

No. 9 March 2, 1981

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Zhou Enlai on Mao Zedong Thought
- Wiping Out the Deficit
- Dutch Government's Unwise Decision



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Zhou Enlai on Mao Zedong Thought

In discussing the development of Mao's theories, the late Premier pointed out that the Party leader was no demigod, and that Mao Zedong Thought was formed in the course of sticking to what was right and correcting what was wrong (pp. 8-11).

Defining Mao Zedong Thought

A historical review of the changes in defining Mao Zedong Thought over the last four decades — showing how it was first formulated and applied, how it was distorted and turned into a religious faith, and how it was restored to its original role as a guide to action instead of a dogma (pp. 12-15).

Democracy and Political Stability

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial describes the steps taken towards socialist democracy in the last two years and discusses how it can be further promoted (pp. 19-21).

Crimes of Kang Sheng And Xie Fuzhi

A disclosure of the great damage wrought by these two principal culprits, who died years before the great trial (pp. 16-19).

Balancing the Budget

China adopts measures to wipe out financial deficits (pp. 5-6) while still continuing some key construction projects (p. 5).

The Dutch Government's "Credibility"

By its insistence on approving the sale of submarines to

Taiwan, the Dutch Government plays an unenviable role in the present-day adverse current against China (p. 22).

Good News for Students Of Chinese

A review of a new Chinese language textbook, with English and Chinese explanations. Editions with German, French and Spanish explanations will also become available this year (p. 29).



Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou at the 24th Session of the Central People's Government Council (1953).

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Global Strategy

Will there be a relaxation of the international situation in the 1980s? Or will it become more tense? And what about the danger of a new world war?

The world situation has not eased but has become more turbulent than before.

Soviet hegemonism is now speeding up its arms expansion, which will probably reach its height by the mid-80s. This will be very dangerous to the world. The danger of a new world war which always exists has now increased.

Efforts should be made to eliminate the danger when we are fully aware of it. The outbreak of a world war can be put off only when the peace-loving countries and peoples get united and upset the Soviet Union's global strategic plan. In doing so these countries will gain time to increase their political, economic and military strength.

At present, Soviet hegemonism will most probably push southward, particularly towards those regions around the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Malacca, where the defence is weak and internal contradictions are numerous. If this goal were realized, it would increase the danger of a world war. Therefore, before the Soviet hegemonists complete their strategic deployment, steps should be taken to check their advance in Afghanistan and

Kampuchea and bog them down in a quagmire.

It is not impossible to check Soviet advance. The people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, standing in the forefront of the struggle against hegemonism, are fighting heroically and tenaciously. Those who oppose hegemonism should be fully aware of the strategic importance of this area and support the resistance forces there, so that they will be able to continue fighting against the Soviet invaders.

In the 1970s Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai called on the peace-loving coun-

tries and peoples of the world to unite so as to avert a world war unleashed by hegemonism. They proceeded from the needs of a global strategy rather than the mere interests of China itself.

China hopes that there will be a relatively long period of peace to build up the country. But it's not afraid of war or of being encircled. The present turbulent situation requires that all the forces opposing hegemonism unite. This does not mean forming an alliance. By co-ordinating their policies and taking concerted action, they can forestall the Soviet strategic plan.

—*International Editor*
Mu Youlin

Change of Personnel

There has been much talk about the changes of Chinese leaders. What are the facts?

To abolish the system of life-long tenure of leading cadres is one of China's important political reforms. This refers to leading cadres both democratically elected and appointed by higher authorities. This policy decision not only helps prevent individuals from acting arbitrarily but is also conducive to developing socialist democracy. At the same time, talented people will be given the chance to take up leading posts.

There were some changes of leading cadres at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party

Central Committee a year ago. At the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in September last year, a new Premier was appointed, and it was decided that several senior cadres who were advanced in years would not concurrently hold the posts of Vice-Premiers. Facts have proved that these changes are a healthy development and are conducive to stability and unity throughout the country. It is normal that there will be changes in the future, but this will not affect the stability of China's political situation.

—*Political Editor*
An Zhiguo

LETTERS

Voice of the Dutch People

We are very much ashamed that the Dutch Government could agree to the delivery of submarines to Taiwan.

It is a shame that the Prime Minister, Mr. Van Agt, acted like this, also because he was so recently in China and behaved like China's "best friend."

We feel that he betrayed the Chinese ideas of friendship and honesty, and not only the Chinese ideas, but also ours.

During our own trip through China last year we met a lot of people who treated us as real friends.

We hope that they will believe us when we say that the majority of the Dutch people do not agree at all with the present government act.

We cannot blame China for taking measures against the Netherlands.

**Pauline Smulders and
Hans Beskers**
Utrecht, The Netherlands

By way of this letter I want to let you know that the Dutch people are heavily opposed to the government's approval of the submarine deal, R.S.V. made with the Taiwan authorities. In the Netherlands there have been very many protests. And there is much indignation everywhere. People from all walks of life have expressed their dissatisfaction publicly. Professors sent letters to the government, journalists wrote articles against it, workers from the harbour of Rotterdam went to The Hague to speak to Van Agt (the Prime Minister) personally and to put pressure on the parliament. Suppose China was going to deliver submarines to the authorities on the Dutch isle of Texel against the will of the Dutch people and the government, we would be very indignant as well. The desire of our people is that there be friendship between China and

the Netherlands, and that the Dutch Government should go back on its decision.

Rob Oostvogels
Rotterdam, The
Netherlands

Respect the Right of Defence

I appreciate the detailed report in your magazine on the trial of the Lin-Jiang cliques. Your coverage enabled people to form their own opinions on the process of the trial. The Western press regarded the trial as a show which was put on by those presently holding power to expose and criticize the former people in power, including Mao Zedong. Your article demonstrated that the defendants were tried for their criminal offences, not their political mistakes.

With the exception of the speech made by Jiang Tengjiao's defence lawyer, no defence activities were reported or comments on them made in *Beijing Review* and in the TV coverage here. I feel this was bad. Any defendant has the minimum right to a defence to absolve himself of charges made against him. This has also been stipulated in China's Law of Criminal Procedure. However, if the same right which is accorded to defendants in other public trials were not applied in this trial, then you run the danger that people outside of China will lose confidence in China's judgment on criminal cases.

