

possible rise to power of the left cannot challenge the monarchist framework of the state. Finally, the economic and social situation will have to be improved, and in this area Government and opposition recommend different approaches to development. How can the work of renewing the production system, improving relations

with regional communities and working towards political pluralism begin without destroying the efforts currently being made to engage in dialogue and cooperation? For Spain this challenge is what may be called the "apprenticeship" of democracy.

Hua Kuo-feng's rise to power and the problems he must face

By John R. Walker

Editor's note: Since this article was written news reports out of Peking indicate that Teng Hsiao-ping has returned to a position of authority within the Chinese hierarchy.

Since there was no formal mechanism for a change of leadership in the People's Republic of China, and since the perfectibility of man had not been achieved in his lifetime, it was perhaps inevitable that a struggle for power should accompany the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Despite the assurances of the Chinese and their friendly foreign publicists abroad that only the class struggle continued to exist in China, it was evident to anyone living in that country during the past three and a half years that both an ideological struggle and a personal power struggle were building up as the great philosopher-king entered the ninth decade of his extraordinary life.

In essence, and this is a purely personal assessment based on the inadequate information available to a working journalist in China, this struggle was both a public and a secret one. Behind the red walls of Chungnanhai, where the leaders live in Peking, there was apparently a very bitter and highly personal battle for control of the party, the bureaucracy and the army. But in public, focused largely through the media, there was a growing ideological struggle between the "fundamentalists" of the Maoist tenet, led by his fourth wife, Chiang Ching, and her Shanghai allies, and the "pragmatists" or middle-roads, who were close to Premier Chou En-lai and the rehabilitated Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping.

In this reporter's view, that ideological struggle was intensified first by the reappearance of Teng Hsiao-ping in April

1973, after seven years ignominious obscurity, and secondly by Chou En-lai's determination to set China on course for a major "leap forward" into the super-power ranks by the end of this century. Since Teng Hsiao-ping had clearly been brought back from Cultural Revolution humiliation by Premier Chou with Mao's approval to organize this leap into modernization and industrialization, Teng in a sense became the catalyst of the most recent power struggle.

The confrontation began in a generational way at the Tenth National Party Congress in August 1973, when the 38-year-old Wang Hung-wen, the fourth member of the now infamous "Gang of Four", was suddenly elevated to Number-Three spot in the Party leadership. Teng Hsiao-ping fought back by restoring to power many of his old Army and Government friends who had been demoted during the Cultural Revolution. And, by January 1975, Teng was Vice-Chairman of the Party, which ran the country, Senior Vice-President of the Government, which administered it, and Chief of Staff of the Army, which guarded the Revolution.

Chou's legacy

At the Fourth National People's Congress that same month, a dying Premier Chou En-lai presented his legacy to the country in the shape of a major two-stage plan to industrialize and modernize China in a quarter of a century — a monumental effort to surpass the existing super-powers by the year 2000. And it appears to have

*Bitter battle
for control
of the party*