

China

Volume V of Selected Works
of Mao Tsetung Published

Reconstructs

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Back: Pine and Plum (Traditional style painting) Kuan Shan-yueh

Inside front: The Great Leader and His Close Comrades-in-Arms — Chairman Mao with Vice-Chairman Chou and Commander-in-Chief Chu (Sculpture, see p. 11)

Inside back: A transformer station on the Yellow River (Honan province).

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 漢唐階級作家在唯心論方面講統一戰線。甘心作資產階級的俘虜。向劉少奇、朱德和武訓偉“改組時的形式主義”
 手是相同的。這在社會主義放膽之後，至今沒有被批評。武訓偉雖然批評，却至今沒有引出教訓，又出現了官

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 惡劣的唯心論和阻礙小人物們的批判文章的奇怪事情，這是他及同輩的。

九月十六日
 前平消這一類漢唐階級作家，當時他們採取團結政策，但後來批判他們的毒害青年的錯誤思想，不應當對他們放寬。

Manuscript of Chairman Mao's "Letter Concerning the Study of The Dream of the Red Chamber" (October 16, 1954).

of Mao Tsetung's ous Struggle

VOLUME V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* contains important writings from September 1949 through 1957.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the basic conclusion of the period of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the period of the socialist revolution. In this new historical period the fundamental issue confronting the country was whether to follow the socialist road or the capitalist road. In order to build China into a strong socialist country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao led the people in intense struggles against the landlord and bourgeois classes, against the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, against Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line at home and against U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov modern revisionism abroad.

National Economic Rehabilitation (1949-1952)

During the first three years of the people's republic, the Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao and



Coal miners in Hunan province greet the arrival of Volume V.

the Communist Party, fulfilled the tasks left from the democratic revolution, carried out agrarian reform in the new liberated areas, undertook movements to suppress counter-revolutionaries, struggle against "the three evils" and "the five evils", resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and carried out ideological education among the intellectuals. At the



People of different nationalities in Sinkiang (above) and workers at the Taching oil field (right) hail the publication of Volume V.

same time they healed the economic wounds caused by reactionary Kuomintang rule and long years of war, restored and developed production, and fought for a fundamental turn for the better in the nation's financial and economic situation.

The Chinese People Have Stood Up! is Chairman Mao's historical proclamation of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It solemnly declares to the whole world, "**The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up.**" This document defines new China's state system, sets forth its political, economic, cultural, military and other tasks, and formulates its foreign policy. Chairman Mao emphasized that "**our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies to stage a comeback, and this weapon we must firmly grasp**". National defense had to be consolidated so that imperialists would never again be allowed to invade China. "**Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steeled People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.**"

Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation and *Don't Hit Out in All Directions* are Chairman Mao's reports to the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee on June 6, 1950. The former outlined three conditions and eight tasks necessary for financial and economic improvement and was a programmatic document for the period of economic rehabilitation. The latter explained the strategic and tactical thinking embodied in the former. After this plenary session, the Party followed Chairman Mao's instructions, united the people throughout the country in hard work and made a marked improvement in the nation's financial and economic situation.

Chairman Mao's writings of this period on the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the agrarian reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries guided the Party, army and people to major victories. Chairman Mao ordered the Chinese People's Volunteers to "**join the Korean comrades in fighting the aggressors and winning a glorious victory**". He urged the volunteers to express their fraternal feelings and respect for the Korean Workers' Party, government, army, people and their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, and to strictly observe

military and political discipline. This, he said, was a most important political basis for ensuring the fulfillment of the military task.

Agrarian reform continued in new areas after liberation. Chairman Mao put forward the task of carrying it out systematically and step by step overthrowing the entire landlord class. For the time being, the rich peasants should be left untouched in order to better isolate the landlords, protect the middle peasants, set the minds of the national bourgeoisie at rest and thus facilitate the early restoration of production. After the U.S. imperialists launched their war of aggression against Korea, domestic counter-revolutionaries collaborated with U.S. imperialism and attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out that in suppressing all counter-revolutionaries, one must follow the Party's mass line, strike surely, accurately and relentlessly and follow a policy of combining suppression with leniency.



On the Struggle Against "the Three Evils" and "the Five Evils" contains directives drafted by Chairman Mao for the Party Central Committee. In view of the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the fact that many Party members and cadres had been corrupted by the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao gave instructions for a big struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy (the "three evils") in the Party, government, army and mass organizations. At the same time he urged a large-scale struggle against law-breaking capitalists' bribery of government workers, tax evasion, cheating on government contracts, theft of state property, and stealing economic information from government sources (the "five evils"). Tactics to be used were utilizing contradictions, splitting the capitalists, uniting with the many and isolating the few. This struggle was the first major test of strength between the working class and the bourgeoisie of China in the period of socialist revolution. Chairman Mao's directives guided the

working class and the broad masses to great victories in this struggle.

Socialist Transformation (1953-1956)

As the period of the rehabilitation of China's economy drew to a close, Chairman Mao reiterated his scientific thesis on the principal contradiction in the country, which he had set forth at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee. **"With the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in China."** In accordance with Lenin's teachings concerning the period of transition, Chairman Mao summed up the new experience of the people's republic and formulated in good time the Party's general line for the transition period. He pointed out: **"The time between the founding of the People's Republic of China and the basic completion of socialist transformation is a period of transition. The Party's general line or general task for the transition period is basically to accomplish the country's industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly long period of time. This general line should be the brilliant beacon for guiding all our work, and wherever we deviate from it, we shall make Right or 'Left' mistakes."** The essence of this general line was to change the ownership of the means of production, that is, gradually to transform individual ownership into socialist ownership by the collective and capitalist ownership into socialist ownership by the whole people, so that socialist ownership would become the only component of the economic base. Acute class struggle was involved and the spearhead of the revolution was directed at the bourgeoisie.

To put the Party's general line for the transition period into full effect, Chairman Mao wrote a series of articles which set the building of a powerful and highly industrialized socialist country as the goal. He laid down a whole set of guidelines, principles and policies for socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, dealt the bourgeoisie crippling blows, exposed the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, and refuted Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist line inside the Party.

In *Refute Right Deviationist Views That Depart from the General Line* (June 1953), Chairman Mao sharply criticized Liu Shao-chi's errors. After the victory of the new-democratic revolution, Liu Shao-chi did not want to carry out socialist transformation, but instead put forward such Right deviationist views as "firmly establish the new-democratic social order" which, if followed, would have led back to capitalism. Chairman Mao pointed out, **"The period of transition is full of contradictions and struggles. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the**

revolutionary armed struggle of the past. It is a revolution that will bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation once and for all. The idea, 'firmly establish the new-democratic social order', goes against the realities of our struggle and hinders the progress of the socialist cause."

In *Criticize Han Chauvinism*, Chairman Mao stated, "We must go to the root and criticize the Han chauvinist ideas which exist to a serious degree among many Party members and cadres, namely, the reactionary ideas of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, or the ideas characteristic of the Kuomintang, which are manifested in the relations between nationalities. Mistakes in this respect must be corrected at once." In subsequent writings, Chairman Mao repeatedly took up the point that while local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed, the emphasis had to be put on opposing Han chauvinism in order to secure the unity of the nationalities.

Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party is a speech Chairman Mao delivered at the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work held in the summer of 1953. This conference was convened chiefly to criticize Po I-po's error of departing from the general line and to correct erroneous ideas among cadres on the question of the general line. Having analyzed the ideological situation in the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that such bourgeois ideas as Po I-po's were reflected in questions concerning the Party line and could be found not only in financial and economic work but also in political, judicial, cultural, educational and other fields of work, and among comrades in both local and national levels. He said, "We must unfold a struggle in the Party against bourgeois ideas."

In the article *On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (June 1954), Chairman Mao for the first time set before the nation the goal of building China into a great socialist country in 50 years, that is, in the period of ten five-year plans.

In *Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party*, Chairman Mao emphasized the question of smashing the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. The emergence of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, he said, was a striking manifestation of the sharp class struggle in China at the time. The aim of this anti-Party alliance was to split the Party, seize top Party and state power by conspiratorial means and pave the way for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

In *Refutation of "Uniformity of Public Opinion"* is one of the editor's notes written by Chairman Mao for the *Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique*. It applies the law of the unity of opposites to the dialectical relationship between the uniformity and the non-uniformity of public opinion, and thus reveals the existence of the two different types of contradictions in the socialist society — those between the people and the enemy and those among the people — and advances the basic ideas of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions.

Chairman Mao devoted great energy to leading the socialist transformation of agriculture. His articles on the cooperative transformation of agriculture occupy much space in Volume V and many of them criticize Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist line politically, ideologically and organizationally. *Take Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agriculture as a Major Task* is an inner-Party circular drafted by Chairman Mao to rebuff Liu Shao-chi's opposition to the cooperative transformation of agriculture. A *Debate on the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle* is Chairman Mao's concluding speech October 11, 1955 at the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party. This debate, which began with the question of policy in agricultural cooperation, was over the question of whether the Party's general line for the period of transition was entirely correct or not. Chairman Mao explained the relationship between agricultural cooperation and the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. He pointed out that only when the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was being gradually consolidated on a socialist basis in the process of a thoroughgoing socialist transformation of agriculture was it possible to sever the ties between the urban bourgeoisie and the peasantry completely, so as ultimately to isolate the bourgeoisie and facilitate the final liquidation of capitalism. "In this matter we are quite heartless! Marxism is all that cruel and it doesn't have much mercy; it is bent on exterminating imperialism, feudalism, capitalism and small production to boot. In this respect, it is better not to have much mercy. Some of our comrades are too kind, they are not tough enough, in other words, they are not so Marxist. It is a very good thing, and a significant one too, to exterminate the bourgeoisie and capitalism in China, a country with a population of 600 million. Our aim is to exterminate capitalism, obliterate it from the face of the earth and make it a thing of the past."

On the Ten Major Relationships is a speech Chairman Mao delivered in 1956 at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. Bearing in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union, he summed up China's experience and, proceeding from the basic policy of mobilizing all positive internal and external factors to serve the cause of socialism, dealt with ten major relationships in socialist revolution and construction and set forth the ideas underlying the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, a line suited to the conditions of the country.

Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward the Party's Traditions is Chairman Mao's speech in August 1956 at the first session of the preparatory meeting for the Eighth Party Congress. He said that the aim and purpose of the congress should be "to sum up the experience gained since the Seventh Congress, unite the whole Party and unite all the forces at home and abroad that can be united in the struggle to build a great socialist China". After making a comparison

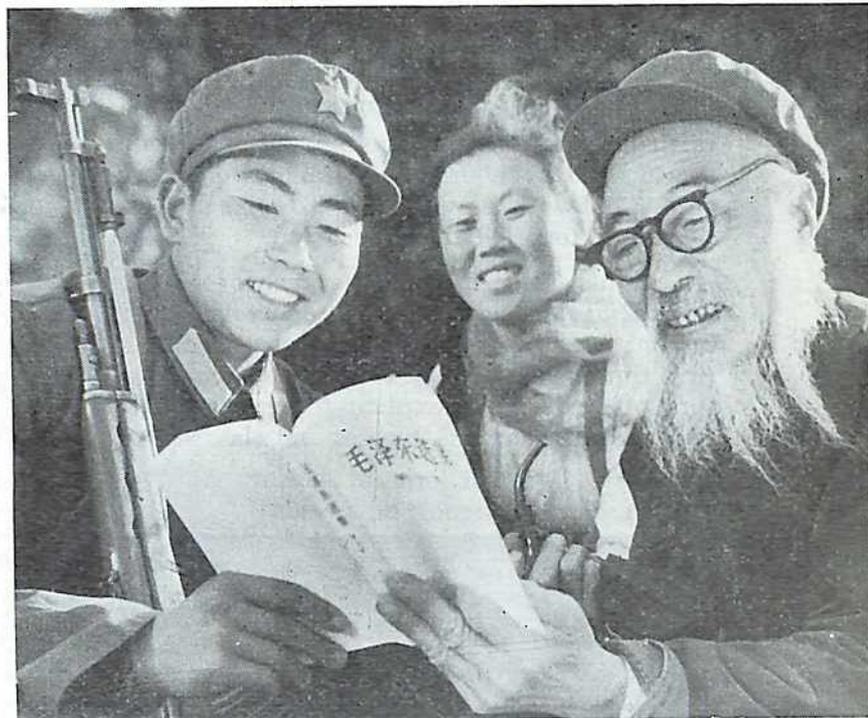
between the conditions of China and those of the United States, he suggested that we overtake the United States economically in 50 or 60 years. He said, "This is an obligation. You have such a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, it has been said that you are building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after much ado for 50 or 60 years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth. Therefore, to overtake the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary and obligatory. If we don't, we the Chinese nation will be letting the nations of the world down and we will not be making much of a contribution to mankind." Chairman Mao went on to point out that the fine traditions of the Party with respect to ideology and style of work should be carried on and subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucracy should be combated. A good job must be done of uniting the whole Party. "By unity we mean uniting with those who have differences with you, who look down upon you or show little respect for you, who have had a bone to pick with you or waged struggles against you and at whose hands you have suffered."

Party's Rectification and Struggle Against Rightists (1956-1957)

After the Communist Party of the Soviet Union struck at Stalin in February 1956 at its 20th congress, the imperialists in the world stirred up an anti-communist storm, revisionist trends of thought in the communist movement became more rampant and the Polish and Hungarian events took place. In China, 1956 was a year of intense socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. In these circumstances, a few people in the Party wavered. Acting in coordination with the counter-revolutionary onslaughts by the imperialists and revisionists and taking advantage of the Party's rectification movement, the bourgeois Rightists launched fierce attacks on the Party. In articles written from the winter of 1956 through 1957, Chairman Mao correctly answered new questions raised at home and abroad. He put forward the scientific thesis that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road will continue for a long period of time after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, and evolved the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his *Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, Chairman Mao affirmed that the First Five-Year Plan was fundamentally correct and stressed that the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses must be protected.

With regard to the fact that disturbances and bad people exist in socialist countries, Chairman Mao pointed out, "They are in the nature of things." There will still be contradictions and struggles as well as the need for revolution even 10,000 years from now.



A PLA soldier and an old peasant read the new Volume V.

He said, "Will there still be revolutions in the future when all the imperialists in the world are overthrown and classes eliminated? What do you say? In my view, there will still be the need for revolution. The social system will still need to be changed and the term 'revolution' will still be in use. Of course, revolutions then will not be of the same nature as those in the era of class struggle. But there will still be contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base. When the relations of production become unsuitable, they will have to be overthrown. If the superstructure (ideology and public opinion included) protects the kind of relations of production the people dislike, they will transform it."

Chairman Mao criticized the errors of the Khrushchov clique in attacking Stalin and preaching the seizure of political power through the parliamentary road. He said, "I think there are two 'swords': one is Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been discarded by the Russians." And "the sword of Lenin" had been "by and large . . . thrown out" by them. "We Chinese have not thrown it away. First, we protect Stalin, and second, we at the same time criticize his mistakes, and we have written the article 'On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. Unlike some people who have tried to defame and destroy Stalin, we are acting in accordance with objective reality."

Later in October 1957 in his article *Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution*, Chairman Mao explained the Party's basic viewpoints on the question of Stalin and the question of peaceful transition and criticized Khrushchov revisionism. He pointed out, "Stalin's achievements are primary and his shortcomings and mistakes secondary." "We have put up

Stalin's portrait in Tien An Men Square. This accords with the wishes of working people the world over and indicates the fundamental differences between us and Khrushchov." Peaceful changeover is a tactical slogan. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie will never hand over their political power of their own accord but will use violence. To seize political power by armed force is strategic slogan.

In his *Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees* (January 1957), Chairman Mao, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, pointed out in explicit terms that there would still be contradictions, classes and class struggle after



Buying Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* at a Hsinhua Bookstore in Shanghai.

the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. He made a profound analysis of the political and ideological trends among the various classes in Chinese society as well as within the Party.

Proceeding from the viewpoint of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao elaborated on the correctness of the policy of **letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend**, and criticized Stalin's metaphysics and the erroneous view that only fragrant flowers, but no poisonous weeds, should be allowed to grow, a view that denies the existence of poisonous weeds in a socialist country. Poisonous weeds should be rooted out. Harmful statements should be refuted in good time. Evil trends in society must be wiped out and the way to do it is through reasoning.

Dwelling on the dialectical relationship between agriculture and industry, Chairman Mao stressed the position and role of agriculture in the national economy.

Chairman Mao analyzed the contradictions among nations, pointing out that **"the embroilment of the imperialist countries contending for colonies is the**

bigger contradiction. They try to cover up the contradictions between themselves by playing up their contradiction with us". From the Suez Canal incident it was clear that **"in the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are: first, those between different imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France; second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are: one, the United States, the biggest imperialist power; two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers; and three, the oppressed nations"**. Later, in line with the changes in international class relations, Chairman Mao developed these ideas into the scientific thesis on the division of the world into three.