Thomas Klein
Bielefeld, W. Germany

Of the ten defendants in this trial, one asked the court to assign advocates. Four defendants entrusted lawyers to plead for them and the remaining five did not entrust any advocates. But all of them enjoyed the same right to a defence. For instance, the defence lawyers of Yao Wenyuan pleaded for the defendant that he should not be held responsible for the Shanghai armed revolt, and the court decided Yao was not guilty of this charge. Jiang Qing presented a two-hour defence for herself in one court session and Huang Yongsheng spoke three times for himself, which altogether lasted nearly three hours.
— Ed.

Lack of Analysis of the Chief Enemy

I think that your analysis of the international situation is rather objective. *Beijing Review* is one of the few magazines which provides a political analysis and comments on rapid changes in the international situation. But, I feel two problems exist in this respect. First of all, your magazine regards Soviet social-imperialism both as the chief enemy of people's struggles all over the world and as a "source of war." However, no articles have ever analysed the essence of this new phenomenon and the contradictions involved. Nor have any articles dealt with relations between the countries of the "great socialist community." Analyses of this type should proceed from important international events. For instance, I want to know your viewpoint about events in Poland. The second problem I find in your international coverage is a lack of an analysis of the situation in Latin America. U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of the Latin American countries. It is particularly important for us to have some analytical materials which are conducive to a better understanding of the realities of these countries. I feel that your coverage of the international scene will be more complete if you take up these topics.

Antonio Moreno B.
Monterrey, Mexico

Opinions on "Books" Column

It is, of course, important to open a "Books" column. Because I don't know any Chinese, I am not able to read these books myself. This column enables me to know a little about the new books available on China's book market.

Peter Romen
Lochau, Austria

I would like you to regularly include those publications coming out in German, which are distributed by Guoji Shudian, in your "Books" column. Chinese and English publications are also interesting, of course.

M.F.R.
Monchengladbach,
W. Germany

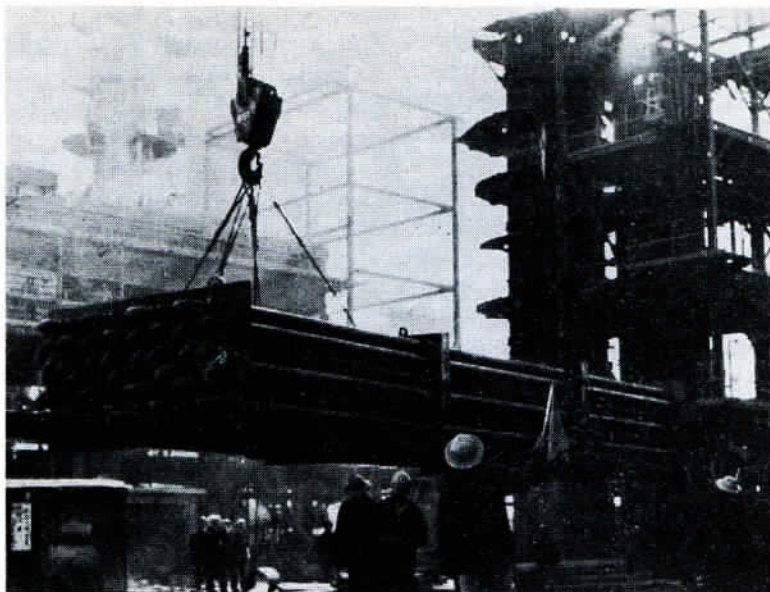
ECONOMIC

Construction of Key Projects Speeded Up

The building of a number of capital construction projects, which take a long time to complete but yield slow returns, have been stopped or put off in the current readjustment of the national economy. Key projects, however, are being built at a faster tempo. These include projects in the fields of energy sources, communications and transport, and raw materials for light and textile industries.

—The Xinglongzhuang shaft of the Yanzhou Coal Mine in coastal Shandong Province, with a designed annual capacity of 3 million tons, will be the largest of its kind when completed. Construction began in 1975 and 92 per cent of the whole project had been completed by the end of last year. At present mining equipment is being installed and construction is nearing an end.

—The 17 sets of imported equipment for the newly built Liaoyang Petrochemical Fibre Complex in northeast China's Liaoning Province had all been installed by the end of



The building of the Tianjin Petrochemical Fibre Plant is nearing completion.

last year, 13 of which had been tested. In the Tianjin Petrochemical Fibre Plant, four and a half of the five sets of imported equipment have gone into trial operation.

—Two hundred kilometres of the 500,000-volt transmission line from Pingdingshan in Henan Province to Wuhan in central China's Hubei Province, and 95 per cent of the pylons have been completed. A factory for producing tyre cord is also being built in Pingdingshan.

—Construction of the Gezhouba multi-purpose water conservancy project (see issue No. 3 of *Beijing Review*) is going on after completion of a cofferdam on the Changjiang (Yangtze) River on January 4. Resumption of river navigation and supply of electricity are scheduled for July this year.

Wiping Off Deficits

Get out of the red in 1981. This is one of the primary tasks set at the working conference of the C.P.C. Central Committee last December for the present readjustment of the national economy. China's finance was in the red for two consecutive years: in 1979 the deficits amounted to 17,000 million yuan and in 1980, over 10,000 million yuan.

The following measures have been taken to achieve this goal:

Curtailement of Financial Expenditures. The key to wiping off deficits is to reduce the scale of capital construction. Projects without an adequate supply of energy and raw materials and projects taking a long time to complete or are less rewarding will be stopped or put off for the time being. These include large projects with imported equipment and technology and local plants such as factories for processing farm and sideline products.



1. Yanzhou 2. Liaoyang 3. Tianjin 4. Pingdingshan 5. Wuhan 6. Gezhouba on the Changjiang River

In a recent directive, the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee called on the P.L.A. to cut military expenditures for 1981 and use available financial and other resources to equip and build up the army so as to be prepared against the outbreak of a war.

Administrative expenditures will again be reduced. The State Council has called on all social groups (including government organs, enterprises and other undertakings) to control and slash purchases so as to economize on non-productive spending.

On the other hand, agriculture, light industry, energy sources and communications will be further developed and there will be more funds for cultural, educational, public health and scientific undertakings.

