Of Schedule

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea fulfilled its 6-Year (1971-76) Plan for the Development of the National Economy ahead of schedule at the end of August.

A press communiqué published in Rodong Sinmun on September 23 said: "In the industrial domain, the 6-year plan was carried out one year and four months ahead of schedule in gross output value." During that period, the communiqué continued, "the average annual rate of growth of industrial production reached 18.4 per cent, much higher than the 14 per cent envisaged in the 6-year plan. This year in particular industrial production showed a 25 per cent increase above last year." It pointed out that in the period from 1971 to the end of August 1975, 1,055 modern factories were built and put into operation.

It added: With the production of more than 7 million tons of grain in 1974, the grain heights of the 6-year plan were scaled two years ahead of schedule.

The communiqué said: "The national income in 1974 was 1.7 times the 1970 figure." "With the fast increase in production of mass consumption goods and the growth in purchasing power of the working people, the retail turnover in 1974 went up more than 1.8 times compared with 1970." Universal 11-year compulsory education has been enforced this year.

It pointed out: With the fulfilment of the 6-year plan, the Korean people have made an epochal advance in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism, and the revolutionary base in Korea has been further consolidated politically, economically and militarily.

It said in conclusion: This victory "will inspire the fighting south Korean revolutionaries and people with greater courage and confidence and give a serious blow to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys."

ALBANIA

Call for Study of Theory on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Albanian paper Zeri i Popullit in an editorial of September 4 called on members of the Albanian Party of Labour and the people to earnestly study the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have all along paid attention to the education of Party members and the working people in Marxism-Leninism," said the editorial.

"It is a matter of life and death for the Party and the working class to study in depth and grasp and consistently carry out the revolutionary principles on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it is a fundamental issue of Marxism-Leninism." This study, the editorial said, "is concerned with safeguarding and constantly consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the danger of degeneration into bourgeoisie-revisionism. It has direct bearing on the struggle against bureaucraticism, the purely technical viewpoint and the theory of giving first place to intellectual development. It is also connected with giving further play to socialist democracy and carrying out the mass line and strengthening supervision by the working class and other working people to ensure strict implementation of the Party's revolutionary line."

"The study of Marxist-Leninist theory, the experience of our socialist revolution and socialist construction and the history of the struggle waged by the Albanian Party of Labour against modern revisionism and for the prevention of revisionism must be closely combined with revolutionary practice in local areas and primary organizations. The study should go deep into the essence of problems and be linked with the actual conditions of the individuals and their organizations."

JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION (ORTHODOX)

25th Anniversary Celebrated

The Central Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) met in Tokyo on September 21 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the association. One thousand and five hundred representatives from various parts of the country were present.

A delegation of the China-Japan Friendship Association with Chu Tunan as leader was present.

Hisao Kuroda, Chairman of the association, delivered a speech at the meeting. Since the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, he said, "friendly contacts between the two peoples have developed vigorously in a short span of time. This has made many people in Japan realize more clearly that the development of friendly relations between Japan and China is a general historical trend which no one can hold back."

He said: "What the movement for Japan-China friendship requires our association to do is to expand unity. "We must join hands with broader sections of people to strive for still greater advance of this movement."

A declaration unanimously adopted at the meeting stressed that the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) "is determined to make joint efforts with all forces for (Japan-China) friendship to fulfill the current urgent task—the early conclusion of the Japan-China peace and friendship treaty which includes an anti-hegemony clause in its text."

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ON THE HOME FRONT

Peking Market Mirrors Residents' Improved Living Standards

Retail sales continue to rise in Peking this year with a bigger increase in the suburban area than in the city proper and a bigger turnover in medium- and high-grade commodities than before.

An 11.8 per cent increase was registered in retail sales of consumer goods throughout Peking in the first half of the year over that of the same 1974 period. Considering the less than one per cent population growth in the period, this is an obvious indication of the growing buying power of Peking residents.

There is an abundant supply of commodities on the market. This is especially the case with food and clothing, including meat, vegetables, fruit, wool and silk fabrics, coloured polyester fabrics and cotton prints.

According to the municipal commercial department, pork sales went up 19.1 per cent in the first half of this year, compared with the same 1974 period. Increases were also reported in sales of beef, mutton, chickens, ducks, fish and confectioneries. In the six-month period, sales of cotton and silk fabrics, garments and bed sheets increased upwards of 10 per cent. Sales of medium- and high-grade commodities were of better quality and more expensive went up at a faster rate than those of other commodities. For instance, compared with the first half of last year, sales of pure-wool fabrics and other expensive textiles increased 33.7 per cent in the first six months of 1975, those of wrist watches and China-made cameras worth 100 to several hundred yuan 41.5 per cent and 168 per cent respectively. Prices of these commodities remained the same as a year ago.

Far above the citywide average, a 61.2 per cent growth in retail sales was reported in the workers' housing estates of the city's fast expanding petrochemical district. This was mainly because the number of petrochemical workers has continuously increased in recent years.