Chairman Mao reiterated China's policy toward the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States — that is, we were in no hurry to do it. He said, **"We adopt this policy to deprive the United States of as much of its political capital as possible and put it in the wrong and in an isolated position. . . . You Americans can go on withholding recognition of our government for 100 years, but I doubt if you can withhold it in the 101st. One day the United States will have to establish diplomatic relations with us. When the Americans come to China then and look around, they will find it too late for regrets. For this land of China will have become quite different, with its house swept clean and the 'four pests' eliminated, they won't find many friends here and they can't do much even if they spread a few germs."**

Chairman Mao sharply criticized Khrushchov revisionism and great-power chauvinism. He said, **"These people are blinded by their gains and the best way to deal with them is to give them a good dressing down. What are their gains? Nothing but 50 million tons of steel, 400 million tons of coal, and 80 million tons of petroleum. Does this amount to much? Not at all. Now at the sight of this much their heads are swollen. What Communists! What Marxists! I say multiply all that tenfold, or even a hundredfold, it still doesn't amount to much. All you have done is to extract something from the earth, turn it into steel and make some cars, aeroplanes and what not. What is so remarkable about it? And yet you make all this such a heavy burden on your back that you even cast away revolutionary principles. Isn't this being blinded by gains? If one reaches high office, one can be blinded by gain too. To be the first secretary of a Party committee is a kind of gain, which is also liable to swell one's head. When a man's head gets too swelled, we have to give him a good dressing down one way or another. This time in Moscow, Comrade Chou En-lai did not stand on ceremony and took them on and so they kicked up a row. This is good, straightening things out face to face. . . . If they insist on having their own way, sooner or later we will have to bring everything into the open."**

The important theoretical points in these talks are systematically elaborated in *On the Correct*

Handling of Contradictions Among the People and Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, two Marxist documents already published.

Things Are Beginning to Change, Muster Forces to Repulse the Wild Attacks of the Rightists, Repulse the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists and The Situation in the Summer of 1957 are four important articles by Chairman Mao written during the surging anti-Rightist struggle. He said that the significance of the struggle against the Rightists must not be underestimated. "It is a great socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. By itself, the socialist revolution of 1956 on the economic front (that is, in the ownership of the means of production) is not enough, nor is it secure. This has been borne out by the Hungarian events. There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts."

Chairman Mao pointed out that the Party had gained experience in rectifying its style of work, criticizing the Rightists and winning over the intermediate masses and this was of great significance. "Our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and thus to promote our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, build our modern industry and modern agriculture more rapidly and make our Party and state more secure and better able to weather storm and stress. The general subject here is the correct handling of contradictions among the people and those between the enemy and ourselves. The method is to seek truth from facts and follow the mass line."

Chairman Mao used the Chinese proverb "With the skin gone, where can the hair attach itself?" to explain graphically the need for bourgeois intellectuals to remold themselves. Chairman Mao pointed out that the intellectuals coming from the old society had lost their original economic basis in society. The intellectuals must remold themselves so that they, the "hair", could attach to the "skin" of public ownership and the proletariat. In order to attach themselves to the proletariat, the intellectuals must study proletarian ideology, develop warm feelings for the proletariat and become true friends with workers and peasants. Chairman Mao said it was necessary that "a new army of working-class intellectuals will be formed (including all the intellectuals from the old society who take a firm working-class stand after having been genuinely remolded). This is a great task history sets us. The revolutionary cause of the working class will not be fully consolidated until this vast new army of working-class intellectuals comes into being".

The article *Firmly Believe in the Majority of the People* analyzes the political attitude of each class and stratum in socialist society and explains the balance of class forces in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out, "What is the scope of the socialist revolution, what classes are involved in this struggle? The so-

cialist revolution is a struggle waged by the proletariat at the head of the working people against the bourgeoisie."

A Dialectical Approach to Inner-Party Unity is an important article on applying dialectics to solving inner-Party contradictions. Chairman Mao said that one should take the attitude of uniting with any comrade, provided he is not a hostile element or a saboteur. One should adopt a dialectical, and not a metaphysical, approach toward him. The metaphysical approach is to totally crush anyone not to one's liking. The dialectical approach is, "With a comrade who has made mistakes we should first wage a struggle to thoroughly rid him of his wrong ideas. Second, we should help him as well. Point one, struggle, and point two, help. We should proceed with good will and help him correct his mistakes so that he will have a way out." Chairman Mao clearly stated, "The concept of the unity of opposites, dialectics, must be widely propagated. I say dialectics should move from the small circle of philosophers to the broad masses of the people."

Applying basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and abroad, expounded a series of important problems in the period of socialist revolution and construction, put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. Later, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, basing himself on the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao continuously enriched and developed his ideas already set forth in Volume V.

On April 7, 1977 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China called on the people to "conscientiously study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's other works and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, carry out Chairman Mao's wishes, hold aloft and safeguard the great banner of Chairman Mao, unite as one, work hard to run China's affairs well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity". The people of all nationalities throughout the country are responding to this call by integrating theory with practice and studying this volume earnestly.





Great Teacher (Colored woodcut) *Chang Chiang*

The National Art Exhibition of 1977

THE extraordinary political events of 1976 were well reflected in the works shown at the National Art Exhibition in Peking's Art Gallery last spring.

The exhibition brought nearly 700 works of professional and amateur artists of 14 nationalities in China to the public. The majority of these mirrored the tremendous respect and love of the Chinese people for comrades Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh who died last year, the contributions of these leaders to the Chinese revolution, and the people's love for Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the new Chairman. Many of the works reflected the people's enthusiastic support of Chairman Hua and the historic defeat of the "gang of four".

In the first hall of the exhibition was a huge oil painting, *With You in Charge, I Am at Ease*, depicting Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua discussing the affairs of the country. Comrade Hua is holding a sheet of paper Chairman Mao has given him on which he has written, "With you in charge, I am at ease". The artist has expressed love for Chairman Mao and trust in Chairman Hua.

A striking sculpture, *The Great Leader and His Close Comrades-in-Arms*, stands in the middle of the first hall. It recreates a scene of the war years in which comrades Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh worked side by side directing the revolutionary struggle. Viewers are reminded of the struggle for the people's liberation pioneered by Chairman Mao and other leaders of the Chinese revolution.

An oil, *March Toward Victory*, shows comrades Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh leaving an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central

Committee at Tsunyi in 1935 during the Long March. This historic meeting repudiated Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line and established Chairman Mao's leadership in the Party and army, with the support of Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Chu Teh.

Two oils — *With Firm Strides We Are Crossing the Summit* and *Minshan's Thousand Li of Snow Crossed* — depict the Red Army at Loushan Pass and on Mount Liupan as Chairman Mao, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh led it north to fight the Japanese aggressors. Another oil, *Arduous Time and Great Friendship*, reveals the deep friendship of the three leaders at the revolutionary base at Yen-an. Their simple clothes and determined faces reflect a comradeship forged in the revolutionary struggle under the red flag of Marxism-Leninism.

Several oils on display depict other old proletarian revolutionaries. *Battle on the Lohsiao Mountain Range* shows Comrade Chen Yi leading his troops in the mountain forests of southern China, continuing the revolutionary struggle there. *Nanchang Uprising* (August 1, 1927) portrays Chou En-lai, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting, Chu Teh and Liu Po-cheng calling on soldiers gathered in front of headquarters to rise against the Kuomintang reactionaries who have betrayed the revolution.

The heroine, Comrade Yang Kai-hui, Chairman Mao's wife, is also shown in the exhibition. On a background of Orange Island, junks and the misty Hsiang River, an oil, *Comrades-in-Arms*, shows Chairman Mao and Yang Kai-hui doing revolutionary work in Changsha, Hunan province, in the early days. The tragic death as a martyr of Comrade Yang Kai-hui in 1930 is seen in another oil, *Eternal Glory to the Heroic Spirit*.

Some works depicting Chairman Mao were once banned on one pretext or another by the "gang of four". One of these was an oil, *Chairman Mao Reascending Ching-kang Mountains*, portraying Chairman Mao talking about the excellent new conditions with local young people on top of Ching-kang Mountains in 1965. Two other banned paintings were an oil, *The Field Which Chairman Mao Once Cultivated* and *Go to the Labor University*, in traditional style, the latter showing Chairman Mao sending his son to work in the countryside. The display of these paintings loved by the people shows that art has been liberated as a result of the downfall of the "gang of four".

Works portraying Premier Chou En-lai attracted many viewers. *A Street Cleaner Remembers* in traditional style depicts an incident in the hard-working life of Premier Chou. Once late at night he came outside to shake hands with a street cleaner under a street light. Below are the premier's words: "Comrade, you must be tired. The people appreciate your work."

Many works depict Chairman Hua's activities: in Hunan province, in Tibet, at the Tachai production brigade, at the Anshan Iron and Steel Works, and his visits to the earthquake-stricken areas such as south Liaoning in 1975 and Tangshan in July 1976. These show the close relations between a proletarian leader and the people.

Many works recall the grief of the Chinese people when Chairman Mao, Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress died last year. *In Deep Sorrow*, an oil, depicts the tears of a girl PLA soldier



Arduous Time and Great Friendship (Oil) Kao Chuan

Comrades-in-Arms (Oil) Hsu Pao-chung and Li Tse-hao





"With You in Charge, I Am at Ease." (Oil) Peng Ping and Chin Shang-yi



A Street Cleaner Remembers (Traditional style painting) Lu Chen and Chou Szu-tung

when she learned of the death of Chairman Mao. *Tears Flow in High-Yield Field* features liberated serfs in a Tachai-type field in Tibet pledging to carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao. It symbolizes the Chinese people's determination to turn their grief into strength. *A Million Hearts Follow Behind*, another oil, shows the moving scene when great silent crowds of Peking citizens came out to say farewell to Premier Chou as his hearse passed along Changan, the Boulevard of Eternal Peace.

In October 1976, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng smashed the plot of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan to seize power. The people throughout the country hailed the fact that the cause left behind by Chairman Mao now had a competent successor. *The People Have Won*, in traditional style, shows Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying waving from the Tien An Men

rostrum to a million civilians and army men celebrating the smashing of the plot of the "gang of four" and the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the Party Central Committee and of its Military Commission.

There were also many works on the mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture. Others praise the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the new socialist things it generated. These works reflect the new spirit of the Chinese people.

The exhibition covered a wide range of themes in many different genres and styles. They included paintings in the Chinese traditional style, oils, woodcuts, sculptures, cartoons, gouaches, New Year pictures, papercuts, picture-stories and sketches. The landscapes, bird-and-flower paintings and cartoons once suppressed by the "gang of four" have appeared again. This exhibition thus reflects the vitality of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" in the field of Chinese art.

Liberated Serfs Receive a Member of the Family (Oil) Wei Chuan-yi and Ma Yi-ping



Supply Station on the Grasslands

YANG YI-SHAN

In August 1935 on the Long March the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army reached Maoerkai in north Szechuan, where the Central Political Bureau held a meeting. According to the plan of going north to fight Japan set by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, it was decided that the First Front Army from the Central Base in Kiangsi and the Fourth Front Army from the Szechuan-Shensi Base, which had joined forces at Maokung in Szechuan, should merge and go north in two columns. Chairman Mao led the right column. Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh went to the left column where, together with Chang Kuo-tao, who had usurped leadership of the Fourth Front Army, he led it and part of the First Front Army north. The right column reached northern Shensi in October.

Chang Kuo-tao openly split the Red Army and the Party, and practiced Right flightism, withdrawing the left column to Kantzu in northern Szechuan. After circuitous fighting, the Second Front Army led by Ho Lung and other comrades from the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow Border Base also reached Kantzu in May 1936. Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh, Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Ho Lung and others firmly supported the correct line of the Party Central Committee (going north to fight Japan) and resolutely struggled with Chang Kuo-tao's line of splittism and flightism. The cadres of the Fourth Front Army soon realized his mistake and demanded to go north and fight Japan. Chang Kuo-tao's plot failed and the Second and Fourth Front Armies started north.

"Supply Station on the Grasslands" is a story from their journey.

IT was in early autumn 1936 after several days' march that we reached the marshy grasslands in the upper reaches of the Yellow River — Kechu River. At daybreak the soldiers started striking tents. We roused the exhausted yaks, then watered and loaded them. Our troops quietly fell in, ready to set off.

Just then, the sound of hurried footsteps rang out. I looked up. A little fighter was running in our direction, shouting something. I thought he was calling someone else, but to my surprise he was looking for me.

"Comrade! Are you Yang Yi-shan?"

"Yes!"

"Come quickly. Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh wants to see you." He pointed ahead.

I hurried that way. A powerfully built man was standing with his back to the choppy river, his cowhide cape flapping in the wind. At the sound of my swift footsteps, Chu Teh turned and waved. I quickened my pace.

"Are you in charge of supplies, comrade?"

"Yes," I replied.

"Then you're the one assigned to set up a supply station here?"

"That's right."

"Good. Yours is an important task, comrade. Since tens of thousands of our men are still bringing up the rear, headquarters has decided that the units directly under our Fourth Front Army will leave all their transport yaks for them. It'll take us six more days to cross the grasslands. Give each man no more than half a kilo of yak meat or mutton per day and count in the hide too! The rest must all be left

for the rear guard. Otherwise they'll never make it across the grasslands." He specifically instructed, "Scald the sheep so you can eat the skin with the meat. Scorch the yak hides. Intestines and tripe must all be eaten too."

Then he climbed a mound to address the troops. Raising one hand, he declared, "Comrades, as you all know, crossing the grasslands is the toughest part of our march north. But the comrades of the Second Front Army, our rear guard, are in a tighter spot. They don't even have wild plants to eat, as the route's been stripped bare by the troops in front."

"Headquarters has decided to leave them all the sheep and yaks taken from the enemy yesterday. We'll also leave them our transport yaks. You must carry on your backs whatever you can't discard."

Cheer rang out before he finished speaking. Our fighters eagerly unloaded the yaks and handed the

YANG YI-SHAN is now a leader of the Chengtu Command of the People's Liberation Army.



"Headquarters has decided to leave the Second Front Army all the sheep and yaks taken from the enemy yesterday. We'll also leave them our transport yaks. You must carry on your backs whatever you can't discard."

animals over to us. Then they set off.

Before leaving, Chu Teh reminded me, "You've got your work cut out for you, comrade. Be sure to tell the comrades in charge not to throw anything away. Even the tiniest bit of yak hide is precious."

SO over three hundred of us remained behind to set up the supply station. We pitched our tents and hid the animals in grass as tall as ourselves, leaving a patrol headed by our political commissar to guard them.

The whole Fourth Front Army had now passed through. We knew it wouldn't be long before the vanguard of the Second Front Army arrived, so we began making intense preparations. Then the worst happened. Enemy cavalry launched a surprise attack at dawn, carrying off many of our yaks.

Some five days later, the members of the Second Front Army Headquarters arrived, led by Commander Ho Lung. Before we could even see the troops, cheers rang out in the distance—they'd probably spotted our tents. Though we'd been eagerly awaiting their arrival for days, we felt unhappy now.

We'd lost so many precious yaks to the enemy.

Ho Lung had no sooner arrived than he demanded, "Who's in charge of supplies?"

"I am, commander." I ran up. He asked for a detailed report on the arrangements for distributing the animals. I told him the instructions I'd received and the losses we'd suffered from the enemy raid.

"Forget it," he responded with a wave of his hand. "No difficulty in the world can stop us." Then he and several of us studied the food supply problem again. After calculating carefully, Ho Lung decided to reduce the rations from half a kilo per day. The men were asked to do their best to round them out by catching fish.

After redistributing the yak meat and mutton, we prepared the commander's ration which I took to his bodyguard. But Ho Lung refused it, saying, "Take it back!" I insisted on leaving the meat, for how could he go such a distance without food? Then Ho Lung picked up the meat and took it back himself.

"Don't worry about me, comrade," he said. "I'll take care of my own mess. Keep my share for the

men who're coming." Seeing my puzzled expression, he threw back his head and laughed, then went through the motions of fishing. "Wait and see," he joked, "we'll live better than usual!" I later heard that when resting during each day's march, Ho Lung would find a pond and go fishing.

THE last of the Second Front Army came through. Our task completed, we marched on, following the path our comrades had trod.

After three days' march, we reached a densely forested mountain. As we slogged through mud crisscrossed with animal tracks, our guide lost the way. "What's to be done?" a comrade asked. We decided to go on to look for our forces. Then we spotted some of our troops ahead. Our main force, we thought. What luck! But when we reached them, we found it was a company of the Second Front Army that had been assigned to guard the route. They'd run out of food when this mission was completed and were trapped there, sprawled on the ground. Some had even lost consciousness.

We rushed over and helped them sit up. "Go on, comrades," their

political instructor murmured. "We can't walk and you can't stay here and die with us." He paused. "When you catch up with our main force, just tell the Party leadership that we completed our task."