Increase Revenue. The government has called on the people to increase production in accordance with state plans and market demands, raise the quality of products and cut the costs of production so as to make more profits and increase state revenue.

At a national conference on taxation and financial work of the enterprises held in the latter half of last January, Finance Minister Wang Bingqian said that to bring about a balance between revenue and expenditure, big efforts would have to be made to reduce spending and increase revenue. The conference urged that taxation should be under centralized management and that taxes should be handed in on time and in full to the treasury.

More than half of China's state revenue comes from taxation. Total taxation in 1980 was 5.3 per cent more than the previous year. More than 90 per cent of the annual revenue

comes from profits and taxes from enterprises throughout the country.

Tighten Control of Finance and Credits. The State Council made two decisions this year. One is the 8-point decision on strict financial management, stressing centralized distribution and use of financial resources, the aim being to achieve a balance between revenue and expenditure this year. The second decision is to tighten control of credits and issuance of currency. The banks are urged to strengthen their work to ensure the smooth readjustment of the economy.

Public opinion underscores the importance of wiping off deficits to the nation's welfare and people's livelihood. The people are urged to increase production and practise economy. Departments and cadres who have displayed the spirit of hard work and discipline in financial matters have been commended in the papers. Last year the central government organizations saved 30 million yuan in administrative expenditures. One example is last year's National Day reception: only 3,890 yuan were spent as against 31,000 yuan in 1979.

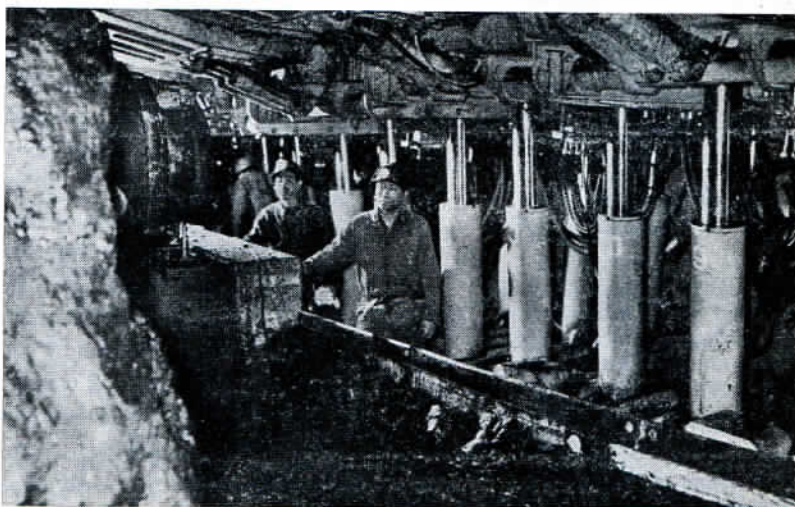
More Shanxi Coal for Export

Shanxi Province, which leads the country in coal output, produced 120 million tons last year, or one-sixth of the nation's total. Of this amount, 2.36 million tons were exported, which was 71 per cent more than in 1979 and 4.75 times the figure in 1978.

The coal was shipped to dozens of countries and regions including Japan, Bangladesh, Burma, Britain, France and Romania.

Shanxi Province which is in the northern part of the country has, in the light of its actual conditions, cancelled or postponed the construction of some metallurgical, machine-building and chemical industrial projects in the current economic readjustment. This is aimed at increasing its investments in exploiting its coal resources. At present, a number of coal-pits are being built or expanded. When completed they will supply an additional 27 million tons of coal a year.

In the latter half of last year the Shanxi Provincial Coal Export Company was set up to handle coal exports which used to be under the exclusive



In the Datong Coal Mine in Shanxi Province.

management of the China National Metals and Minerals Import and Export Corporation. The company plans to export one million tons of coal in the first half of this year.

SOCIAL

Socialist Spiritual Civilization

In China's largest city of Shanghai, young people are often seen in groups rendering free service along the waterfront or by the roadside. Their services include repairing bicycles, radio sets, wrist-watches and household electrical appliances as well as barbering and tailoring. There are now over 400 such voluntary service teams in the city involving nearly 10,000 people, most of them being young workers from 18 to 25.

The first service team appeared in February 1980, composed of more than a dozen Communist Youth League members of the Shanghai No. 3 Bicycle Factory who wished to give free assistance in their spare hours. They started by helping their fellow-workers during the off hours or on Sundays, repairing transistor radios, installing water meters and doing other odd jobs.

Youth League members and workers in the other factories soon followed suit. They formed teams and, carrying their own tools, they went to the schools, hospitals or army units to give whatever assistance they could. They were happy that they could be of help to others. As a young worker of a fountain-pen repairing team once put it: "Life will be more meaningful if one gives more than he takes."



Young workers from the Shanghai No. 3 Bicycle Factory repairing bicycles free of charge in the People's Square. They repaired more than 300 bikes in one morning during the Spring Festival holidays this year.

It is such communist spirit and sentiments that constitute the foundation of socialist spiritual civilization which, in addition to culture and science, refers to communist ideals and morals, discipline and comradesly relationship among the people.

The question of socialist spiritual civilization received widespread attention last December when Li Chang, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, wrote to a leading comrade of the C.P.C. Central Committee suggesting that while efforts are being made to realize the four modernizations, it is necessary to build socialist spiritual civilization. His suggestion was highly appreciated. (For details of this subject, please read Li Chang's letter and an article on spiritual civilization in our next issue.)

Renmin Ribao, organ of the Party, in its 1981 New Year's Day editorial listed the building of a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization as an im-

portant task of the whole nation.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

China-Belgium

China Signs Agreement for Belgian Loans. The Belgian Government will provide the Chinese Government with 300 million convertible Belgian francs this year. The agreement was signed in Beijing on February 23.

The agreement stipulates that the interest-free loans will be used by the Chinese Government to pay for capital goods or industrial equipment and related services supplied by Belgian firms. In 1979 leaders of the Chinese and Belgian Governments agreed in Beijing that the Belgian Government would provide the Chinese Government yearly with interest-free loans of 300 million Belgian francs between 1980 and 1982. The loans for 1980 have already been drawn and used by the Chinese Government.

Zhou Enlai on Mao Zedong Thought

by Shi Zhongquan and Yang Zenghe

SINCE the downfall of the gang of four, the problem of the scientific evaluation of Mao Zedong Thought has become one of great concern to the whole Party and people all over China. In this respect, the publication of the *Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai* (Vol. I) will prove to be of great significance.