A higher-than-average increase was also recorded in the workers' residential areas around the Shoutou Iron and Steel Company in Shihchingshan. With new apartment houses going up there every year, more and more workers are moving into new homes. This was one of the factors that has boosted local business. One department store in the district sold 1,300 wardrobes in the first six months of 1975.

Peking's outlying rural areas, where 48 per cent of the city's total population live, accounted for 44 per cent of the total retail sales of consumer goods in the first half of 1975 as against only 39.5 per cent in 1971, the first year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This shows how fast the purchasing power gap between rural and urban areas has diminished as a result of successive rich harvests and rapid development of industry in the rural areas. If suburban commune members' purchases in urban areas are included, the figure will be still higher.

Bookstores in Peking's urban and rural districts sold over 57 million books in the first six months this year, three times the figure for the same 1971 period. Among these, more than 8.9 million copies were works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. This in one way reflected the mass enthusiasm for studying Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat in response to Chairman Mao's call.

Another interesting fact is the quick sales of musical instruments, stationery and sports equipment this year. Twenty-one times as many violins and eight times as many pianos were sold in the January-June period this year as in the same 1965 period before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Sales of pipa, a traditional Chinese plucking instrument which sells for more than 100 yuan apiece, increased fourfold.

This shows the rapid development of cultural and sports activities among Peking's workers, peasants, students and office workers since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. There are more than 10,000 amateur art propaganda groups in the capital today. The big ones have dozens of musical instruments each and some have pianos. More and more individuals, too, are buying musical instruments.

Slide rules and drawing instruments also are selling fast as more and more workers are engaged in studies of science and technique at their spare time to keep abreast of the country's rapidly advancing economic construction. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao called on factories all over the country to "take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers." Since then, factory-run colleges have mushroomed all over Peking with a sharp rise in the number of worker-students and a corresponding increase in the supply of slide rules and drawing instruments.

Sales of sports goods serve to indicate some trends in the broadening interest in sports among Peking people. While table tennis is still a most favourite game among the masses in the capital as elsewhere in China, badminton has been gaining popularity in factories, villages and schools in recent years. Eight times as many badminton rackets were sold in the first half of 1975 as in the same period of 1965.

A large number of basketball and volleyball courts have been built in recent years in residential districts in Peking, particularly in workers' residential areas, compounds of government organs and rural communes on the outskirts. This makes for this year's marked increase in the sales of these balls.

A downtown department store specializing in children's goods has more than 1,000 varieties of toys on sale, many electrically or electronically controlled. Business is brisk. A leading member of the Peking
Toys Company said that though Peking's birth rate has been declining these years as a result of family planning, sales of toys have been on the rise. There were only two factories making toys in Peking seven years ago. Today there are 18.

A responsible member of the municipal commercial department pointed out: "The market is like a mirror. It reflects not only the material aspects of life, but the political and cultural life of the people as well. Since China is a developing country, the living standards of our people are not yet high. But what is important is that we are free from inflation, prices are stable and our socialist system guarantees full employment and steady improvement of people's living standards along with the development of production."

**Farm Mechanization on Shanghai's Outskirts**

Relieving mainly on the strength of the collective economy, the poor and lower-middle peasants on the outskirts of Shanghai have done well in farm mechanization, which has accelerated agricultural development. Their efforts have won the support of the state and municipal industrial departments.

Now the area presents a thriving scene, with tractors rumbling over the vast, flat farmland, girded by widespread power-grids and studded with pumping stations for both irrigation and drainage purposes. Of the total acreage of farmland, 97 per cent have been brought under powered drainage and irrigation, and 88 per cent under mechanized farming. Moreover, plant-protection, threshing and processing of farm and side-line products have also been mechanized or semi-mechanized. Suburban Shanghai's output of chemical fertilizers by small plants last year was treble that of 1965.

Under the leadership of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, a mass campaign for farm mechanization is burgeoning in this area. Efforts are mainly devoted to mechanizing the sorting and transplanting of rice-seedlings as well as hoeing and harvesting, all of which involve heavy labour for rice-growers. Knotty problems which cropped up in the process of designing and trial-producing the machines were straightened out one after another through the concerted efforts of researchers, manufacturers and users and those of workers, cadres and technical personnel organized in "three-in-one" groups by the municipal Party committee. This has helped quicken the pace of farm mechanization.

With rice-transplanter in serial production, transplanting has been mechanized on 44.5 per cent. of the total acreage for late rice this year. Experiments were made on rice-seedling sorting machines and hoeing machines of new types early this spring. Harvesters have played a big part in the recent autumn harvest.

The replacement of manual labour with modern farm machinery has made it possible for commune members to spare more efforts for further improving the system of farming and developing a diversified economy. As a result, nearly 90 per cent of the total acreage sown to grain crops have been brought under a triple-cropping system as against only 2 per cent in 1965. Average grain output last year reached 10,800 kilograms per hectare. In a short span of nine years, the total output value of forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fishery has nearly doubled. The 198 people's communes on Shanghai's outskirts have set up 4,749 industrial enterprises of varying sizes.