But how could we leave them like that! We still had one yak left to carry our guns, which we'd been reluctant to kill. Now we gave it to them.

Not long after leaving the grasslands we encountered this company again. We embraced, cheered and jumped for joy, shouting, "We finally made it across the grasslands!"

The Battle of Chihlochen

HSU HAI-TUNG

BY the end of November 1935 northern Shensi was in the grip of freezing winter. Encouraged by the slogan "Welcome the Central Red Army with a victorious battle!" the 15th Red Army Group in northern Shensi captured Changtsunyi and Tungtsun southwest of Yen-an, then took two smaller positions near by. Chairman Mao Tsetung led the Central Red Army (that is, the First Front Army) to Tungtsun after the fighting, joining forces with the 15th Red Army Group.

In order to secure the northwest as the base for China's revolution Chairman Mao drew up a plan for a big battle of annihilation, the Battle of Chihlochen.

The situation in northern Shensi was this: After the victories of the Northern Shensi Red Army at Laoshan and Yulinchiao, five enemy divisions had launched an attack against us. Chairman Mao decided to concentrate the forces of the Red Army which had joined up in northern Shensi to smash the enemy at Chihlochen, northwest of Changtsunyi. We were to go there to survey the terrain before he made more definite dispositions.

All the officers of the Central Red Army and the 15th Red Army Group above regimental rank met west of Changtsunyi and set off

for Chihlochen. We covered the 15 km. in less than an hour, then dismounted and climbed a mountain overlooking the town from the southwest. Chihlochen, surrounded on three sides by mountains, was a small town of about a hundred households. A road from the west ran like a white ribbon straight through its center. To the east stood an ancient hamlet, the stone wall around it almost intact although most of the houses had collapsed. A sluggish stream ran north of the town. We looked carefully through our field glasses at the roads, hilltops, villages and stream. Every small height, tree, ditch or isolated house was an object for the commanders to observe and study, for we were well aware that unanticipated difficulties might crop up in battle if we overlooked any of these in our reconnaissance.

"Very favorable terrain," was our general verdict. "The enemy will be getting into a sack when they come to Chihlochen."

As we walked from one height to another we arrived at a decision — to let the enemy into Chihlochen and wipe them out there. After some discussion we agreed to demolish the hamlet east of the town to prevent the enemy from using it. That night, after making our dispositions, the 15th Red Army Group sent a battalion to demolish the hamlet. No orders had yet been issued, but from their experience our fighters had guessed that a battle was going to

be fought here. Knowing that shedding more sweat before a battle reduces the bloodshed during it, they worked day and night, regardless of fatigue, to pull down the wall. Those soldiers who had recently joined us after being taken prisoner asked softly, "Is the enemy really coming?" "Sure," the veterans answered, "Chairman Mao's got it all worked out."

The 15th Red Army Group left only one platoon to guard Chihlochen, massing its main forces near Changtsunyi, building up their strength and preparing for combat. Cadres at all levels went among their units to make concrete arrangements for the battle. Their slogans were: "Celebrate joining forces with a victory!" "Welcome Chairman Mao with a victory in battle!" "Learn from the Central Red Army in battle!"

IN high spirits the Red Army waited for the enemy. When all preparations were complete, on the third afternoon, under cover of six planes, Niu Yuan-feng, commander of the enemy 109th Division, arrived with his troops at Chihlochen.

That night Chairman Mao issued an order: Forced marches were to be made by the Central Red Army from the north and the 15th Red Army Group from the south to surround Chihlochen before dawn. Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai came in person to command the front. From his post on a hillside above Chihlochen

HSU HAI-TUNG (1900-1970) joined the Communist Party of China in 1925 and was a member of its eighth and ninth central committees, and of the National Defense Council of the People's Republic of China.



The joy of victory filled every fighter's heart.

Chairman Mao instructed all the army leaders that it would be a battle of annihilation. The enemy was to be wiped out, he told us again after the fighting started.

At daybreak the two Red Army units swooped down from the mountains on both sides of Chihlochen like two iron fists. Though on their guard, the enemy had not expected us to come so fast. By the time they realized they were surrounded, the heights on both sides of Chihlochen were already in our hands. They withdrew north when our rifles clattered in the south and turned back when firing broke out in the north. Under our powerful attack, the enemy 109th Division, sandwiched in a valley filled with shooting and shouting, crumbled and surrendered their weapons. Those who resisted fell under our bullets and bayonets.

Attacking from two sides, it took us less than two hours to occupy Chihlochen where the enemy divisional headquarters was stationed. Niu Yuan-feng escaped to the little hamlet east of the town and put up

a last-ditch resistance with barely a battalion of men.

Though we had demolished the hamlet, they had reconstructed some of it after their arrival the previous night and the tricky terrain made it easy to defend. The first attack by a small unit of Red Army men failed. We were organizing a second attack when our messenger announced, "Vice-Chairman Chou's coming."

The sun was already high in the sky. Vice-Chairman Chou and several other comrades were observing the hamlet through their field glasses as they came down the hillside. When they reached us, the vice-chairman shook our hands and asked in detail about our first attack. Then he said, "The enemy's like fish in a barrel. If we can't rout them, just keep them surrounded for a while. With no food or water, they're bound to make a break for it. We'll annihilate them when they move."

The shooting died down. Captured rifles and ammunition piled up on the hillsides and in the town where we assembled prisoners of war. The joy of victory filled every fighter's heart.

Holed up in the hamlet, Niu Yuan-feng sent telegram after telegram urging his superior to rescue him. Little did he know that the 106th Division had been routed on its way to Chihlochen, with a whole regiment wiped out.

That night, with no hope of reinforcement, Niu and his remaining men broke through to the west. Troops of our 75th Division gave chase immediately.

Niu Yuan-feng and his battalion met their end 12 km. away on a mountain to the southwest where Niu himself was captured.

Chairman Mao had said, "A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them." The battle of Chihlochen again proved the correctness of his military thinking.

The collapse of the entire 109th Division and a regiment of the 106th Division foiled the enemy's plans for attacking northern Shensi and forced his 108th, 111th and 117th divisions to withdraw.

WE left Chihlochen with our trophies and prisoners. It was night when we passed by the village where Chairman Mao was staying. We saw light shining from his cave. The past days must have worn him out. Why was he still up so late?

I went over to his cave. "Hasn't the chairman gone to bed?" I asked the guard.

"No. He never sleeps at night." The guard showed me in.

The chairman stood beside an oil-lamp with an old blue coat around his shoulders and a 300,000:1 map spread out on his desk. Considering a new move and new battles, I thought.

Putting his pencil down, the chairman smiled and offered me his big hand. "You must be tired," he said.

"It's late, Chairman. Why aren't you resting?" I asked.

"I'm used to staying up. Well, have all our troops pulled out?"

When I said yes, he went on to tell me briefly the significance of this victory and the enemy's present movements. Then he asked about the casualties and where the wounded men were housed. Finally he urged me to see to it that the troops had a good rest.

It was late at night when I left his cave. After riding off some distance I turned to look back. His light was still on.

A meeting of cadres was held in Tungtsun on November 30 at which Chairman Mao gave a report on "The Battle of Chihlochen and the Present Situation and Our Tasks". Referring to the significance of this battle, he said that this victory had completely smashed the enemy's encircling attack on northern Shensi and laid the cornerstone for the Party Central Committee and the Red Army to set up a broad base in the northwest and push forward the nationwide struggle against Japanese aggression.

The Role of China's Medium and Small Industries

PIEN HUI

IN CHINA such medium and small industries as iron and steel, fertilizers, cement, machinery, and coal are found in town and country, in the remote regions as well as on the coast. They complement the large state industries and play an important part in speeding up the development of our national economy. In 1976 the output value of small enterprises alone took up 50 percent of the national industrial total.

The Only Way

Old China's industry was always backward. From the government Munitions Works (established in 1862) and the Kiangnan Machine Building Works (1865) until liberation in 1949 there were few heavy industries. In light industry only textiles were somewhat developed. Modern industry was weak and many important branches were missing.

With the appearance of the new China, the Communist Party and the people's government put great importance on the development of industry in order to eliminate the backwardness of China's economy. In 1957 Chairman Mao pointed out that "we must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades.

But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*).

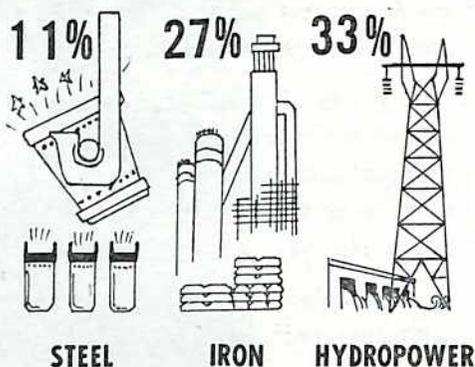
This was in line with his thinking that "it is far better to have the initiative come from both the central and the local authorities than from one source alone" (*On the Ten Major Relationships*, 1956). Thus, to achieve China's industrialization with greater, faster, better and more economical results, Chairman Mao formulated the policy of "walking on two legs", a balanced development of heavy and light, large and small industries. Large enterprises require more capital, concentrated resources, modern transportation, complicated equipment and technology and a longer time to build, and these could only be undertaken by the state.

Take power industry for example. With China's major rivers, it is possible and necessary to build large power plants such as those at the Sanmen Gorge on the middle Yellow River, Tanchiangkou on the upper Hanshui and the Hsinanchiang. But such large projects cost several hundred millions of yuan, take as much as a dozen years to build and require equipment hard to manufacture. On the other hand, medium and small hydropower stations can

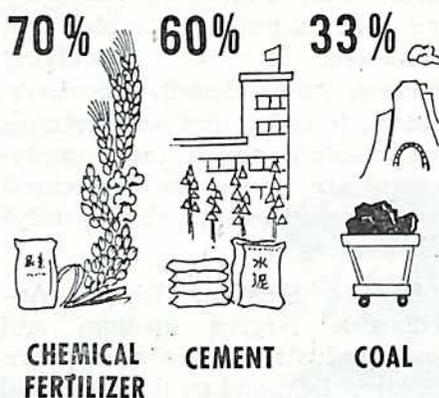


Threshers produced in a commune's farm machinery plant in Chincheng county, Shansi province.

PERCENTAGE OF MEDIUM AND SMALL INDUSTRY OUTPUT TO NATIONAL TOTAL



PERCENTAGE OF SMALL INDUSTRY OUTPUT TO NATIONAL TOTAL



utilize scattered waterpower resources, cost only thousands or even a few hundred yuan, take a shorter time to build, and some generate electricity in the first year or so. In this way power can be obtained from a head drop of only a few meters or even less than a meter. Smaller power stations, some only putting out a few dozen kilowatts, can be built by provinces, prefectures, counties, communes and even production teams.

In the frontier province of Yunnan, for instance, the people's communes have used their own efforts and methods to build over 5,000 small power stations. These range from a score of kilowatts to 2,000 and their total capacity is 18 times more than the whole province pos-

sessed before liberation. Small power stations scattered across the countryside have accelerated the development of the power industry and enabled three-fourths of the communes to use electricity today.

The development of medium and small enterprises helps local areas build industries fitting local resources, conditions and technological levels. The city of Changchow in Kiangsu province, for example, set up some small, locally financed factories in the big-leap year 1958. In the past two decades the city has built its own heavy and light industries — producing walking tractors, diesel engines, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, corduroy, dacron, dump trucks, passenger cars, machine tools, electronic computers and laser equipment. The total value of its industrial products today is more than 26 times that in 1949.

The simultaneous development of large, medium and small industries which complement one another has accelerated national construction. This interrelationship can be seen in Shanghai, the largest industrial center of China. Out of every hundred factories, ninety or more are small ones, many of them set up by neighborhood committees. The output value of these small factories is almost half the total of the city's industry. In the machine building industry, for instance, most of the plants are medium and small ones. Under the unified state plan and division of labor, 30 percent of the plants turn out complete machines or major engines while 70 percent make parts, subsidiary items or process parts. In less than 20 years, Shanghai's machine building industry has reached first place in total output value and the percentage of complete sets of machines produced.

More Even Distribution

In old China about 70 percent of the industrial plants were concentrated along the coast, a very lopsided distribution. New China's widespread construction of medium and small industries has improved this situation. Today all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have large numbers of in-

dustries — heavy and light, basic and processing. Thus in varying degrees they meet local needs in the development of industry, agriculture and of the people's livelihood. Even in the Tibet Autonomous Region where no modern industries existed in the old society, several hundred industrial plants and factories are now running.

Before liberation the imperialists spread the theory that there were no major coal deposits in south China and no profit to be obtained in opening mines there. This created a situation in which all major coal mines were located north of the Yangtze River. During the cultural revolution Chairman Mao called on industry to change the situation in which coal had to be transported south from the north. The eight southern provinces — Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Fukien, Hupeh, Hunan and Kwangtung — and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region launched a great mass movement under Party leadership to locate coal deposits. The coal reserves discovered have risen to threefold that in 1965. A total of 4,200 medium and small coal mines have been opened by 337 counties and cities. Small mines opened by communes and brigades in Hunan province alone produce more than one quarter of the province total. South China already supplies more than 70 percent of the coal it needs.

The policy of developing medium and small industries has also changed industrially backward areas. Yunnan, where many minority nationalities live, is a good example. Since 1966 when the cultural revolution began, its medium and small industry has grown rapidly. Metallurgical, chemical fertilizer, farm machinery and coal output has doubled and redoubled. Most of the walking tractors, small electric generators, motors, transformers, water pumps and machine-drawn farm implements are made in prefecture, autonomous prefecture and county-run plants.

In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region medium and small industries have also grown rapidly. Iron and steel works, coal

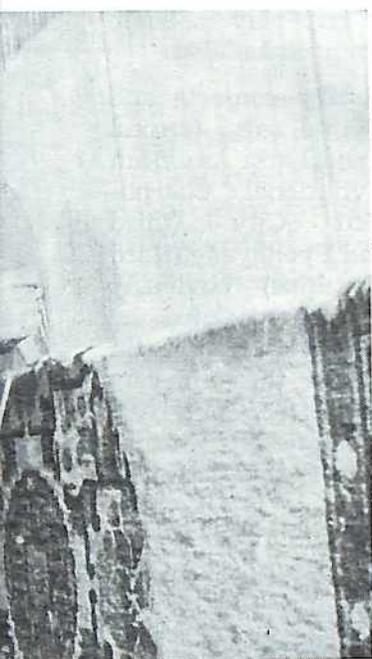


A veteran worker explains carpet technique to an apprentice in a woolen mill in the Silingol League, Inner Mongolia.





A top-blown oxygen converter in a small steel plant in Yen-tai prefecture, Shantung province.



A small commune-run open-pit coal mine in Chekiang province.



mines, petroleum, power, machine building, chemical, electronic, textile, silk, food products, paper and animal products processing plants are scattered not only in towns but in farming and herding areas. The variety of industrial products has grown to several thousand. The region's ability to meet its own needs for industrial products has greatly increased and some have a surplus to supply other parts of China.

Utilizing Local Resources

The development of medium and small industries helps utilize the smaller deposits of mineral ores and farm products found everywhere but unused by large industrial plants. Tsunhua county in a poor mountain valley in eastern Hopei province illustrates this. During the cultural revolution its people began in earnest to develop local industries in the spirit of self-reliance and hard work. Within a few months they found over 300 small ore deposits, including iron, gold, copper, chromium, manganese, quartz and limestone. Starting with their blacksmith cooperatives, they developed a small iron and steel plant. In six years they built up a small complex embracing mining, dressing, smelting, steel making, coking and the production of oxygen. There are now 347 small factories, 48 run by the county and 299 by the communes. Over 90 percent of the communes' brigades also have small factories, mostly processing and repair. The total value of the county's industrial products is five times what it was in 1969.

The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, predominantly a herding area, has set up 200 medium and small factories based on animal products. These include woolen yarn and fabrics, skins and furs, meats, knitwear, dairy products and glue. Distributed rather uniformly in the region, they form an integrated industrial network.

Another example is the city of Shashih on the Chiangnan plain in Hupeh province. A famous farm area, it not only produces half the cotton in the province but large amounts of farm products. With

local cotton as its resource, it has built 20 medium and small cotton mills and printing and dyeing plants. These produce 80 percent of the piece goods needed by the 10 million people on the plain.

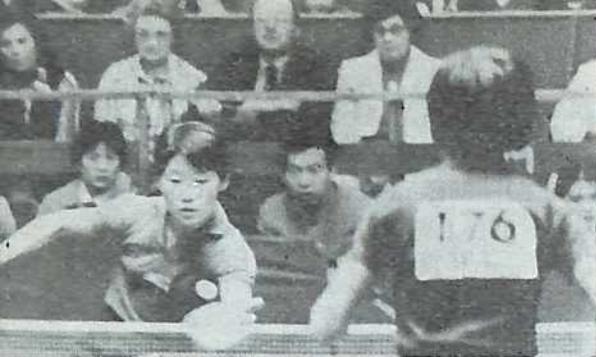
In a sense, waste products from plants in large industrial cities are "local raw materials". Many small factories have been built to use this waste, making bricks from slag, and recovering gold, silver, copper and chemicals from scraps, waste gases and liquids.