Marxism-Leninism as Applied to China

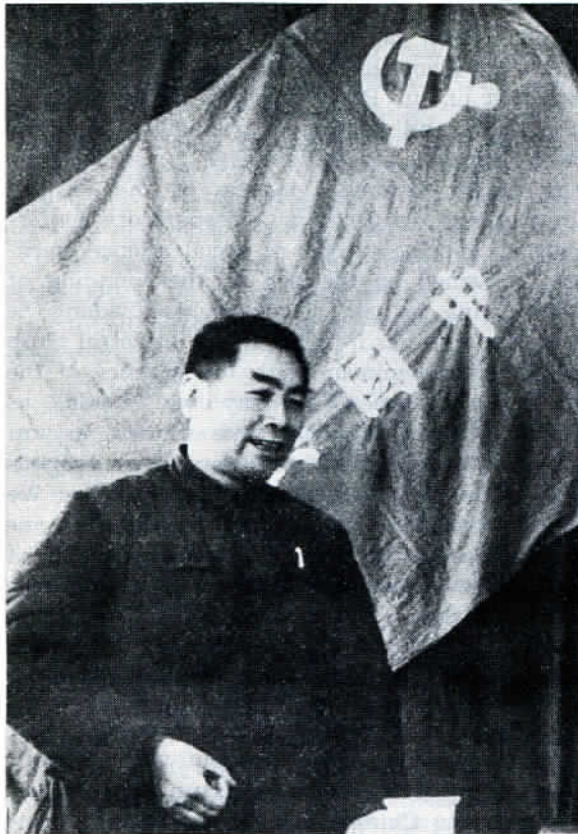
Zhou Enlai was one of the earliest Chinese leaders to point out that Mao Zedong's thought and line were products of "Marxism-Leninism applied to China." As early as 1943, he said: "The 22 years of our Party's experience show: Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas run through the whole period of the Party's history and have developed into Marxism-Leninism as adapted to China — in fact they make up the line for Chinese communism!" He also noted that all the Party's major successes were "achieved through unity under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong." ("A Speech at a Welcome Meeting in Yanan.")

Zhou Enlai also considered that the greatness of Mao Zedong Thought, first of all, lay in its finding the road to victory for the Chinese revolution and making the theory of Marxism-Leninism a weapon for the Chinese proletariat and other labouring people to win liberation. Marxism-Leninism was brought to China after the October Revolution. But could communism bring about a transformation of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal China? Could it save the country and make it powerful and prosperous? This, at the time, became a topic of great controversy throughout society, and inside the Communist Party too, it was not completely solved. All sorts of reactionaries feared communism, alleging that communism did not suit China's situation. Though

revolutionary Communists firmly believed that communism would eventually succeed in China, yet they had not found a road which could lead to victory. After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, feelings of pessimism arose in the Party. Uncertain of the future of the revolution, some Communists gave up their belief in Marxism-Leninism and some left the revolutionary ranks. Some, indignant at the reactionaries' white terror, resorted to "Left" adventurism and also failed to find a way out. The revolutionaries were fumbling their way in the dark. The great historical merits of Comrade Mao Zedong were: By using the Marxist-Leninist world outlook to analyse the political, economic, military and other conditions of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of China ruled by foreign imperialists, he linked the characteristic of the uneven development of the Chinese revolution with a peasant war and, together with other comrades, in practice and in theory pointed out the correct road for the Chinese revolution — establish revolutionary base areas, set up an independent regime of workers and peasants by military force and take the road of encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them. After that the Chinese revolution advanced along this road with the result that the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism became integrated with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Zhou Enlai said: "Communism not only suits China but, applied and developed by our Party's leader Comrade Mao Zedong, it is already integrated with China's national-liberation movement and the practical interests of the Chinese people. It has already taken root on the soil of China. Whoever wants to undermine it will seek his own end." ("A Speech at a Welcome Meeting in Yanan.")

The correct thought of Mao Zedong ran through the various historical periods of the democratic revolution. But the influence of Mao Zedong's thought on the Chinese revolution before he took charge of the leading work of the Party Central Committee differed from

The authors are staff members of the Research Department for Documents under the C.P.C. Central Committee.



Comrade Zhou Enlai at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in March 1949.

that after he took charge. As Zhou Enlai pointed out, before Mao Zedong participated in the leadership, both the Party Central Committee and sections of the revolutionary masses often followed the wrong direction and lost their bearings, and the revolution suffered continuous setbacks and failures. With Mao Zedong's participation in the leadership after the Zunyi Meeting, the Chinese revolution embarked on the correct course. "Chairman Mao was correct in all the four stages* of the Chinese revolution and represents the correct orientation for the Chinese people." ("Learn From Mao Zedong.") This evaluation of Zhou Enlai's is fair and based on facts.

Against Personality Cult

Zhou Enlai held in esteem leaders of the proletarian revolution and revolutionary theories. However, he did not show blind faith but adopted a scientific attitude. He said: "No belief should go beyond the limits of reason; otherwise it becomes a superstition." ("Religious Spirit and Communism," originally published in issue No. 2 of *Shaonian* [Youth], a

Chinese magazine published by students studying in Europe.)

Over a long period, there was a tendency inside the Party to worship and deify the top leader, describing him as a born sage perfect in every way. Zhou Enlai sharply criticized this wrong practice, pointing out that Mao Zedong should not be regarded as a demigod or as a unique, mysterious, born leader whom nobody could hope to emulate. . . . "If no one could learn from him, then Mao Zedong would be isolated from us, wouldn't he? Wouldn't we be regarding Mao Zedong as a godhead, alienated from the rest of us? That would be the kind of leader publicized in feudal and capitalist societies." ("Learn From Mao Zedong.")

Zhou Enlai held Mao Zedong in high esteem but he noted that the birth of a leader like Mao Zedong in Chinese society was not accidental. He appraised the correct leadership of Mao Zedong and analysed the formation of Mao Zedong Thought from the viewpoint of China's social conditions, its thousands of years of historical development, its revolutionary movements against imperialism and feudalism in the last hundred years and the new-democratic revolution led by the Communist Party. He pointed out: "Our leader is a people's leader who came from the people, has flesh-and-blood ties with the Chinese people and close links with the land and society of China, and is the product of the revolutionary movements of the last hundred years, especially since the May 4th Movement (1919) and of the long years of experience and lessons of China's revolutionary history." ("Learn From Mao Zedong.")