The rapid development of farm mechanization has played an important part in transforming old traditions and habits of small producers inherent in the peasants. This has enhanced the peasants' sense of organization and strengthened unity among commune members. Mechanization also helps narrow the differences between the work of those who are physically strong and weak and the work of men and women. With the development of farm mechanization and the building of small industries by communes and production brigades, the differences between city and countryside and between worker and peasant are being gradually reduced.

**News Briefs**

Large Hydro-Power Station in Anhwei Province. Built on the upper reaches of the Chingko River, a Yangtze tributary which runs through the southern part of Anhwei Province, the station has three turbo sets with a total generating capacity of 150,000 kilowatts and a reservoir with more than 2,400 million cubic metres' storage capacity. While feeding a widespread power-grid, it not only contributes to flood-control, but also facilitates irrigation, fish-breeding and navigation. Its completion is of important significance for southern Anhwei's industrial and agricultural development.

Pumping Station in Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. The big pumping station located in the east of Paotow was put into operation in early 1986. With a water flow of 24 cubic metres per second, it was designed to irrigate 30,000 hectares of farmland. Its expansion undertaken in April last year is now complete, increasing its water flow to 36 cubic metres per second and bringing nearly 80,000 hectares of cropland under irrigation.
Sinkiang Chemical Fertilizer Plant. This modern enterprise newly built in the autonomous region is one of a number of big and medium-sized chemical fertilizer plants constructed in various parts of the country. During recent months since production was started up, the plant's output of synthetic ammonia reached the designed target, and area was successfully trial-produced. The people of various nationalities in Sinkiang had long hoped for a chemical fertilizer plant like this. Its completion has created favourable conditions for developing local farm production at a quicker pace.

Highway Bridge Opened to Traffic in Szechuan. This reinforced-concrete arch bridge spanning the Chialing River at Nanchung is the biggest in the province. It is 776 metres long, with approaches measuring 862 metres, and 12 metres wide. It accommodates two lorries running abreast, with a sidewalk on each side. It is located at an important road junction in the northern part of the province. In the past the place was jammed every day with hundreds of lorries and upwards of one thousand pedestrians waiting for steamboat ferries to carry them across the Chialing River. Traffic often bogged down during the flood season or foggy days, when the ferries could not keep to their schedule. The opening to traffic of the new bridge has completely changed this situation. This is of important significance for accelerating industrial and agricultural development in this region.

(Continued from p. 7.)

from the five continents joined the people in the Chinese capital in the festivities.

The holiday-makers extended a warm welcome to the foreign friends. They expressed their determination to strengthen unity and friendship with the people of the world and firmly support the people of the third world in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

Delegates to the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture received a hearty welcome at the parties. People rejoiced at the new successes achieved in learning from Tachai. Cadres and peasants from Peking's suburban people's communes joined representatives of outstanding agricultural units from all parts of the country in festivities. Peking's rural areas have achieved good results in the movement to learn from Tachai. Their total output of grain in 1974 was 1.7 times that of 1964. The summer grain harvest this year totalled 20 per cent more than the bumper crop last year and set an all-time record.

Workers from industrial, communications and capital construction fronts brought good news of new achievements. Peking industry has reported fulfilment of 75 per cent of this year's target in total output value in the first nine months.

These outstanding representatives from the industrial and agricultural fronts expressed their determination to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and strive to overfulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan which ends this year.

A warm atmosphere of revolutionary unity of people of all nationalities prevailed in the parks. In colourful national costumes, an amateur art troupe of emancipated serfs from the Tibet Autonomous Region, singers and dancers from the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, together with students and instructors of several dozen minority nationalities from the Central Institute for Nationalities, performed songs and dances of various nationalities to hail the victories in socialist revolution and construction.

Art troupes entertained the holiday-makers with a rich repertory, as an indication of the advances made in proletarian art and literature. Over 400 worker-peasant-soldier amateur art troupes presented a thousand items in the parks. Professional troupes presented their latest creations in praise of the socialist new things emerging from the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cinema houses showed new feature films.

The participants in the Third National Games joined in the celebrations. Sportsmen from Taiwan Province were accorded an enthusiastic welcome everywhere they went. This showed the flesh-and-blood feeling the Peking people cherished for their Taiwan compatriots. Outstanding sportsmen gave demonstrations and played exhibition matches at various stadiums.

A large number of scientists, technicians and medical workers took part in the festivities. Among them were well-known veteran scientists, as well as younger ones who had come to the fore with notable achievements. They all expressed the determination to study hard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, scale the heights of science and technology, and contribute their share to building China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century.

Students performed many theatrical items which mirrored the deep-going revolution in education.

Commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and Peking militiamen presented at the garden parties theatrical items created by themselves. The items expressed their determination to strengthen army-civilian unity and preparedness against war, to heighten vigilance, defend the motherland and liberate China's sacred territory of Taiwan Province.

Representatives of compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese joined in the gala parties and received a welcome from the holiday-makers.

Celebrations were also held at factories, shops, army units, schools, urban neighbourhoods and rural people's communes.

October 3, 1975
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Distributed by GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

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