Serving Agriculture

Medium and small industries, particularly those run by the communes and brigades, serve agriculture directly. They play an important part in mechanization. In the Shihchiachuang prefecture in Hopei province, for example, the small factories have concentrated on solving one by one of the crucial problems in agriculture. To help fight the drought which hits the prefecture nine years out of ten, in 1970 the 26 county and commune-run factories worked together to produce a 12-h.p. diesel engine and pump, greatly needed for wells. Today, not only is irrigation and drainage mostly mechanized but nearly all threshing and processing of farm products is done by machines.

By helping agriculture, commune and brigade-run factories also speed up their own development. A survey in Hunan province shows that by the end of 1976 there were 126,000 commune and brigade-run factories, their income averaging a 30 percent increase every year.

The policy of developing medium and small industries right along with large industries brings both central and local initiative into full play — and this has mobilized more material and human resources in building socialism. The efforts of such a huge army of workers have obtained greater, faster, better and more economical results. At the same time, this policy is one of self-reliance, which avoids foreign loans and foreign control, and is an important means of guaranteeing China's economic independence.



Pak Yung Sun (left) of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea defeats China's Chang Li to become the women's singles event champion.



Mitsuru Kohno of Japan greeted by Chinese players after he beat the Chinese opponent to become the champion of the men's singles event.



A Chinese coach and player with British children at a sports center of a workers' housing area in London.



SPORTS

New Progress in World Table Tennis

THERE were no easy victories at the 34th World Table Tennis Championships held last spring in Birmingham, Britain, where a record 600 entrants from 62 countries and regions took part. Time and again team events matches went to the full nine games for men and five for women. The outcome of many individual events was decided only after the maximum five sets.

The hot contests revealed a general rise in standards of play since the 33rd championships in 1975. Many weak teams had become strong and strong ones had reached new levels. Gaps in skill between first, second and third category teams had narrowed. Second category teams especially showed improvement, with the men's crews from Bulgaria and Italy moving up from low placings to good showings. Second and third category women's teams from Malaysia, Holland, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago also did well.

All-round Skill

The general rise in standards was seen in efforts to develop all-round skill, with the emphasis on

offensive and a fuller use of strong points. Birmingham spectators noted a new attention to serves, returning the service, hard drives on the return followed by swift attack. Many players had mastered the high-toss and squat serve. There was greater skill in the use of a variety of serves for different tactical situations and in taking care to vary spin and placement. The increased variety in serves has led to a corresponding improvement in returning skill.

European teams, traditionally handshake-grip players, were newly fortified with pen-holders. Asian teams, predominantly pen-hold grippers, had developed some fine handshake-grip players, some of them now team mainstays.

Previous friendly contacts and competitions in Lagos (second Asian, African and Latin American Friendship Invitational Tournament), Mexico City (third A.A.A.F.I.T.) and Pyongyang (third Asian championships) obviously contributed to progress in the game in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Most of these players use the handshake grip but have switched from defensive to offensive. Making its first appearance

Audience.



in the world championships, the third category Jamaican women's team placed second, ahead of Spain, Norway and Italy. Also competing at world level for the first time, the women's team of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proved its strength by coming up from behind at 1:2 to win against Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Sweden.

Birmingham saw many young and up-and-coming players challenging the veterans to move ahead or get left behind. For a number of contestants aged 12 to 15, Birmingham was their first

world competition. Finland's 12-year-old Sonja Grefberg outplayed entrants from Malaysia, Malta and Belgium in the preliminaries to qualify for the women's singles. Ursula Hirschmuller of West Germany defeated such aces as Judit Magos of Hungary, Pak Yong Ok of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Ilona Uhlíkova of Czechoslovakia to qualify for the quarter-finals.

Chinese Players

The Chinese men's team defeated Japan 5:0 and women's team beat South Korea 3:0 to take the team titles. Eleven of the 20 Chi-

modest in victory and undiscouraged in defeat. They used every opportunity to learn from the players of other countries.

Friendship Deepened

During the championships, players from different countries practiced together, swapped tips and visited each other. The Chinese called on the Romanian team to extend their sympathy for the losses and damage the Romanians sustained in the recent earthquake. The Korean players sent homemade pickles to their Chinese friends, who returned the courtesy with fresh fruit.

The Chinese teams win the team event titles.



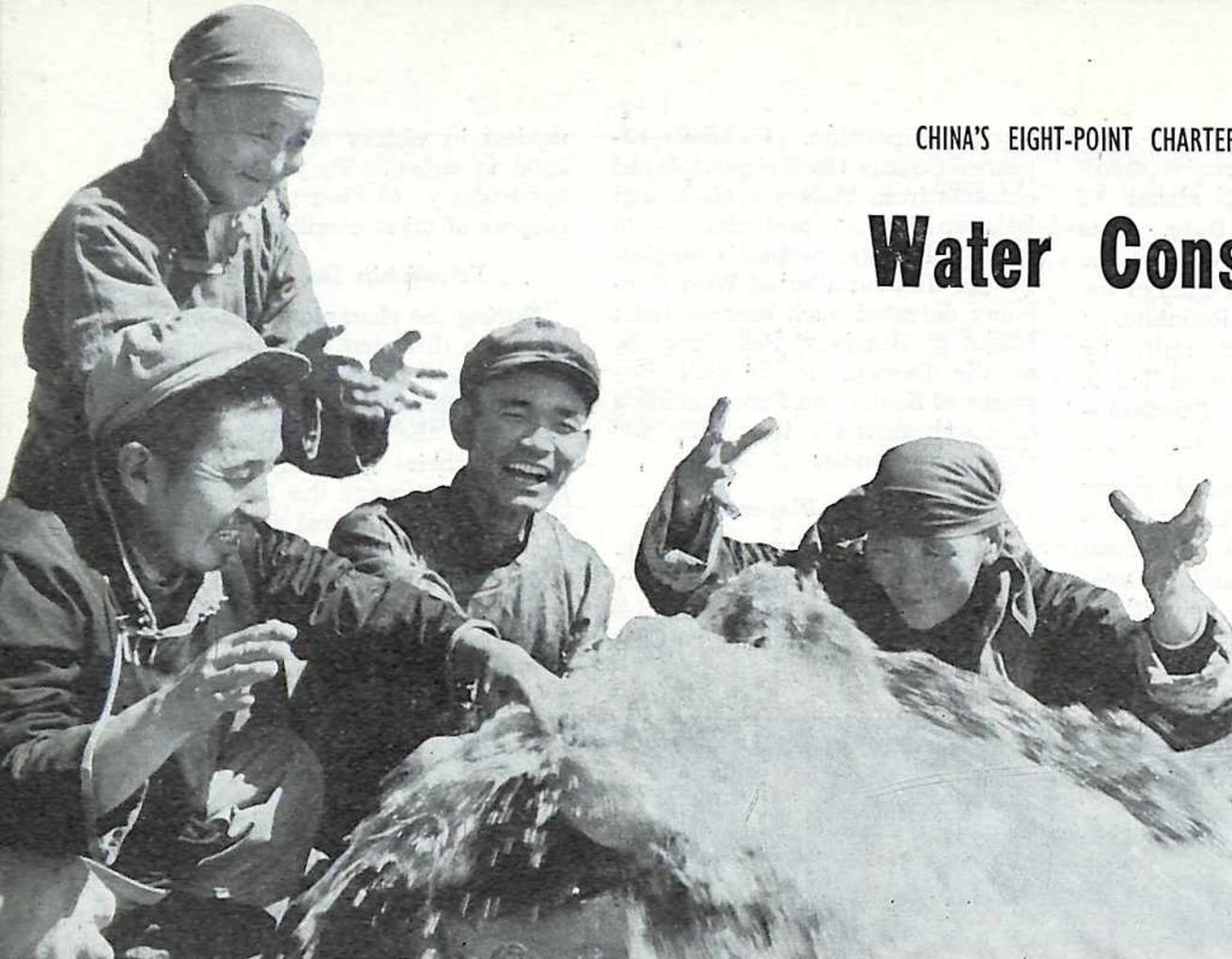
nese players were newcomers at world championships. Huang Liang, Kuo Yueh-hua and the woman Chang Teh-ying had just turned 20. The players' level-headed tenacity against strong opponents in key matches was vital to the final wins. In the matches with Chang Li vs. Lee Ailesa (South Korea) and Liang Ko-liang vs. Dragutin Surbek (Yugoslavia), the Chinese had trailed 0:2 but fought coolly to take the next three sets and clinch the game. In their encounter with Istvan Jonyer and Tibor Klampar of Hungary in the men's doubles, Huang Liang and Lu Yuan-sheng trailed in the crucial fifth-set game 11:20, but took the next nine points to level the score at 20:20 and then win at 23:21 and take the match.

Chinese players again showed the spirit of "friendship first, competition second", remaining

Whether in the competition hall at the National Exhibition Center, at Birmingham University where they stayed or in the streets, the Chinese players were greeted warmly by the British people. Children sought them out for autographs. In the streets people expressed their regards and congratulations.

The Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding (SACU) put on a photo exhibition on China near the competition hall, and showed films and TV documentaries on China's industry, agriculture, people's life and sports. SACU friends also arranged meetings and discussions between the Chinese players and local auto workers, engineers and grade-school pupils nearby. The Chinese players were invited to the homes of worker families. At the urging of schoolchildren, they also coached them in table tennis.

Water Conservation



Water from a new well in a commune in Inner Mongolia.

The Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture covers soil, fertilizer, water conservation, seed selection, close planting, plant protection, reform of tools, and field management. Formulated by Chairman Mao in 1958 to promote the development of agriculture, it summed up the rich experience of the Chinese peasants and laid down the cardinal principles of scientific farming. *China Reconstructs* of August, 1976 and June this year carried articles on the first two points of the charter. This is the third.

SINCE "irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture", as Chairman Mao pointed out, the eight-point charter includes the construction of water conservation projects for the control of drainage and irrigation and the rational use of water.

This problem was only tackled effectively after the founding of new China. The peasant masses, with support of the people's government, used the collective strength of socialism to begin the strenuous work of taming rivers and building large water conservation projects, the necessary preconditions for increasing agricultural production. Since 1949 millions have taken part in building projects large and small every year. The

Surveying water resources for water conservation projects in Hsuwen county, Kwangtung province.



Aqueduct of the Yingang canal in Hopei province.



number has reached more than 100 million annually in the last five years. Both in mountainous areas and drought-susceptible plains, large areas are now protected by irrigation. Half or more of the cultivated land in many provinces, autonomous regions and municipal districts is irrigated. Over two-thirds of China's 23 million hec-

tares of low-lying fields have drainage facilities. In former drought or waterlogging areas many fields give stable yields in spite of dry spells or excessive rain.

Harnessing Major Rivers

Over 130,000 kilometers of dykes now control the major rivers, including the Yangtze, Yellow,

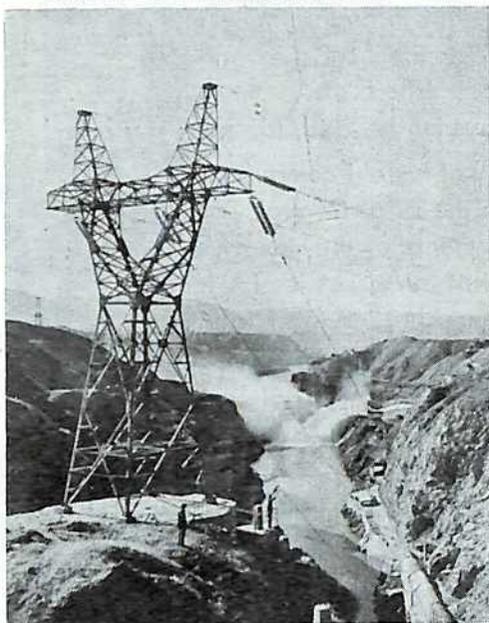
Huai and Haiho. Some 2,000 large and medium reservoirs, sluice-gates and other projects are sited in their basins. Nearly 100 riverbeds have been dredged or rechanneled on their middle and lower reaches. This includes channels capable of discharging up to thousands of cubic meters per second.

Small Projects

At the same time, a million small water conservation projects have been built. These require less capital and less time. They utilize and control the scattered water resources of the countryside, complementing the large and medium projects.

In mountainous areas, which are two-thirds of China's total area, and particularly in south China where there are many streams, the peasants have built a million small reservoirs and ponds connected with the fields. In mountain areas such canals often wind around steep slopes. In some areas these

Liuchiahsia Hydropower Station — China's biggest.



reservoirs and canals are linked into irrigation networks. In many places, peasants have built stations at the foot of mountains to pump water up to fields on the slopes.

In north China where rivers sometimes dry up, peasants have dug wells to tap the abundant underground water. Only shallow wells with windlasses or water-

wheels existed in the old society. Most of these dried up in drought times. Today, 1.5 million pump-equipped wells from 10 to 300 meters deep have been sunk. These now play an important part in combating drought.

As the peasants on the plains level fields, they also dig irrigation and drainage ditches, transforming their land into a chessboard of garden-like fields. In the Yangtze and Pearl river deltas and around Tungting Lake in Hunan province both communes and brigades have built networks of irrigation and drainage stations with state help, each capable of serving several hundred thousand hectares.

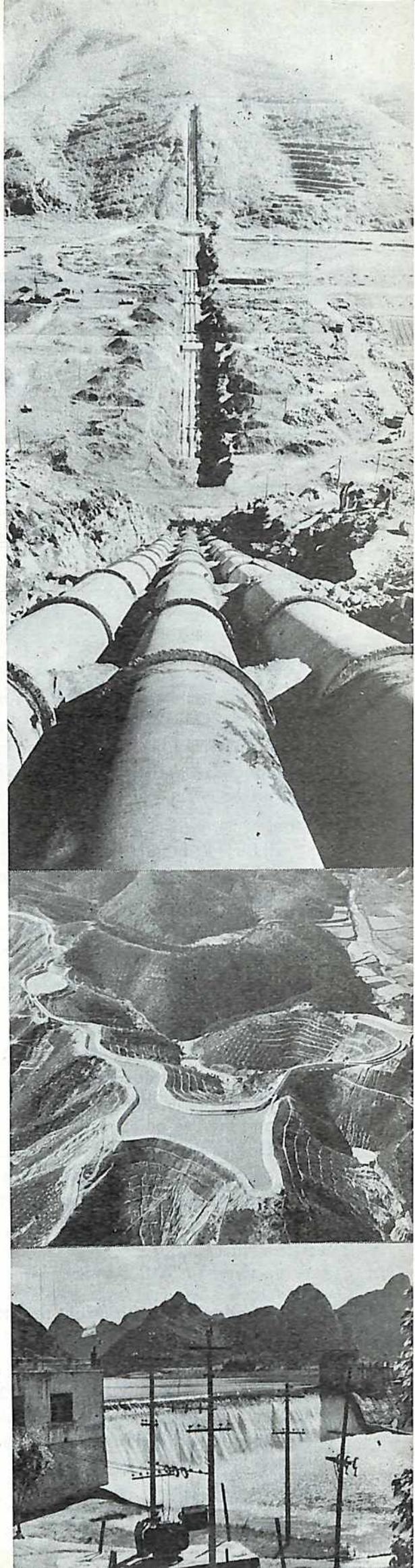
In Sinkiang, the local people have dug irrigation channels to bring the water of melting snow from the Tianshan Mountains to desert areas. Many large oases have appeared.

Correct Agricultural Policy

China's policy in water conservation is to integrate large, medium and small projects, emphasizing small ones, the state encouraging communes and brigades to build small projects on their own and providing help where necessary. Relying on the communes and brigades for small projects allows the state to concentrate manpower, materials and funds for the large and medium undertakings. This also brings the people's ingenuity and initiative into full play, resulting in more projects at a faster pace. Many communes working on their own or with other communes have dammed small rivers and built reservoirs, some of them capable of storing a million cubic meters. Small projects are managed by communes, brigades and production teams.

The emphasis on small projects, complementing or integrating with larger ones, has guaranteed the steady rise in agricultural production. Flood, waterlogging and drought are now under wide control in China.

Pipelines of a pumping station on the Chinliang River in Chingching county, Hopei province (top). Mountaintop reservoir (center). A small hydropower station in Chingsi county, Kwangsi (bottom).



Grandpa

KE YEN

I

Grandpa is a veteran of the Red Army.
Half a lifetime he fought for the people
in great battles north and south.
Japanese shell fragments still in one leg,
his body scarred by enemies.