To help young people get rid of superstitious concepts and view things from a historical perspective, Zhou Enlai said: Like many others, Mao Zedong as a child grew up in the countryside; he was superstitious and had some backward ideas when he was young. When his mother was ill, he prayed to Buddha for help. Later he read many ancient books and received feudal and bourgeois education. Only after he joined the revolution did his thinking begin to undergo a big change and become a people's leader. Zhou Enlai pointed out: Mao Zedong's greatness "lies in his awakening from superstition and rejecting outdated things, and, above

* The four stages of the Chinese revolution are: the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1946-49).

all, in his daring to face up to the past." ("Learn From Mao Zedong.")

Zhou Enlai made a concrete analysis of the formation of Mao Zedong's revolutionary theories. For instance, on the question of the Chinese revolution taking the path of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, he remarked: "There is a course of development in Mao Zedong's understanding of this question. Once before the great revolution, Comrade Yun Daiying* wrote to Comrade Mao Zedong informing him that Tao Xingzhi** and others were working among the peasants. Comrade Mao Zedong replied in his letter: We are now so busy working among the urban workers, how can we have time to work in the countryside? In 1925 when he was at home recuperating from an illness, he made some rural surveys in Hunan. It was only then that he began to pay attention to the peasant problem."

Recalling the Sixth Party Congress held in the summer of 1928, Zhou Enlai wrote: "I think that at that time Comrade Mao Zedong did not have the idea of putting the centre of work in the countryside and the Communist Party leading the peasants in guerrilla warfare on behalf of the proletariat; he still held that work in the cities should be the central task. At the beginning he even proposed that Soviet areas bordering Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi be established to influence and co-ordinate with the city work. It was not until January 1930 when he wrote to Lin Biao*** that he clearly pointed to the necessity of creating Red areas and setting up armed independent regimes. He considered this was the most important factor to promote a high tide of revolution throughout the country, i.e., the countryside should be made the centre. That is why we say the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong went through a course of development." ("On Studying the Sixth National Congress of the Party.")

Without question, it was mainly Comrade Mao Zedong who formulated the correct theories of China's revolution. But this does not in the least imply that Mao Zedong Thought

* He was admitted into the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 and twice elected Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee. He was murdered by the Kuomintang in 1931.

** Tao Xingzhi (1891-1946) was a people's educator and a patriotic democrat.

*** This refers to Mao Zedong's letter to Lin Biao dated January 5, 1930. It mainly criticized Lin Biao for his pessimistic ideas. For details see Volume I, page 117 of *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*.

includes the ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong alone. This can be seen from the works of Comrade Zhou Enlai. He said: "The Bolshevization of our Party began with the birth of the Party and developed gradually. Comrade Mao Zedong is a representative." ("On Studying the Sixth National Congress of the Party.") In a speech delivered at a preparatory conference of representatives of social science workers convened on the eve of the founding of New China, he said: Comrade Mao Zedong "is a leader who has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution." Today we should, as Comrade Zhou Enlai did, take into full account the role of Comrade Mao Zedong as an individual without one-sidedly exaggerating it. We should cherish Mao Zedong Thought as the crystallization of the collective wisdom of veteran revolutionaries and the common treasure of our Party.

Special Features of Mao Zedong Thought

Zhou Enlai considered that a special characteristic of Mao Zedong Thought was its specific application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to China: forming the theory, principle, policies and strategy which tallied with actual conditions in China.

Applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the land of China and integrating it with the practice of the Chinese revolution — this concept is common knowledge now in China. But it was at great cost that this lesson was drawn in the course of the Chinese revolution. By the end of the 20s and the beginning of the 30s, some leaders of the Communist International took insurrection in cities as a shortcut to victory in the revolution. In their eyes victory could be won only by launching an armed uprising like the October Revolution, and they took a sceptical attitude towards Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhu De and others who were establishing revolutionary base areas in the countryside and carrying out armed struggles there. They considered it utterly impossible that in the absence of the urban proletariat a staunch Bolshevik Party which would lead the people to victory in the revolution could be set up by relying on the countryside. Zhou Enlai said: "In all the documents of the Communist International, whenever the leadership of the proletarian political party was mentioned, it was invariably linked with the workers' movement." ("On Studying the Sixth National Congress of the Party.")

In a speech delivered on the eve of the founding of New China, Zhou Enlai recalled our Party's mistake of dogmatism. "The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism," he said, "was disseminated as dogma and was not integrated with practice. Therefore it failed to work as a guiding principle. 'The two just did not fit.' The outcome was the revolution suffered setbacks, the army sustained losses and the Party was undermined." This was a profound lesson in China's modern revolutionary history.

Zhou Enlai held that another special feature of Mao Zedong Thought was the mass viewpoint and mass line concept of everything for the people and relying on the people in everything. He said: Mao Zedong proceeds from the premise of "applying proletarian Marxist ideas to China, and seeing to it that the proletariat rallies around itself the broadest sections of the people to win victory in the revolution and not narrows itself down to a tight circle indulging in idle talk about revolution"; "the principles he puts forward always take the majority of the people into consideration and are in their interests." ("Learn From Mao Zedong.") The starting point of all activities of the Communist Party is to serve the interests of the masses of the people, the masters of history. This is a fundamental principle of

Marxism. But to apply this principle to the practices of a proletarian political party is an important feature of the ideas of the Chinese Communists represented by Mao Zedong. In the course of China's revolution, enemies were numerous and powerful. To carry on the revolution under hard conditions when the enemy was far superior to us in strength, we had to have full confidence in the masses and rely on them, unite with all revolutionary forces that could be united with and form the broadest revolutionary united front. Only in this way were we able to win the victory. During the period of the new-democratic revolution, many principles of Mao Zedong Thought as well as a series of policies and strategies of the Chinese Communists were aimed at drawing all the forces of the Chinese people in a common struggle and leading them on to the path of the new-democratic revolution.

The formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought took place during the new-democratic revolution. It guided the Chinese people in overcoming powerful foreign and domestic enemies and founding the People's Republic of China; it is a truth which has been tested in the history of great revolutionary practice. This is an objective fact which no one can deny. During the period of the socialist revolution and construction, especially around the time when the Party's Eighth National Congress was convened, the correct ideas of Mao Zedong were still developing; this can be proved by the big achievements in various fields during that period. However, in contradistinction to his leadership during the democratic revolution, Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years when leading the socialist revolution and construction, especially the "cultural revolution" initiated by him. This is a matter of great regret. But we should not shake our faith in Mao Zedong Thought, the crystallization of the common struggle of the Party and the people, or have doubts about the historical role it played. The mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made during the last years of his life resulted precisely from the fact that he himself went against some fundamental principles he had always advocated during the revolutionary war years, such as seeking truth from facts and the mass line, and against the correct ideas and theories established previously.



Comrade Zhou Enlai's personal copy, with his signature on the cover, of "Reform Our Study" by Chairman Mao.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Beijing Ribao." Subheads are ours.)

How to Define Mao Zedong Thought: Changes Over Forty Years

MAO Zedong Thought is Marxism as applied in the Chinese revolution. The fruit of a prolonged struggle, it has been accepted as an invaluable asset of our Party and our country. The formulation of the term Mao Zedong Thought and the whole Party's understanding of it have only evolved through a long, complicated process.

Formulating "Mao Zedong Thought"

During the 1942 rectification campaign in Yanan, Mao Zedong was acknowledged by Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De as a great revolutionary who had integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

Liu Shaoqi said in his report of July 4, 1943 to mark the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party: "All cadres and all Party members must study conscientiously the historical experience of the Chinese Party over the past 22 years; they must study conscientiously Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on the Chinese revolution and other aspects; they must arm themselves with the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong and adopt his ideological system to combat Menshevik thinking inside the Party."

The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party adopted in April 1945 by the Enlarged Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party observed: "Ever since its birth in 1921, the Communist Party of China has made the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution the guiding principle in all its work, and Comrade Mao Zedong's theory and practice of the Chinese revolution represent this integration."

The concept of "Mao Zedong Thought" was first articulated in May 1945 when Liu Shaoqi said at the Party's Seventh National Congress: "Mao Zedong Thought means the continuation and development of Marxism in the national, democratic revolution in a colo-

nial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country of our time; it is a fine prototype of Marxism with a given national character." The Party Constitution adopted at that time also said: "The Communist Party of China takes Mao Zedong Thought—the thought of unity of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution—as the guiding principle in all its work and opposes any dogmatist or empiricist deviations."

When the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong interviewed Liu Shaoqi in Yanan between January and February 1947, he said: "Mao Zedong's great achievement lies in his transformation of Marxism from its European form into an Asiatic form," that is, "he has created a Chinese type or a so-called Asiatic type of Marxism."

In his report to the First All-China Youth Congress on May 7, 1949, Zhou Enlai said: "Chairman Mao has applied the truth of the world revolution—the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism—to China and integrated it with the revolutionary practice in China to become Mao Zedong Thought." "Mao Zedong Thought has the distinct feature of giving concrete expression to universal truth and applying it on Chinese soil."

Personally, Mao Zedong never regarded Mao Zedong Thought as the thought of an individual but an expression of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. During the 1942 rectification campaign in Yanan when students of the Party School under the Party Central Committee were discussing what was meant by Mao Zedong Thought, Mao Zedong made it clear that Mao Zedong Thought was not just his own thinking, but something that had been written in blood by millions upon millions of martyrs and represented the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. "My personal thoughts," he added, "are developing, and I, too, am liable to make mistakes."

In August 1948, Wu Yuzhang contemplated proposing in a speech he was to deliver at the



Chairman Mao working in a cave dwelling in Yanan in 1938.

opening of the North China University that Mao Zedong Thought be changed into Mao Zedong-ism. When he sent a telegram to Mao Zedong, the Chairman replied: "This expression is most inappropriate. There is no such thing as Mao Zedong-ism. The issue is not one of 'mainly studying Mao Zedong-ism,' but of it being necessary to call on students to study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the experience of the Chinese revolution."

In the 1950s

In the early years of New China, our Party adhered to the formulation "Mao Zedong Thought" that had been accepted at the Seventh National Party Congress and stressed the need to be careful and modest in giving publicity to Mao Zedong Thought.

But then in 1954, Mao Zedong proposed that the formulation "Mao Zedong Thought" not be used any more to avoid possible misinterpretations. Accordingly, the Department of Propaganda under the Party Central Committee issued a special circular on this matter. "Mao Zedong Thought" is the 'very thought of the unity of Marxist-Leninist theory with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.'" "Our advice is that comrades inside the Party, when writing an article or addressing a meeting, should act in accordance with this directive of Comrade Mao Zedong's. When expounding the Party Constitution or important Party documents or resolutions of the past, however, there is no need to make any change

but keep to the original. We should, however, explain to the public that 'Mao Zedong Thought' itself is Marxism-Leninism to avoid giving people the false impression that they are two different things. When Comrade Mao Zedong is involved in an article or a speech, the wording 'the works by Mao Zedong' may be used."

When preparations were being made for the Eighth National Party Congress in 1956, Mao Zedong once again proposed not to use the formulation "Mao Zedong Thought" in Party documents. Consequently, the Party Constitution adopted by the congress dropped the term "Mao Zedong Thought" and replaced it with the following: "The Communist Party of China takes Marx-

ism-Leninism as its guide to action"; "the Party in its activities upholds the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of China's revolutionary struggle, and combats all doctrinaire or empiricist deviations."

Late 50s and Early 60s

Towards the end of the 1950s, Khrushchov wantonly attacked Mao Zedong Thought and stirred up an anti-China adverse current around the world. At home, while a large-scale struggle was being waged against so-called "Right opportunism," something abnormal appeared in the political life of our Party and state. Following the Lushan Meeting in 1959, some responsible members of the Party Central Committee went back to the formulation "Mao Zedong Thought." Meanwhile, Lin Biao, who was then the defence minister, and Kang Sheng took this opportunity to create confusion and freely distort things.