What exciting tales of battle
he used to tell me!
So from the time I can remember
I wanted to be a soldier too.
And the working class heroes he described
made me want to follow their footsteps
from the first day I could walk.

From the first day I could talk
he taught me to sing
"The east is red, the sun rises".
From the first day I could write
he guided my hand to draw the Party flag,
and the five-pointed red star.
One stroke at a time he taught me to write
below the golden hammer and sickle:
"Long live the Communist Party!"
"Long live Mao Tsetung!"

II

On Grandpa's cap is a bright red star.
In Grandpa's breast
beats a loyal, red heart.
Forty years of sharp class struggle
and the struggle between the two lines
have forged a character of steel.

Forty years of battling storms
have trained a pair of penetrating eyes.

When Wang Hung-wen tried to stir rebellion
with factionalism in the border regions,
Grandpa said, "Now he's come out in the open,
and pretty ferociously too!
This is no factionalism, it's an attempt
to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

When Chang Chun-chiao shouted against empiricism,
against old cadres with experience,
Grandpa said, "This isn't theoretical study!
They're sharpening their knives to kill!
They want to overthrow veteran revolutionaries
everywhere who are true to Chairman Mao!"

To grab supreme Party and state power,
arrogant Chiang Ching boosted herself
with all kinds of self-praise,
ruthlessly lording it over the masses.

With blunt words, Grandpa said in scorn:
"Be vigilant!
'Standard-bearer'? — she's a political swindler!
We must guard against those termites
who call themselves 'meritorious statesmen',
Yet gnaw the pillars of our proletarian state!"

When Yao Wen-yuan trumpeted his lies,
Grandpa's eyes grew wide with anger.
Grandpa saw right through him —
the son of a renegade carrying on
the father's "unfinished job",
trying to sell our motherland, to wreck our army!

Grandpa and many of his old comrades
sent reports to the Party Central Committee
on these movements of the enemy,
and learned that our great leader himself
had named them the "gang of four".

Many times Chairman Mao had said,
**"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism;
unite, and don't split;
be open and aboveboard,
and don't intrigue and conspire."**
Faithful to these directives,
they struggled against the "gang of four".



III

Before his death, our great leader made arrangements
to wipe out the "gang of four" in one blow.
But drunk with ambition, these counter-revolutionaries

schemed to restore exploitation of man by man.
They launched wild counter-attacks,
sometimes revealing themselves,
sometimes hiding behind different masks.

In those days of life-and-death struggle
between the two lines,
the "gang of four" again and again
incited people against Grandpa.
They spread rumors, saying
he was a "bourgeois democrat", a "revanchist",*
a "three-anti's element" — anti-Party,
anti-socialism and anti-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Facing crowds who did not know him,
Grandpa smiled. . .
and before all examined himself
for every mistake he had ever made
in his forty years of revolutionary struggle.
Before them all
he pledged to correct his faults,
explaining what he would do in a concrete way.

Then Grandpa unbuttoned his old army tunic
and showed his chest scarred by blasts
while building the Sikang-Tibet Highway
and bared his back scarred
by the blows of the landlords' whip.

Moved, the people stretched out their hands
and gently touched those places.
I started to tell them all
about every battle, every victory,
how many prisoners and weapons were captured.
I told them how the army engineering corps
cut tunnels through rock mountains.

I told them
how night after night
Grandpa told me of fine comrades,
how he remembered the names
of each of the heroes in a battle,
those who gave their lives
and those who came through alive.

With raised fists the people shouted,
"He is not a three-anti's element!"
They helped him button his army tunic,
polished the red star on his cap
and placed it back on his head.

"But I *am* a three-anti's," Grandpa said,
lifting his head proudly,

"Not the kind they mean,
just exactly the opposite!
I'm anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism
and anti-bureaucrat-capitalism!
Only the enemy considers these anti's a crime.

"I'm also anti-revisionism, anti-splittism, anti-intrigues!
Our great leader, Chairman Mao, always told us
that Communists must be these three anti's.

"It's the bourgeoisie in the Party,
the plotters, schemers and careerists,
who gnash their teeth at these three-anti's.
To be these three-anti's
is the greatest honor for a Chinese Communist.

"I only regret I have not been anti enough,
have not fought hard enough.
I must learn from you comrades.
I will never forget, I will fight to the last,
always following Chairman Mao
in carrying on the revolution."

IV

Grandpa, following Chairman Mao,
supported the Red Guards
in their rebellion against the revisionists,
in seizing the power they had usurped,
covering walls with revolutionary big-character
posters,
overthrowing Liu Shao-chi, ferreting out Lin Piao.
How Grandpa cheered the victory of the cultural
revolution!

Grandpa, following Chairman Mao,
watched closely the "gang of four",
that nest of sly chameleons.
He kept track of every criminal footprint,
bit by bit collecting the evidence
of their plots for a capitalist restoration.
The "gang of four" feared Grandpa
and tried everything to destroy him.

One autumn night,
the wind was blowing, leaves falling,
the moon was riding high in the sky.
I woke up and saw Grandpa braiding straw shoes.
Suddenly, the recent events came back to me.
I nearly burst with anger,
"Grandpa, what right have they
to strip you of the right to work?
They're just giving you 'small shoes'* to wear,
making it hard for you to do anything."

Grandpa laughed, a cold contemptuous laugh.
" 'Small shoes', my granddaughter?

* Reactionary landlord armed bands returning to fight peasants emancipated in the land reform.

* To create difficulties on purpose.

That shows they ignore the people,
that truth is not on their side.
Giving me 'small shoes', my granddaughter,
just shows that no matter how
they order their hirelings about
and leave no stone unturned,
they haven't found a thing wrong with me!

"Going to do manual work is the way
to prevent and fight revisionism
pointed out by Chairman Mao.
Of course I'll take that road!
I'm not going to wear 'small shoes',
I am going to wear straw shoes!"

"No, Grandpa, don't go! They're spreading rumors.
You're a person in authority in the Party
taking the capitalist road, they'll say.
Don't go, Grandpa! Don't go!"

Grandpa lifted his straw shoes high
and laughed such a hearty, happy laugh.
"Let them twirl words around like a windmill!
A people who have been steeled in the struggles
of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
can see that they are telling lies
precisely because they are afraid!"

"In straw shoes
I followed Committee Member Mao,
crossed the Hsiang River
in the blackest of nights,
trod through the vast desolate grasslands
and scaled the icy snow mountains.

"In straw shoes
I followed Chairman Mao to Yen-an,
to the northwest, to north China,
marching mile on mile, no shelter, no rest.
In the Huai-hai Campaign we swept away
Chiang Kai-shek's armies,
and drove to the heart of the bandits' lair.

"In straw shoes
I guarded the five-star red flag as it was raised
for the first time over Tien An Men Square.

"In straw shoes
I drilled oil wells with the workers of Taching
and pulled plows with the peasants of Tachai.

"In straw shoes
I traveled the length and breadth of our land
to the borders, towns,
mountains, valleys, pasturelands,
always building the socialist road.

"They say I'm taking the capitalist road?
Ha! That's one road I never took!
That's the very road *they're* taking.
They're the unrepentent capitalist roaders,
they've chosen the way to capitalism!"

"Those clowns who distort history
history will one day punish!
Those who trample over the people
the people will sooner or later throw out!"

"Keep your eyes wide open, child,
wait and watch and see.
This is the justice of history
the people are waiting and struggling for!"

So Grandpa left,
wearing the red-tasseled straw shoes he made,
to the factories, to the countryside,
wherever he went, song and laughter went too.

The people took his hand in theirs.
How warm they were to him!
The people took him to their hearts,
calling him a good adviser without rank,
the good Party secretary without position,
calling him a comrade-in-arms of the Red Guards,
calling him the most disciplined and diligent
apprentice to the workers.



V

One night I dreamed
I was marching, exuberant, in Grandpa's straw
shoes.
Suddenly, overhead, black clouds appeared,
pushing the sun and covering the moon.
Furious, I mounted my horse and drew my saber
to strike at those black clouds.

Somehow,
those enemy clouds turned into
crabs* swarming over the earth,
brandishing their vicious pincers.
I rode my horse over them,
hooves crushing those menacing hordes.

And then suddenly
warm drops of rain fell from the sky.
I opened my eyes in surprise.
Why, it was Grandpa
bending over my pillow . . . weeping.

* Symbol of tyrants.

Grandpa is a very strong man,
no one ever heard him complain.
Why is it now . . . he . . . he . . .
"Grandpa!" I said and embraced his white head.
"Grandpa, dear, dear Grandpa!
Is the 'gang of four' persecuting you again?
I'm . . . I'm going to have it out with them!
You'll see, I'll make mincemeat out of them!"

Grandpa shook his head and started laughing.
"Foolish child,
you've raised two years' crops with me,
and you can't tell a rain to rejoice over?"

Aren't grown-ups odd?
His face was covered with tears,
but he insisted it was for joy!

Raising his head high
Grandpa laughed loud and long.
His strong arms embraced me.
He held up four fingers, then
suddenly seized them with his other hand.
"What is this, granddaughter?"

My heart jumped with joy
like a fish leaping in the river.
Could it be that
our dream had come true at last?
Could it be that
the Central Committee and Comrade Hua
had worked a miracle for the people?

Grandpa said in a loud voice,
"At long last
the great proletarian dictatorship
has chained that gang
of foxes with red fur!"*

VI

Grandpa and I ran toward Tien An Men.
The streets were filled with crowds
of happy, rejoicing people
waving red flags and banners,
setting off firecrackers.
Everywhere people smiled and shook hands,
people who had not known each other
suddenly becoming very close.

Grandpa and I stood solemnly
before the revolutionary heroes' monument,
our blood surging like a great river.
So many thoughts and so much to say
became tears of joy falling like rain.

Grandpa and I stood solemnly
before the monument, saluting.

Rest in peace, you who are immortal,
who gave your lives to the revolution!

Rest in peace,
great leader Chairman Mao, beloved Premier
Chou!
The people are saved!
Our country has once again prevented
a return to capitalism.

Your cause has a worthy successor,
our Party once again has a leader,
our Chairman Hua, whose heart is
one with the people.

Grandpa and I looked toward Tien An Men gate.
We saw Chairman Mao's portrait
and Chairman Hua's smiling face.
Grandpa stood at attention and
saluted the two chairmen.

You must have seen this white-haired soldier,
Chairman Hua, otherwise why
was your smile so warm and comradely?
You waved to Grandpa and his comrades.
He held my hand and led me
on to the road you reopened.

Grandpa, an old soldier inspired
by the Paris Commune,
a loyal veteran under the banner
of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Now he has stepped
into the ranks you've summoned.
See how he is covered with dust of battles,
how his heart beats loyal and true,
how firm his strides,
always marching in the direction
you are pointing,
always fighting in the ranks
where you are fighting!

Let me also march in big strides,
in Grandpa's big footprints.
From deep in our hearts, oh Chairman Hua,
we of the new generation salute you!

(Abridged translation)



* Counter-revolutionaries in the guise of Leftists.

One of China's Smallest National Minorities

Staff Reporter

Olunchun children get a free education. Before liberation practically all the people were illiterate.



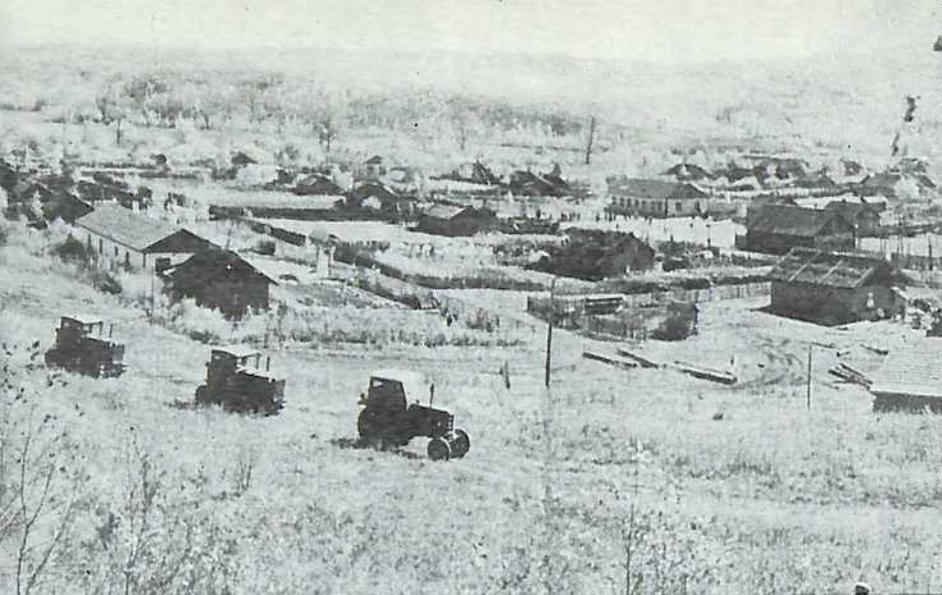
A permanent settlement, a new mode of life for the Olunchuns who once lived in birchbark tents (insert).

THE OLUNCHUNS live in the far northeast. They have tripled their number since liberation, when they were only 1,300. "Olunchun" means "mountain people". Pushed back into the virgin forests of the Greater and Lesser Khingan Mountains for centuries by the reactionary rulers' policy of discrimination and extermination, they were roving hunters. They ate game, dressed in animal skins and lived in conical tents covered with birchbark in summer and hides in winter. At the time of liberation, the Olunchuns were still in the last stages of the primitive commune.

In the new China this tiny nationality has leaped over centuries and is now developing a socialist collective economy like the rest of the country.

A *China Reconstructs* reporter recently visited an Olunchun settlement—the Guli production brigade of the Gankuei commune, a village surrounded by tall mountains and close to a running stream. Pointing at the rows of snug bungalows with glass windows, Party secretary Meng Ching-hai, a straightforward man of middle age, said, "It was Communist Party leadership that enabled us to settle down in permanent communities—and that was the beginning of our progress."

When the new China was founded Chairman Mao said that it was to the interest of the country as a whole to help the minority nationalities so that they could develop and make progress. In line with the Communist Party's policy



The Olunchuns now have their own medical workers.

of equality and unity for all nationalities in the country, the new government gave the minority peoples special assistance so they could develop rapidly.

The Olunchun Autonomous Banner (County) was established in 1951. In 1953 government work teams came to seek out the Olunchuns, brought them out of the forests and built settlements for them. For the first time the hunting nomads settled down in permanent communities and began to build a diversified economy and establish public services such as schools and clinics.

At the Guli brigade settlement 115 children attend a seven-year school. There is no tuition and they all get monthly subsidies. Pupils of higher grades also enjoy free food and clothing. Not only are all children getting a middle-school education, the village also has a college student, Wu Hai-shan, a hunter's son now in his third year at the Northeast Agricultural College.

Not far from the school is the brigade clinic, staffed by Kuan Tieh-pao and Meng Tai-jung, a young man and woman who are among the Olunchuns' first barefoot doctors. Medical care financed by the government is free, part of the policy of special consideration for the minority nationalities. The family income of a patient in the hospital is guaranteed by the collective (the brigade).

Medical teams from the province or banner come regularly to give treatment and physical examinations. A four-member team from

the province has been serving the brigade since early 1975. In addition to training more barefoot doctors, they teach public sanitation and personal hygiene and the prevention of infectious diseases. Health campaigns have ended epidemics. The improvement of the Olunchun people's health over the years has been an important factor in the great growth of their population.

At night electric lights come on in the school and adults begin coming. Mostly young, some of the women carrying babies, they gather in a big classroom to study political theory. For generations, a nomadic life style and old customs and habits kept the women from taking part in productive labor. With better living and a better understanding of their role as equal members of the collective gained through political study they have become active in collective production. Last spring a 20-member women's team under the brigade's woman leader Keh Shumei collected 300 tons of fertilizer. Today they work alongside the men in sowing, harvesting, digging wells and canals and building houses.

A Diversified Economy

Since settling down the Olunchuns have been helped by the Party and government to form first agricultural producers' cooperatives and then people's communes. They reclaimed land and received priority help in seeds and farm tools so they could develop a diversified economy centered around farming. At first they grew mainly

vegetables and potatoes on small plots. Organized visits to Han farming areas widened their horizons and with help from agro-technicians sent by the government they learned to farm on a larger scale.

Since the cultural revolution began the Guli brigade has been opening up more and more land and greatly expanded fields sown to grain crops. Cultivated land increased from 46 to 180 hectares. Learning from Tachai as Chairman Mao urged, they constantly improved cultivation techniques so that their grain yield increased year by year. In the last two years the brigade not only supplied its own grain but also sold its surplus to the state.

Mechanized farming developed as the collective economy prospered. The brigade now has two big tractors, one combine harvester and a number of seeders, disc harrows, threshers, pulverizers and diesel engines. Eleven young men and women are responsible for operating and maintaining the machines. Wu Tieh-chun, a strapping young fellow who has served in the People's Liberation Army, leads the machinery team. When he left the army, he was assigned work in the city. But when he learned that his home village needed people to operate farm machines, he said, "I'm a Communist Party member and should go where I'm needed most. I'm going back to the countryside." And he did, to the delight of his own people.