At the meeting of senior army cadres held in September and October 1959, Lin Biao said: "What is Marxism-Leninism of today? The thought of our Chairman Mao of course." He also claimed that studying Mao Zedong's works was "the short cut to Marxist-Leninist studies," "an investment that returns real good profit." In early 1966, Lin Biao had Mao Zedong Thought further absolutized. "Mao Zedong Thought," he declared, "is the acme of contemporary Marxism-Leninism, the highest and liveliest Marxism-Leninism." Kang

Sheng said many things more or less to the same effect.

During the said period, some leading comrades in our Party and the Department of Propaganda under the Party Central Committee opposed the fallacies voiced by Lin Biao and Kang Sheng and brought forward their own views on the proper way to publicize Mao Zedong Thought. They maintained that "we must not draw a parallel between Mao Zedong Thought and Marxism-Leninism" — a view shared by Mao Zedong himself in 1961, "nor look at Mao Zedong's works and sayings as a dogma," and they must not be "simplified and vulgarized."

In November 15, 1963, Zhou Enlai pointed out explicitly at the 19th Session of the Supreme State Conference: "Mao Zedong Thought was brought about and established in the midst of adhering to what is right and revising what is wrong."

On September 30, 1964, in a letter of reply to an old comrade, Liu Shaoqi said: "Our principle is to learn from all who know the truth, not just from those in high places." "We must not accept Mao Zedong's works and sayings as a dogma just as we must not accept the theories of Marx and Lenin as a dogma. You should analyse the actual state of affairs in your locality, in the spirit and essence of Mao Zedong Thought and correctly sum up the practical experiences there, and draw up the correct policies, plans and steps in your forthcoming work." When Mao Zedong saw the letter, he sent a note to Liu Shaoqi with a comment: Have read your letter and feel it's really great.

Between 1966 and 1976

In the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), to seize Party and state leadership, Lin Biao, the gang of four and Kang Sheng launched a mammoth campaign to deify the leader and distort Mao Zedong Thought in a vain attempt to transform it into a religious faith.

Lin Biao said at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee in May 1966: "Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Zedong's Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory." Later Zhang Chunqiao inserted this state-



Chairman Mao delivering the report "On Protracted War" at the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in May 1938 in Yanan.

ment into Lin Biao's foreword to the second edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao*.

In August 1966, Lin Biao said: "Do everything in accordance with Chairman Mao's thinking." "We must resolutely carry out the Chairman's instructions, carry out both what we understand and what we don't."

Kang Sheng, in the same period, declared that "Mao Zedong Thought has become the banner of the international communist movement in our era." "For or against China's great cultural revolution, for or against Mao Zedong Thought — this has become the line of demarcation, the watershed, between Marxism and revisionism."

During this period Mao Zedong criticized Lin Biao, the gang of four and Kang Sheng and rejected their wrong formulations. He wrote comments on a document, saying: "Please note, from now on do not use expressions like 'the highest and the liveliest . . . 'acme,' and the 'supreme directives.'" In regard to those formulations in the widely circulated foreword to the second edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao*, Mao Zedong said: "We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution." He asked to delete some portions and actually struck out himself the phrase "with genius, creatively and comprehensively." Mao Zedong time and again emphatically warned against judging

the merit of a Party in a foreign country by whether it has accepted or rejected Mao Zedong Thought. He also said that in contacts with Parties of other countries, the Chinese Communist Party could only, and must, stick to this kind of formulation: integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice in the revolution in that particular country.

After the Downfall of the Gang

Following the collapse of the gang of four in October 1976, our Party gradually rectified the distortions and alterations of Mao Zedong Thought by Lin Biao, the gang of four and Kang Sheng, and repudiated their pernicious influence. But struggle has continued over the issue of what should be the correct approach to Mao Zedong Thought.

On February 7, 1977 the joint editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* wrote: "We'll resolutely adhere to whatever policy decision made by Chairman Mao, we'll always follow unswervingly whatever directive of Chairman Mao."

On April 10, 1977, Deng Xiaoping in a letter to the Party Central Committee, countering the two "whatevers," put forward the formulation of using the correct, comprehensive Mao Zedong Thought to guide our whole Party, whole army and the whole population.

On December 22, 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out: "The lofty task of the Party Central Committee on the theoretical front is to lead and educate the whole Party and the people of the whole country to recognize Comrade Mao Zedong's great feats in a historical and scientific perspective, comprehensively and correctly grasp the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of socialist modernization and develop it under the new historical conditions."

In September 1979, Ye Jianying in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China said: "Marxism-Leninism develops through the revolutionary struggles of the people in different countries. It cannot be monopolized or ossified by anyone in whatever form. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism as applied and developed in the Chinese revolution. It is the result of integrating the

universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." "We Chinese Communists and Chinese people call this development of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution Mao Zedong Thought. We hold that all our victories were achieved under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, without which there would be no New China today." "Of course, Mao Zedong Thought is not the product of Mao Zedong's personal wisdom alone, it is also the product of the wisdom of his comrades-in-arms, the Party and the revolutionary people, and, as he once pointed out, it emerged from the 'collective struggles of the Party and the people.'"

When interviewed by the Italian journalist Oriana Falaci on August 21 and 23, 1980, Deng Xiaoping said: "Chairman Mao's greatest feat was integrating Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolution and showing a way for China to achieve a victorious revolution. It must be said that prior to the 60s or prior to the end of the 50s, many of his thoughts brought us victories and some basic principles he put forward are very correct. . . . Unfortunately, in the later years of his life, especially in the 'cultural revolution,' he made mistakes, and no small mistakes at that, bringing many misfortunes to our Party, country and people. You know our Party in the Yanan days epitomized Chairman Mao's thinkings in various fields as Mao Zedong Thought and made it the guiding thought of our Party. It was exactly because we followed this road that we were able to seize great victory for the revolution. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought is not a personal creation by Comrade Mao Zedong alone; revolutionaries of the older generation all had a part in founding and developing Mao Zedong Thought, which consists mainly of Comrade Mao Zedong's thought. But, because of victory, he became not so prudent and in his later years, bit by bit, some unhealthy factors and unhealthy ideas, mostly 'Leftist' ideas began to come to the fore. A considerable part of them ran counter to his original thought, to his former excellent, correct stand, his style of work included." "We will continue to adhere to Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the correct part of Chairman Mao's thinking in his lifetime. Mao Zedong Thought not only led our revolution to victory but should also remain an invaluable asset of the Chinese Party and country, now and in the future."