The Olunchuns have also learned to raise cattle, pigs, chickens and

geese. Every one of the brigade's 45 families raises pigs, a total of 111. The collective boasts 118 big animals. Hunting, though no longer the main source of livelihood, is still an important side occupation. Hunting in 1975 accounted for a third of the brigade's total income.

Since the Olunchuns are skilled hunters they have been encouraged by the government to continue hunting in an organized way. In addition to supplying them with rifles, ammunition and horse



Selling antlers to a state purchasing station.

equipment, the government laid down a policy of long-range interest — preserve and breed as well as hunt wildlife. They should hunt only a limited number, or none at all, of such valuable animals as deer, snow hares and lynx. Even with the more common animals it was forbidden to follow the former practice of burning off grass and brush to tempt the animals into the open, for this would diminish and exterminate wildlife and damage the forests. The female and young of the deer and some other animals are being trapped and bred in captivity by the collective. The deer farm of the Totzamin commune raises about a hundred head of

wapiti and sika deer, most of them captured alive.

The commune brigades organize two hunts every year. The chief prey of the February-May hunt is deer, taken for their antlers and embryos, used in medicines. The winter hunt brings in even more game. Warmly clad in furs, hunters ride out in groups into the snowbound forests hunting mainly squirrels and weasels for their pelts.

In the old society valuable skins and hides, antlers and bear's gall-bladders were either seized as "tribute" by the Han reactionary ruling class or bought at outrageously low prices by ruthless traders. Cut off from the outside areas in their forests, the hunters had no way of avoiding being fleeced by traders. They had to give three squirrel pelts for a box of matches, or eight for a quart of low-grade liquor. No matter how much they bagged they received only enough for barest subsistence.

Today through supply-and-marketing co-ops the government buys skins and hides and medicinal materials, and supplies consumer goods for everyday life, all at reasonable prices. This prevents middlemen exploitation. Fair trade guarantees a steady income

for the hunters, encourages them to continue with organized hunting and promotes the collective economy. In the past a crop of the finest antlers brought no more than 30 kg. of millet from private merchants. Now for the same the supply-and-marketing co-op pays 1,000 yuan or more, equivalent to the price for several thousand kilograms of millet, or a considerable quantity of consumer goods.

The commune's Hsiritchi brigade has always done well in hunting. Every year it bags a great number of wild boar, roe deer, squirrels and a fair number of deer and bear. The larger part of the meat is divided among the member-families. A small amount of the skins is kept for making winter clothing and the rest is sold to the government, a significant contribution to socialist construction. For 1975 the brigade made 21,000 yuan from its skins and deer antlers, almost half its total income.

A Good Life

The Olunchuns, along with the Owenks and Tahurs, two minority peoples with similar background, have preserved and developed the fine part of their cultural heritage, including songs and dances reflect-

(Continued on p. 48)

Once nomadic hunters, today the Olunchuns farm, plant trees, raise stock, fish and work in many side occupations.





Chairman Mao inspecting the Chiliying People's Commune on August 6, 1958.

A Commune Advances Through Struggle

YANG CHUN

LAST spring a severe drought menaced most of the north China countryside. But backed by superior irrigation works, the 3,300 hectares of winter wheat in the Chiliying People's Commune in Honan province were lush and green. This commune lies along the old bed of the Yellow River and is one of the country's earliest communes. Never slackening their intensive care of their wheat fields, at the same time they carefully prepared for planting their cotton. Three hundred team leaders, skilled cotton growers and technicians from the agro-science stations got together to study the problem of getting high yields in spite of the drought.

Where did the Chiliying people get such drive? The answer can be found in the present political situation in China. The extremely complicated and sharp class strug-

gle that filled 1976 ended in great victory for the people. Two months after the Party Central Committee under Chairman Hua Kuo-feng halted the "gang of four's" attempt to seize Party and state power last October, the Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture was held. Peasants across the country began the hard work of making up the serious losses in agriculture caused by the disruptive activities of the gang.

Part of the new upsurge, the peasants of Chiliying have an additional reason for being in high spirits—they do not forget Chairman Mao's visit to them in the big-leap year of 1958 right after 56 advanced co-ops merged into a people's commune. Chairman Mao and the Party had led them out of the misery of the old China. Chairman Mao had guided them

through land reform and helped them counter the capitalist tendency of the small-scale peasant economy by urging that they organize in a socialist way. And it was Chairman Mao who had called on them to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

Chairman Mao visited Chiliying on August 6, 1958, three days after their commune was born. At four o'clock in the afternoon when the skies had just cleared after a rain, a light blue car drew up in front of the headquarters and a broad-shouldered smiling man got out. "It's Chairman Mao!" someone shouted. People came from every direction. They shook his hand and shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao!" filled the air.

Stopping in front of their new signboard which read: Chiliying People's Commune, Hsinhsiang County, he said it was a good

name. In the office Chairman Mao asked in detail about the size of the commune, how production was organized and how it had benefited the people's livelihood. Then he said, "The people's commune is fine." The room buzzed with excitement.

He then visited the home for the old people and chatted with them. In the commune flour mill and the ball-bearing shop he put many lively questions to the workers. At the kindergarten children rushed to take his hands and sang "We Love You, Dear Chairman Mao". He thanked the teachers for taking good care of the children.

Coming to the commune's large experimental tract of cotton, he exclaimed at the sturdy boll-laden plants. He picked his way among the plants and smiled to see them reach as high as his shoulder. After he counted the bolls on one plant, he nodded with pleasure and joined in topping the plants.

On his way back to the village, Chairman Mao never took his eyes off the promising crops. There's great hope for the future, he said. After this commune is on its feet, there will be many more.

Prediction Becomes Reality

Twenty-three days after Chairman Mao praised the Chiliying commune, the Party Central Committee adopted a resolution approving the formation of rural people's communes as the way forward for China's agriculture. By the end of 1958 almost all of China's countryside had been organized into people's communes which combine government administration and economic management, and run industry, agriculture (including farming, forestry, stock raising, side lines and fishery), commerce, education and military affairs. A commune then is a basic unit of China's socialist society in the countryside. Chairman Mao summarized its characteristics as bigger in size and with a higher degree of public ownership than the producers' cooperatives that preceded it. This enables a commune to build large-scale water conservation projects and industries.

The great changes in China's countryside over the past 19 years since Chairman Mao's visit proved his prediction correct. Last year Chiliying suffered a variety of bad weather — severe drought, low temperatures, continuous rain, windstorms — and had to fight plant diseases and pests. But instead of dropping, the commune's grain yields rose to record highs. The per-hectare yield from the 3,300 hectares of grain averaged 10.7 tons — nearly 15 times that at liberation, 6.3 times that in 1963

spinning, paper mills, flour mills, brick and tile plants, a plastics plant and wineries.

Ninety percent of Chiliying's land is plowed by machines and can be irrigated and drained, 70 percent are getting intensive care. A large part of the alkaline and sandy wasteland is being improved. Electricity is widely used in irrigation, husking, threshing and milling. A network of scientific experiment units works on improving seed strains and soil and pest and disease control.



New look of the commune's fields.

before the movement to learn from Tachai began, 3.2 times that in 1965 just before the cultural revolution began, and 10 percent more than 1975. The 2,000 hectares of cotton averaged 0.75 tons per hectare of ginned cotton. A vast difference from the old China when drought meant crop failure. A three-month drought in 1942 wiped out all crops and 20,000 people fled the famine or died of starvation.

People's communes gave China's countryside industry for the first time. At Chiliying there are over 100 commune or brigade-run factories. These include plants producing 12-h.p. tractors, 2,000-ton synthetic ammonia plants, 3,000-ton phosphate fertilizer plants, spinning mills ending hand

Most of the families have surplus grain and savings in the bank. In addition to a well-equipped commune hospital, there is a clinic in every brigade. There are 15 nine-year schools and an agricultural college. All children can get a junior-middle school education without leaving the brigades. Adults go to night school to study political theory and various fields of knowledge. The commune's mobile cinema team goes regularly to villages. Some brigades have their own projectors and television sets. The more prosperous brigades have built new housing for their members. With eight of its 38 brigades in the ranks of Tachai-type units and other achievements, the Chiliying commune has been cited as an ad-



Spraying insecticide on intercropped wheat and cotton.

vanced unit in learning from Tachai.

Progress Through Struggle

Chiliying has not only had to struggle against natural disasters but also against constant interference by reactionaries — part of the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang of four.

Shortly after the formation of the communes, Liu Shao-chi and his followers insisted that the communes were "premature" and "in a mess". Under the pretext of tightening up to help overcome the economic difficulties the country went through in 1959-1961, they sent people to the countryside to try to reduce the size of collectively-owned land and expand the privately-owned plots. They wanted to "loan" the collectivized land to the individual peasant households on three-year leases, distributed the collectively-owned draft animals to the individual families and broke up all commune and brigade-run industries. This was all attempted in the name of overcoming difficulties and consolidating the commune, or simply as "orders from above". The Chiliying people reviewed Chairman Mao's approval of the commune — he had called its larger size and higher degree of public ownership an advantage. Why should the higher authorities insist on cutting down the size of the collective and diminishing public ownership? Wasn't that

going back to the capitalist way? Chiliying decided to fight the pressure.

For example, the Liuchuang brigade, originally poor, prospered by using its collective strength well. In 1961 an official work team arrived and insisted on reducing the size of collective land and "loaning" the rest to individuals in order to "slow down" collectivization and "consolidate" it. The brigade, headed by Party branch secretary Shih Lai-ho, refused flatly. One day the work team suddenly assembled the 435 members and made them cast secret ballots about the "slowdown". To their surprise, there were only four affirmative votes. They left in a hurry. Today those 435 ballots are displayed in the brigade's exhibition room as a reminder of their two-line struggle.

Similar struggles never ceased in this commune. Fighting the interference of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has enabled the Chiliying people to become more and more able to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in distinguishing truth from falsehood.

'We're Not Going to Budge!'

The First National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture in 1975 launched a new upsurge in farm production. Bent on creating confusion to serve their own ends, the "gang of four" used the news media which it controlled to spread the idea that "as long as revolution is carried out well,

production will automatically go up". Then they attacked anyone who worked hard to build socialism as persons "pushing carts without paying attention to where the road goes". These seemingly revolutionary words caused some leaders to hesitate about pushing production for fear of "making mistakes".

To help its members distinguish between right and wrong, the Chiliying commune leaders organized discussions of Chairman Mao's instructions and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's summary report at the national learn-from-Tachai conference.

The Sungchuang brigade ranked first in the commune in per-unit yield of grain. Chi Chiu-wang, its Party secretary and a peasant agronomist, said, "How can production go up if we don't harness rivers, dig canals, sink wells, get electric power, deep-plow and improve the soil? If we don't experiment with scientific farming and introduce machines? There's nothing automatic about our getting 15 tons of grain per hectare of land. When Chairman Mao said, '**grasp revolution and promote production**' he meant going all out to develop production by sticking to the socialist way. We can talk in a very revolutionary way, but if we do nothing all day we're not going to get grain or cotton."

The Chiliying people's attitude was, "You can plot and intrigue all you want, we're not going to budge from working for socialism." They ignored the "gang of four" and did as Chairman Mao and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng said. All through the winter of 1975, for example, they worked on expanding their pig farm and completed 8,200 cement sties. This would provide more manure for their crops the following year.

Commune industry expanded too. New factories were built and old ones expanded. There are now 30, including a 2,000-ton ammonia water plant which began production at the same time the "gang of four" fell. Celebrating this "double happiness", the people moved on to achieve more successes to mark the forthcoming 20th anniversary of Chairman Mao's visit to Chiliying.

Young people of the Sungchuang' brigade admire their good wheat crop.

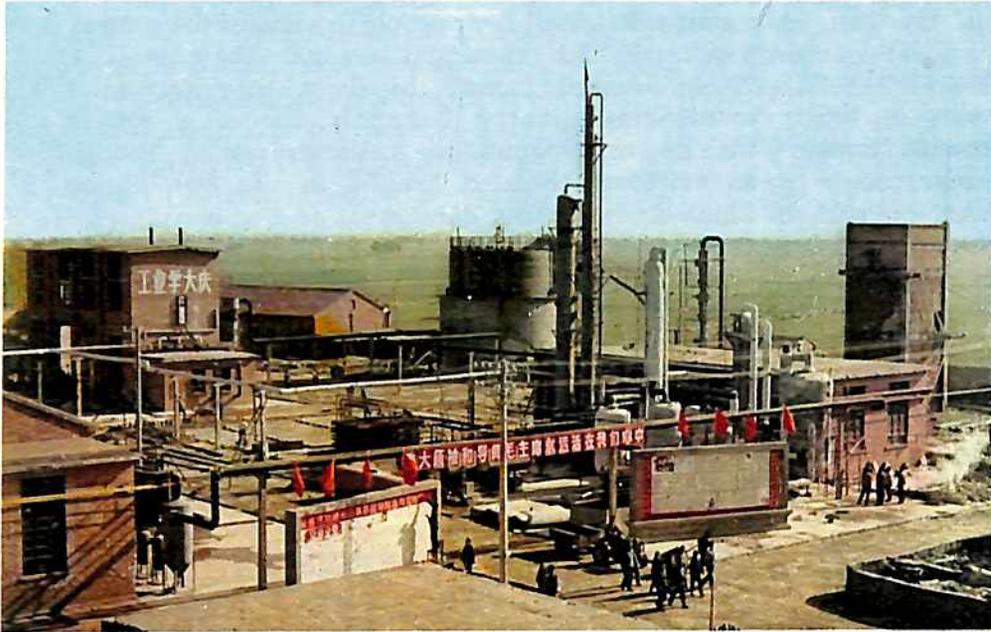




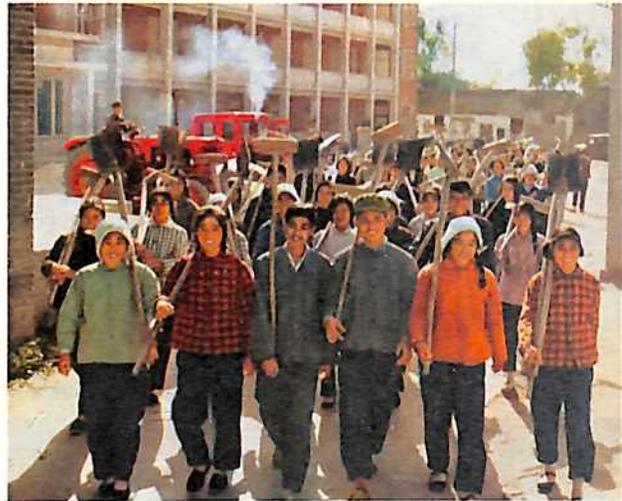
Commune leaders chat with members.



Ninety percent of the commune's land is plowed by machines.



The commune's new ammonia water plant.



Liuchuang brigade members on their way to work.

Another bumper cotton harvest.



In a commune member's house.



Hangchow Factory Sabotaged by the 'Gang of Four'

Staff Reporter

The continued exposure and criticism of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang of four is deepening throughout China. Irrefutable evidence proves that, far from being "Leftists" and "radicals" as they claimed, Chang Chun-chiao was a Kuomintang special agent, Chiang Ching a traitor, Yao Wen-yuan an alien class element, and Wang Hung-wen a newborn bourgeois element. The evidence shows that the four belonged to the counter-revolutionary camp and made it their mission to overthrow the socialist system and restore the fascist dictatorship of the Kuomintang in China.

The "gang of four" claimed that they stood on the side of the advanced elements and relied on the rebels. Who were these "advanced elements" and "rebels"? New and old counter-revolutionaries, people who beat, smashed and looted, embezzlers and grafters, so-called veteran cadres who sold out to the gang, shameless hack writers who sold their souls, opportunist-informers, and riffraff of every description. The four praised persons like this for "daring to go against the tide" and having "horns on their heads and thorns all over their bodies" and invented

crash programs to admit them into the Party and promote them to leading positions.

Far from being an ordinary group or faction, the four deliberately set up a counter-revolutionary organization with themselves as a central committee: Chiang Ching as boss, Chang Chun-chiao as chief-of-staff, Wang Hung-wen as operations officer, and Yao Wen-yuan as propaganda chief. They controlled the media and tried to mold public opinion. They possessed their own intelligence system, an operational base and agents' liaison stations. They managed to install their people in some of the central, provincial and municipal organs. They built a "second armed force". In short, they formed a counter-revolutionary bourgeois clique, a system with its own program, line and organization. Though an extremely isolated handful in the 800 million Chinese people, they did a great deal of harm.

Through their followers they sabotaged revolution and production in many places in order to plunge the country into disorder and capitalize on this situation to seize power. One factory that suffered this kind of sabotage was the Hangchow Silk Printing and Dyeing Complex.

Workers at the Hangchow Silk Complex criticize the "gang of four".



THE SILKS of Hangchow have always been as famous as the delicate beauty of nearby West Lake. In the tremendous growth of its silk industry since liberation the Hangchow Silk Printing and Dyeing Complex has played a key role. Started in 1956, the factory grew into China's largest modern silk manufacturer by 1960. Three thousand of its 4,700 workers are women, veterans from the days of capitalist exploitation in the old society and younger workers who grew up in the new. Supplying both the domestic and the world market, the complex has been contributing a large amount of funds to the building of socialism.

When the cultural revolution began in 1966, workers at the Hangchow Silk Complex, following Chairman Mao's strategic plan, threw themselves into the com-



Cone-winding.

A veteran explains the technique of brocade weaving to young workers.

Printing and dyeing.





Shen Chi-ying (second right) and young workers study together.

plicated struggle that finally smashed two bourgeois headquarters, first that of Liu Shao-chi and later of Lin Piao. By 1968 a new administrative leading group, the revolutionary committee, had been formed. With new drive, the workers set record highs in output value for the three years 1970-72.

This steady progress, hailed by the people, was hated by the "gang of four". On their orders, Weng Sen-ho, their henchman in the factory, stepped up efforts to throw the place into disorder. A screen printer in the printing and dyeing shop, Weng detested work and was always dreaming of striking it rich by some unusual coup. He saw the cultural revolution as his golden opportunity.

At the beginning of the cultural revolution Weng, then in his twenties, posed as a rebel and became a leader of a faction. He completely ignored the principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao on how to carry out the cultural revolution, especially the point: "Have faith in the great majority of the cadres and of the masses — this is the most fundamental principle." He sowed dissension among the masses, gathered certain people around him to attack others, incited fights between factions and blocked attempts at creating an alliance of the factions as proposed by Chairman Mao. He and his gang beat up cadres and workers who opposed him, smashed up their homes and looted whatever they wanted. He became exactly the kind of careerist the "gang of four" was looking for in their

scheme to create nationwide chaos — a person with "horns on his head and thorns all over his body" as they put it.

What Weng Sen-ho did infuriated the people more and more and he found himself increasingly isolated. To cajole support he changed tactics, made a "self-criticism", shed a few "bitter" tears and got himself elected a vice-chairman of the factory revolutionary committee.

These tactics alone would not have gotten him where he was. It was the backing of the "gang of four" that gave him the necessary boost. In late 1966 when he came to Peking as one of the representatives of a faction, he was among those received by Yao Wen-yuan, one of the four. Yao was full of praise for him and presented him with a stack of documents with his autograph. Wang Hung-wen, another of the four, said, "I was the earliest rebel worker in the country. Weng Sen-ho is the second." Chang Chun-chiao, still another of the four, chimed in with, "You can't write the history of the workers' movement of Chekiang province without mentioning Weng Sen-ho." When Weng's admittance into the Party was opposed by a great majority of Party members, Chang Chun-chiao said, "Weng Sen-ho is one of the foremost rebel leaders of the workers' movement" and railroaded his admittance through. On his first meeting with Weng in Chekiang, Wang Hung-wen clasped his hand and said, "We're old comrades-in-arms." The four summoned Weng many times for private meetings to let him in on secret plans and brief him on what to do. Capitalizing on this backing, after every telephone conversation with any one of the gang Weng would put up an announcement written on red paper beginning with the words: "Telephone message from the Party Central Committee . . ."

In the summer of 1973 the "gang of four" instructed their agents in the Chekiang Province Party Committee to make Weng a delegate to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party. As soon as they heard about it,

95 percent of the Party members in the Hangchow Silk Complex got together and submitted a protest letter to their higher authorities opposing the choice.

"All of us in the factory Party committee supported this protest," recalled Shen Chu-yun, a woman leader who was once a child laborer. "We told the authorities we couldn't agree to sending Weng Sen-ho as a delegate to the congress because he had always opposed Party leadership, incited factional fights and tyrannized the workers." Rejecting the protest, Chang Chun-chiao said, "Weng Sen-ho is a talented person. We must give him a chance to move up." The factory Party committee was criticized for "not having a good understanding of the two-line struggle".



Wang Cheng-jung and Chen Hsiao-lung, having resolved their factional differences, get together to criticize the four.

"We were so mad that some of us broke into tears." Shen continued. "We made up our minds to fight Weng Sen-ho to the end. We fully believed a bad person like him in the Chinese Communist Party would not go unpunished long."

During the Tenth National Party Congress, members of the "gang of four" had many private meetings with Weng Sen-ho to give him instructions. After the congress, without the knowledge of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Wang Hung-wen instructed the gang's agents in the Chekiang Province Party Com-

mittee to let Weng Sen-ho sit in on its standing committee meetings. With this backing Weng soon became a standing committee member of the Chekiang Province Revolutionary Committee and a vice-chairman of the provincial trade union council. He now became a provincial tyrant in every sense of the word.

Fascist Dictatorship

Briefed by the "gang of four", Weng Sen-ho knew that the biggest obstacle to creating chaos in the country were the Party organizations at every level and the great number of experienced revolutionary cadres. To carry out the four's instruction to "overthrow the whole lot", he told his hooligans, "Wherever the Party committee is still giving leadership and the Party machine is still operating, there the situation is in the doldrums. We must do everything to smash up the Party machine so that it cannot run any more." In public he declared, "Point your spearhead at the leadership and you won't go wrong."

He branded all leading cadres in the Hangchow Silk Complex as capitalist roaders, renegades or capitulationists and tried to do the same to leaders in the rest of the province. He called veteran cadres "dried-up old fogies" and in order to replace them with his own men he invented the tactics of "crash admittance into the Party" and "crash promotion to leading positions". With his backing, any of his followers, whether hoodlum, murderer, embezzler or grafter, could get admitted into the Party and promoted to a leading position, in complete violation of principles laid down in the Party constitution. At the Hangchow Silk Complex, in one month Weng Sen-ho admitted 97 people into the Party and promoted 115 workers to be cadres. He replaced all the heads and first deputies at the factory and shop level with his own men and carried out a general shakeup right down to the grass-roots level.

Chairman Mao had said at the beginning of the cultural revolution that debate "should be conducted by reasoning, not by coer-



Repairing equipment damaged by Weng Sen-ho's gang.

cion or force". But Weng Sen-ho, finding Chiang Ching's words, "attack by reasoning and defend by force", more useful to him, formed a detachment for the sole purpose of suppressing the people by brute force. It was made up of riffraff of all kinds. "Never mind this or that line," he told these hatchetmen. "The winner is king and the loser the outlaw, that has always been the way in history. . . . Might is right!" Whoever opposed him was branded a restorationist or diehard. "Give him a good beating," he ordered. "Get them wherever you can find them and beat them up. If they can't take it and die, that's just too bad." His henchmen set up a lynch court and jail and tortured those who were most vehement in opposing them. They put on hard hats and face masks and, brandishing iron clubs, broke into these people's homes and smashed up everything in sight. In the first six months of 1974 more than 30 people were persecuted this way by Weng and his hatchetmen.

Weng incited seven big factional fights altogether, unleashing a reign of terror in the whole factory. For 20 months production was either partially or totally halted. From mid-1973 to October 1976, state quotas fell short by 400 tons in silk yarn, 8 million meters in woven silks and 20 million meters in silk prints—a loss of 50 million yuan, the equivalent of 1½ years of normal production.

And Weng Sen-ho gloated, "The bigger the mess in production, the

bigger the pressure on those veteran cadres."

Tyrannizing the masses on the one hand, Weng corrupted his followers on the other. "I can make you heads and leaders any time," he told them. "Just tell me where you want to work." Hatchetmen serving as his bodyguard did not have to work in the shops and received subsidies in addition to their regular pay. Those who were on his side in the factional fights did not have to pay for their meals in the factory cafeterias. Those who fought "exceptionally well" would get a "nutrition subsidy" equivalent to more than half an average worker's monthly pay. In one year expenditure for "night snacks" for Weng's followers came to 22,900 yuan, not counting 17 tons of grain they consumed. Weng himself embezzled public funds, speculated with state goods and materials, forged bills and payrolls, and simply took over factory property as his own. He said openly, "Rake it in whenever you can and you won't feel sorry."

Chairman Mao had pointed out that if we failed to establish a socialist economy our country would turn into a bourgeois state in fact, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and it would be a reactionary, fascist dictatorship.

The Workers Fight Back

As Weng Sen-ho became more and more frenetic in suppressing the people and wrecking production, Hangchow Silk Complex workers saw more and more clearly that he was a counter-revolutionary pushing for a fascist dictatorship. They united and fought back.

One of those persecuted for opposing Weng was the woman leader Shen Chu-yun. "Our experience in the cultural revolution taught us how to distinguish between true and phony Marxism," she said. "Phony Marxism is actually revisionism or capitalism. We now not only dare to fight it but have learned to fight effectively. This is our greatest gain."



Finishing treatment.

For example, trying to halt production at the printing and dyeing shop, Weng Sen-ho once came and demanded the use of a whole bucket of textile paste on the pretext of pasting up wall posters. When the man in charge refused, Weng accused him of "using production to suppress revolution". The man told Weng to leave enough to keep the work going, but Weng insisted on taking all of it. When the man refused flatly, Weng ordered a hireling to pour the whole bucket of paste over the man's head. "That showed me clearly that what Weng Sen-ho meant by revolution was nothing but wrecking socialist production," the man said. "He's a counter-revolutionary."

Chang Kuang-yin, Party branch secretary of the weaving shop, was a veteran worker who had known bitter exploitation in the old society. Steady and hard working, he was tempered in the cultural revolution, becoming a still better



Quality inspection, one of the rational rules ignored during the period of the "gang of four's" sabotage.

fighter for the truth. The masses liked and trusted him. When Weng Sen-ho launched his crash admittance program, Chang insisted that those who did not meet the requirements of the Party constitution must not be admitted. Weng bristled at this interference. Exploiting his authority, he declared that Chang was "a capitalist roader before the cultural revolution, an oppositionist during the cultural revolution and a restorationist after the cultural revolution". He not only dismissed him from his post but threatened to expel him from the Party. This injustice showed Chang and others what was meant by "opposing the cultural revolution while waving the banner of the cultural revolution".

Instead of intimidating the masses, naked suppression only aroused stronger opposition. Liao Sha, an electrician, was seized and beaten up for opposing Weng Sen-ho. Uncowed, Liao packed his daughter off to his parents' home in the countryside and continued to put up wall posters stating his stand and exposing Weng's atrocities. He was seized once more, incarcerated and tortured still more brutally. Liao Sha never knuckled under. More and more people came out and denounced the atrocity and finally Weng was forced to release him.

This was only one of many similar incidents at the factory.

"Weng Sen-ho used a lot of revolutionary sounding words, but everything he did ran counter to Chairman Mao's teachings," said Shen Chi-ying, a woman worker and Party member who had been persecuted by Weng. "We firmly

believed that Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee would not long permit him to ride roughshod over the people. We were certain he would be punished." The workers continued to put up wall posters listing Weng's wrongdoings and atrocities, and wrote letters to higher authorities and the Party Central Committee demanding his punishment.

In 1975 the Party Central Committee in an official document approved by Chairman Mao pointed out that crash admittance and promotion programs "run counter to Chairman Mao's line in building up the Party and the training of cadres. They are wrong politically and organizationally." On the basis of evidence submitted by the masses at the Hangchow Silk Complex, the Party Central Committee stated explicitly that Weng Sen-ho was a bad person. A movement to thoroughly criticize Weng Sen-ho unfolded in the factory.

In 1976 in an important directive Chairman Mao named the names of several people who should be criticized and repudiated. Weng Sen-ho was one of them. But the "gang of four" secretly deleted his name and through their agents in Chekiang province spread the idea: "Is the dossier on Weng Sen-ho reliable? . . . You'll have to recognize Weng Sen-ho's role in history." With this sneaky backing from the gang and their agents, Weng's hirelings in the Hangchow Silk Complex put out several articles in the form of wall posters trying to reverse the verdict on Weng. These articles called Weng one of the "newborn forces" and a "warrior daring to

go against the tide" and said that denunciation of Weng was tantamount to repudiation of the cultural revolution. Once again they incited fights, attacked cadres, seized official seals, which are symbols of power, and held up production.

But it was a last desperate move. The masses, including those who had been duped by Weng, now saw him clearly for what he was. Only a handful still stuck to him.

At the start of the cultural revolution Chairman Mao had said, "If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than ninety percent of the population." Weng Sen-ho's ignominious end proved Chairman Mao's words.

Rebirth of a Factory

October 1976. News of the fall of the "gang of four" sent the people at the Hangchow Silk Complex into tumultuous joy. Weng Sen-ho's backers were out! The Chekiang Province Party Committee soon announced the dismissal

of Weng Sen-ho from all his posts, his expulsion from the Party and arrest for violation of the law.

On December 25, 1976, at an important conference Chairman Hua Kuo-feng publicly criticized Weng Sen-ho, pointing out that he was a newborn counter-revolutionary. "Chairman Hua has removed a big weight from our hearts," said the workers at the Hangchow Silk Complex. "Dawn has finally broken."

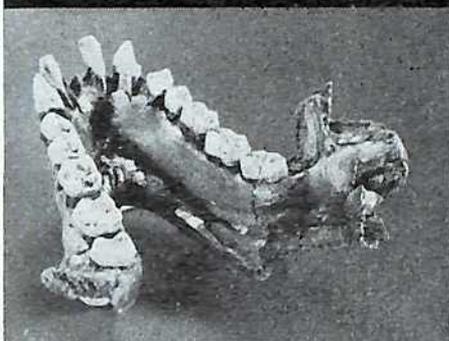
Criticism of the "gang of four" and their henchman Weng Sen-ho is now going strong at the factory. What about the small number of people who once followed Weng? Liao Sha, one of the most cruelly persecuted by Weng, said, "We'll show no mercy to the 'gang of four' and Weng Sen-ho. But as for those who followed them for a while, the majority were our class brothers and were duped. It was the 'gang of four' who split up the ranks of the working class to serve their despicable ends. Now we'll close ranks and thoroughly repudiate the gang."

People of the former factions resolved their differences through heart-to-heart talks and now felt closer to one another than ever before. Pent-up enthusiasm for socialism flowed forth to boost

production. Three young maintenance men of the reeling shop who had had their wages withheld by Weng Sen-ho for opposing him now proposed to their fellow workers that they put in extra time to repair machines so that full production could be restored as quickly as possible. There was wide and instant response. At the time of this writing, production was on the way back to normal, sparked by labor emulation, a form of socialist production campaign long suppressed by the "gang of four". Rational rules and regulations were being restored or set up.

The Party organization, once paralyzed by the "gang of four" and Weng Sen-ho, has resumed its leadership role. Cadres attacked by Weng Sen-ho tackle their jobs as leaders with new vigor, joining in shop work for regular periods. Chang Kuang-yin, the Party secretary once dismissed by Weng, said, "At first we felt it wouldn't be so easy to fulfill all the different quotas for the shop. But the workers showed us they could. Since the beginning of March they have been overfulfilling daily quotas every day. In fact, production for the whole factory has so far topped the peak year in our history."

NEW DISCOVERY Most Well-Preserved Lower Jawbone of an Early Hominid



THE most complete lower jawbone of an early hominid, with all teeth except two central incisors, was discovered recently in Lufeng county in Yunnan province. It was found during an excavation at the Shihhuipa Colliery by a joint expedition of the Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Yunnan Provincial Museum.

Preliminary studies indicate that it has some transitional characteristics from ape to man and resembles *Ramapithecus*, generally believed to be an early ancestor of man.

This is the most well-preserved fossil lower jawbone of such kind so far discovered in China or elsewhere. Hence it is of major scien-

tific significance in paleoanthropology. It not only provides a new basis for studying the theory of the origin of man but also indicates that southern China was an important area where the earliest hominid developed.

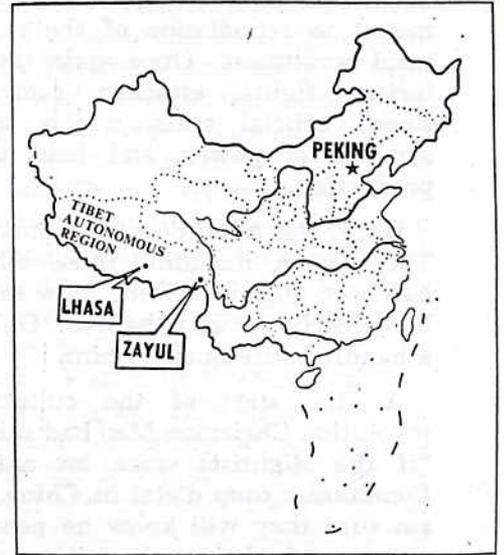
At the same time, in the lignite deposits where the lower jawbone was located, the scientists also found two fossil jawbones and over 40 isolated teeth of ancient apes and a large number of fossils of the genus *Hipparion* (three-toed horse). A preliminary analysis of the animal fossils dates the stratum to the Pliocene, about eight million years ago.

Scientists are continuing their study of the fossils and will make more excavations at this important site.

ZAYUL

— Land of Treasure on the 'Roof of the World'

YANG YI-CHOU



The Azagongla Glacier.

Wild bananas.



Yunnan pines.



PEOPLE imagine that the high altitude and cold of Tibet, known as the "roof of the world", makes it hard for plants and animals to survive. There are places, however, with a mild climate, beautiful scenery and a bounteous animal and plant life. One such place is Zayul county.

Unique Conditions

Zayul county lies in the southeast corner of Tibet where the Himalayas meet the Hengtuan Mountains. Its terrain is like a horseshoe opening to the south, and the mountains in the north, rising as high as 5,000 meters above sea level, block the cold winds of winter. The open south lies mostly below 2,500 meters above sea level, allowing the warm and moist air from the Indian Ocean to blow straight in through the river valleys. This gives the county an

annual rainfall of 1,000 mm., a temperature of 18-24°C in the hot months and 3-10°C in the cold months, and 200 to 300 frost-free days. The peaks are covered with centuries-old snow and ice, the cloud-shrouded mountain slopes are clothed in dense primeval forests, and the fertile river valleys hold terraced fields of rice crops, tea plants, apple and banana trees.

From the low river valleys to the high mountains, one can see plants and animals of the tropical, subtropical, temperate and frigid zones. This diversification in a small area provides excellent conditions for scientific studies.

Like mountains in other parts of Tibet, those in Zayul have many glaciers. But the layer of ice here has a higher temperature with more melting, and the glaciers, of an oceanic nature rarely seen in China,

Terraced fields along the Zayul River.



are different from those in other parts of Tibet and move 300 to 400 meters a year. The Azagongla Glacier, for example, twists and turns through brush and conifer belts into a forest 2,500 meters above sea level. This is rare in China.

Natural Wealth

Zayul has many species of trees which grow rapidly. This makes it a major supplier of lumber in southwest China.

The chief timber forests are subtropical Yunnan pines. Growing below 2,500 meters altitude, they are tall and straight, their upper trunks reaching as much as 100 cm. in diameter. The fine-grained and aromatic camphor tree is also found here. Camphor, a raw material for pharmaceutical and national defense industries, can be extracted from its roots, stems and leaves. The tropical and subtropical banyan has many branches and aerial roots. A big one looks like a small forest. The highly prized *nanmu* and *cinnamon*, and the valuable walnut, tung-oil and lacquer trees all grow luxuriantly here. Tea bushes, new in the area, also thrive.

The forests of Zayul contain many precious medicinal plants. They are also the home of many kinds of animals and birds. The musk deer, widely found in the mountains around 2,000 meters, does particularly well in forests with plenty of water and grass. Its musk, a secretion from the sac of the male, is used as a medicine. Fur animals include the otter, beech marten and leopard. The lesser panda, a pretty animal with



A tea grower from Hangchow teaching some Teng people how to pick tea leaves.

red-brown fur and nine white rings on its long tail, is found in the warm mountain area between 2,600 and 3,600 meters. It is unafraid of humans and is seen frequently.

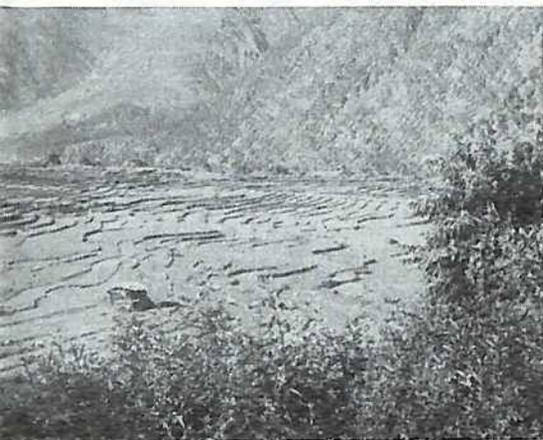
Among the birds are eared pheasants, long-tailed minivets and green-backed tits. Small sunbirds, with brilliant feathers and a blue throat, suck the nectar of blossoms. Together with babblers, sliver eyes, red-bill robins and Szechuan parrots, they add to the lively atmosphere of the river valleys.

Building a New Life

Before liberation, Zayul's agriculture was primitive. Wooden plows and forks were used to loosen the soil and bamboo scrapers to take off grass. Communes began to be set up in 1970 and a mass movement to learn from the Tachai brigade, the national model in agriculture, started. With the resulting collective strength, the people built terraced fields on the mountain slopes, enlarged the cultivated area and improved the soil. They built many small hydropower stations, ponds and canals. Today 70 percent of the farmland is irrigated. They have also improved their farming methods, adopted better seed

strains and newer farm implements. As a result, the per-unit yield of rice, wheat and corn has risen six times or higher than that before liberation. At the same time, they have successfully raised water melons and apple, banana, orange and pomelo trees from other parts of the country.

Under government leadership, people of the different nationalities have built roads in the valleys where once only pack animals could pass. Suspension bridges have gone up across the deep rivers. Farm tools, cloth and daily articles produced in other parts of China now come in easily and local products flow out. There are 26 schools in the county. Almost all children of school age are going to school free of charge and a few outstanding students are studying in colleges in Peking. The Teng people, once cruelly oppressed by serfowners and driven to live in deep mountains, no longer make knots to remember things and events. As everywhere in Tibet, the county has set up a hospital and the communes' production teams have trained health workers. The improvement in health work has brought many diseases under control. With Communist Party leadership, the people of Zayul are building a more beautiful and prosperous county.



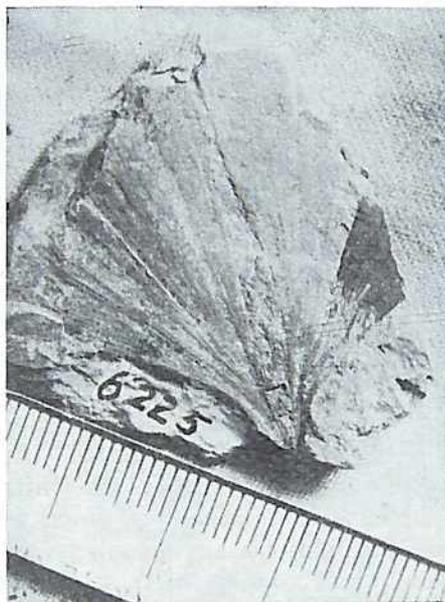
The Tree Two Hundred Million Years Old

HU YU-FAN

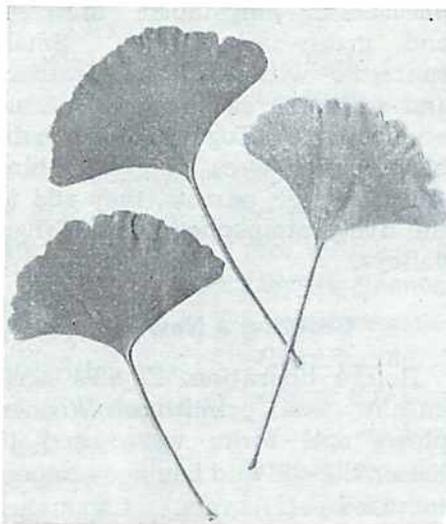
NO tree is 200 million years old, but the ginkgo is the sole surviving species of a family that existed in many parts of the world during the Mesozoic Era about 200,000,000 years ago. The genus name came from its name in local dialect, *yinguo*. The ice age 500,000 years ago wiped out every species in the world except the one in China. Careful cultivation for the past several thousand years has permitted this one to thrive today.

The ginkgo grows very slowly. Chinese peasants call it "the

A ginkgo in the Chinshan Temple in the city of Chenchiang, Kiangsu province.



A fossil leaf of a *Ginkgoites* about 20 million years old.



Present-day ginkgo leaves.

grandfather-grandson tree", saying, "Grandfather planted the tree, the grandchildren pick the fruit." There are male and female trees. They have magnificent straight trunks and regular round crowns. The leaves are small fans and, like the branches, contain a poison that makes the tree immune to all insects. The tree is very strong and does not wither with

age. A large one can bear 100 kilograms of fruit at a time.

First specific mention of it in records was in 1256. Today they have been planted over wide areas, from Shenyang in the northeast to Kwangchow in the south, from the lower Yangtze River plains to Yunnan and Kweichow at an altitude of 2,000 meters in the southwest. The tree can grow in acid, neutral or slightly limy soil. Other countries have introduced the ginkgo so that it is again distributed around the world.

The ginkgo bears fruit every year and lives a very long time. It is not hard to find trees a thousand years old or more throughout north and south China. One at the Huanglung Temple on Lushan in Kiangsi is said to have been planted in the Tsin dynasty (265-420). Another at the Tanche Temple in the southwest part of Peking is 800 years old. Traditionally planted on palace and temple grounds to improve the scenery, in new China the tree has been chosen to line streets, and visitors may find them occasionally in Peking.

Aside from its impressive appearance and its importance as a "living fossil" in the study of plant evolution, the ginkgo has great economic value. Ancient Chinese medical texts record that used as medicine its seeds moisten the lungs, stop coughing and strengthen the body. The seeds are highly nutritious and for centuries the Chinese people have eaten them. The wood is pale yellow, light and fine grained. It does not warp or crack and is used to make houses, furniture and carvings. Its leaves, because they resist insects and plant diseases, can be used to protect crops. The tree is also resistant to pollutants in the air and helps remove them.

During the cultural revolution Chinese scientists were able to obtain total flavonoid glycoside from the leaves of the ginkgo. It is used in treating problems of the cardiovascular system.

The Chinese people cultivate the ginkgo, not only as a survivor of the Mesozoic Era, but as a highly prized and useful tree.

Lesson 5

'Is' and 'Is Not'

1. The verb to be 是 shì.

这是书。

Zhè shì shū.

This is a book.

那是中文杂志。

Nà shì Zhōngwén zázhì.

That is a Chinese magazine.

这是我的报纸。

Zhè shì wǒ de bàozhǐ.

This is my newspaper.

The negative form of 是 shì is 不是 bú shì.

Note: With all Chinese verbs, when answering a question in the negative, the answer always includes both 不 bù (no or not) and the verb.

这是中文书吗?

Zhè shì Zhōngwén shū ma?

Is this a Chinese book?

不是。

Bú shì.

(This) is not.

or

这不是中文书。

Zhè bú shì Zhōngwén shū.

This is not a Chinese book.

他是你的老师吗?

Tā shì nǐ de lǎoshī ma?

Is he your teacher?

不是,他是我的同学。

Bú shì, tā shì wǒ de tóngxué.

(He) is not, he is my schoolmate.

or

他不是我的老师,他是我的同学。

Tā bú shì wǒ de lǎoshī, tā shì wǒ de tóngxué.

He is not my teacher; he is my schoolmate.

Like other verbs in Chinese, 是 shì has only one form. It does not change with tense or the person or number of its subject.

我是他的学生。

Wǒ shì tā de xuésheng.

I am his student.

你是我的朋友。

Nǐ shì wǒ de péngyou.

You are my friend.

他们是我的同志。

Tāmen shì wǒ de tóngzhì.

They are my comrades.

2. Asking a question with 吗 ma.

Placing this character, called a modal particle, at the end of a statement turns it into a question. The word order remains the same.

这是笔吗?

Zhè shì bǐ ma?

Is this a pen?

那是报纸吗?

Nà shì bàozhǐ ma?

Is that a newspaper?

3. Numbers from 1 to 10.

一	yī	one
二	èr	two
三	sān	three
四	sì	four
五	wǔ	five
六	liù	six
七	qī	seven
八	bā	eight
九	jiǔ	nine
十	shí	ten

For Advanced Students:

一个好同志

张思德 Zāng Sīdé (Chang Szu-teh) 同志一九三二年参加革命, 经过二万五千里长征, chángzhēng (Long March), 负过伤 fùguo shāng (wounded), 是一个全心全意为人民服务的好同志。在陕北 Shānběi (northern Shensi) 的时候, 领导上分配 fēnpèi (assign) 他去烧炭 shāotàn (make charcoal), 他很高兴地接受 jiēshòu (accept) 了任务, 并且总是拣 jiǎn (chose) 最脏最重的活儿干。

烧炭要砍 kǎn (cut down) 树, 他每次都比别人砍得多。别人背 bēi (carry) 一包炭, 他却背两包。烧炭的窑洞 yáodòng (kiln) 里温度 wēndù (temperature) 很

高，张思德总是第一个进去出炭，出来时，身上漆黑 qīhēi (pitch-black)，衣服全被汗水 hànshuǐ (sweat) 湿透 shītòu (wet through) 了。可是他从来不说苦 kǔ (hardship, bitterness)，不说累 lèi (fatigue)。

把炭背下山也很费力 fèilì (strenuous)，山路又远又难走。张思德使用铁锹 tiěqiāo (iron shovel) 在路边修了一个个土墩 tǔdūn (earthen mound) 好让同志们可以休息一会儿。他做的是平凡 píngfán (ordinary) 的工作，但他总是尽 jìn (make the utmost) 自己的力量去做好，并且处处关心别的同志。

一九四四年张思德在山中烧炭，因炭窑崩塌 bēngtā (collapse) 而牺牲 xīshēng (sacrificed) 了。同志们都非常悲痛 bēitòng (grieved)，领导上为张思德开了追悼会 zhūidào huì (memorial meeting)，毛泽东 Máo Zédōng (Mao Tsetung) 主席参加了追悼会，并且讲了话。《毛泽东选集》Xuǎnjí (Selected Works) 里的一篇文章 wénzhāng (article) 《为人民服务》就是毛主席在会上的讲话。

A Good Comrade

Comrade Chang Szu-teh joined the revolution in 1932, was on the 25,000-li Long March and was wounded. He was a good comrade who wholeheartedly served the people. While in northern Shensi, the leadership assigned him to make charcoal. He

gladly accepted the task and always chose the dirtiest and heaviest jobs to do.

To make charcoal you have to cut down trees. Every time, he cut more than others. Other people carried one bundle of charcoal, (but) he carried two. In the charcoal-making kiln the temperature is very high. Chang Szu-teh was usually the first to enter the kiln to take out the charcoal. When he came out, his body (was) pitch-black and his clothes (were) wet through with sweat. But he never complained of hardship or fatigue.

To carry the finished charcoal down the hill was also very strenuous. The mountain paths were long and hard to walk on. With a shovel Chang Szu-teh built some earthen mounds by the roadside to let the comrades rest a while. What he did was ordinary work, but he always put forth all his strength to do it well and was everywhere concerned about (his) comrades.

In 1944 Chang Szu-teh sacrificed his life in a collapsing kiln while making charcoal in the mountains. The comrades were extremely grieved. The leadership held a memorial meeting for Chang Szu-teh. Chairman Mao Tsetung attended this meeting and spoke. The article "Serve the People" in the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is Chairman Mao's speech at the meeting.

(Continued from p. 32)

ing the bold boisterous spirit of hunting people. The Totzamin commune's cultural troupe frequently gives performances in their new auditorium to packed audiences. Each number is enthusiastically applauded. A song expressive of the new life and spirit is "The Olunchuns Mount Leap-Forward Horses":

*Forests in the Khingan
Ranges murmur,*

*Waves of the Nomin River
hum with joy.*

*When the Olunchuns learn
from Tachai,*

*A new look comes over our
land.*

*Tractors roar, ripe wheat
bows low,*

*Water comes through canals,
granaries are full.*

*For the vast changes in our
life,*

*We thank Chairman Mao and
the Party.*

Like the other minority peoples, the Olunchuns have a zest for life and freedom. In the old days after a successful hunt they would gather around fires to eat and drink and then sing and dance far into the night. Yet reactionary rulers through the ages called them "barbarians", drove them into the mountains and left them to fate. While the Japanese imperialists occupied China's northeast and ruled through the puppet Manchukuo regime, the reactionary authorities sold opium and strong alcoholic drinks to the Olunchuns, which sapped their energy and led to early deaths. In 1949 they were on the verge of extinction.

Today the Olunchuns, like all nationalities in China, enjoy political equality, unity and mutual

help, and are masters of their own fate. The people of the Totzamin commune were so pleased that their first Party secretary, Changpen, a hunter's son, was elected to attend the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party in 1973 that they gave him a rousing welcome on his return. Party secretary Meng Ching-hai of the Guli brigade is a deputy to the Fourth National People's Congress and has sat in the Great Hall of the People in Peking discussing affairs of state with members of the other nationalities. The unattainable dreams of the past are realities today.

CORRECTION

The bottom caption in column 3, page 23 of the June 1977 issue of *China Reconstructs* should read: Replica of a bone batten, top and side view.