(An abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi" magazine, No. 2, 1981.)

Crimes of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi

Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi were two principal culprits in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. Kang died in 1975, Xie in 1972 and they could not be brought to the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court for trial.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced last October 31 their posthumous expulsion from the Party and rescinded the memorial speeches for them. (See "Beijing Review," No. 45, 1980.) Not long ago, "Renmin Ribao" ran articles exposing and criticizing their crimes. — Ed.

Counter-Revolutionary "Chief of Staff"

Kang Sheng held many important posts for decades, especially during the later period of his life. He was advisor to the "cultural revolution group" under the C.P.C. Central Committee" and later became a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and one of the vice-chairmen of the Party Central Committee.

The 1966-76 catastrophe brought great suffering to our country and people. Many events of that period were directed behind the scenes or directly provoked by Kang Sheng.

Collaborating with Jiang Qing and Chen Boda in July 1967, he decided without authorization to have Liu Shaoqi, Chairman of the State, repudiated and struggled against. As a result, Chairman Liu was physically harassed and his residence searched. In collusion with Jiang Qing and Xie Fuzhi, Kang Sheng directed his followers to torture people to extort confessions and rig up false evidence in order to vilify Liu Shaoqi and his wife Wang Guangmei as "renegades," "enemy agents" and "counter-revolutionaries."

In a letter to Jiang Qing on September 17, 1968, Kang Sheng groundlessly called Liu Shaoqi a "big renegade, hidden traitor, enemy agent, scab and quisling," and went on to suggest: "Since he was able to hide and engage in traitorous activities for so long, I think he must have been trained by imperialist special agents."

In July 1966, Kang Sheng made false charges against Comrades Peng Zhen and He

Long. At a mass rally at Beijing Teachers' University, Kang alleged that Peng Zhen had mustered troops in preparation for a "mutiny" in February 1966. At another meeting of the "cultural revolution group," he falsely charged He Long with "secretly deploying troops to stage a 'mutiny' and building pillboxes in the suburbs of Beijing," and "delivering arms to the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission" to "turn the muzzles of guns on Zhongnanhai" (seat of the Party Central Committee and State Council).

In collusion with Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others, Kang Sheng participated in activities to usurp leadership of departments under the Party Central Committee and of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities. In framing leading cadres in various departments under the Central Committee, he said: "Almost all the former leading members of the (Higher) Party School, the Organization Department and the (International) Liaison Department, are evildoers, renegades, enemy agents, capitalist-roaders," and "in our Party's history, the Control Commission has never played any positive role." He proposed that these departments be either disbanded or be reduced to the minimum size. It was on direct orders from Kang Sheng and company that the organs of the Party Central Committee were completely reorganized. Large numbers of cadres were "transferred to cadres' schools to remould through labour," and many were labelled "counter-revolutionaries" and cruelly persecuted.

In order to throw the whole country into confusion during which Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company could try to usurp power, Kang Sheng fomented armed conflicts and created many bloody incidents to suppress the masses. Armed conflict in 1967 between two mass organizations in Zhengzhou, Henan Province, (ten died and more than a hundred wounded), and the armed suppression of a mass organization in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region the same year were all instigated by Kang Sheng.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company labelled as a revisionist theory the Marxist-Leninist view that the proletariat, after seizing and consolidating political power, should take the

development of the productive forces as its main task. Therefore, they branded the view critical of launching political movements at the expense of production "the theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" and made a big to-do about "making revolution by stopping work and production." It was precisely Kang Sheng who was the first to propose openly that the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" should be criticized.

After the coup d'etat plot of Lin Biao failed and he fled and died in an air crash on September 13, 1971, Kang Sheng realized the political climate was too hot for him and he "became ill"; but, in the course of recuperating, he closely followed political trends. In early 1974, under the cloak of criticizing Confucius, he directed the Party School under the Central Committee to write an article attacking Premier Zhou Enlai and a large number of Party, government and army leading comrades in an insinuating way. The article was readily appreciated by Jiang Qing, and more articles indirectly attacking Premier Zhou came out.

It has been verified that of the 839 people criticized by name or persecuted on false charges by Kang Sheng during the "cultural revolution," 33 were Party and state leaders, 120 were Members or Alternate Members of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee and more than 200 were principal leading cadres in central departments or at provincial, autonomous regional and municipal levels, high-ranking officers in the army as well as noted public figures. He labelled them as "traitors," "enemy agents," "capitalist-roaders," "elements who have illicit relations with foreign countries," "sworn followers," "accomplices," "degenerates," "bad elements" and "counter-revolu-

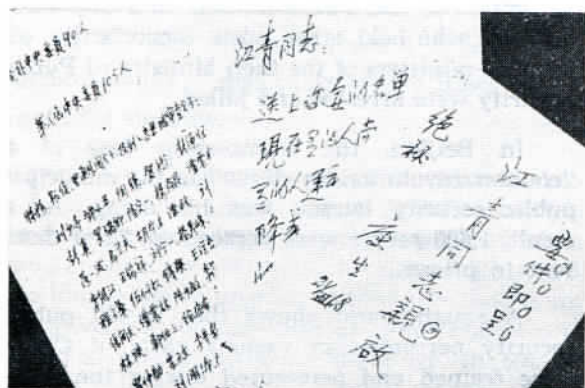
tionaries." It has been established that over 80 leading cadres in the Party, government and army and noted figures were hounded to death and many others were injured.

Kang Sheng wrote a strictly confidential letter to Jiang Qing on July 21, 1968. A name list was enclosed. Seventy-one per cent of the Members and Alternate Members of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee were falsely charged to be "renegades," "enemy agents," "elements having illicit relations with foreign countries" and having "political problems in their historical records." On August 23, 1968, Kang Sheng and his wife Cao Yiou instructed Guo Yufeng, who was in charge of the Organization Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, to make a false report. In it, 61 per cent of the Members or Alternate Members of the Control Commission of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee were falsely labelled "renegades," "enemy agents" or "counter-revolutionary revisionists."

Kang Sheng and Cao Yiou again instructed Guo Yufeng to classify, on August 27, 1968, half the Members of the Standing Committee of the Third National People's Congress and the Standing Committee of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as "renegades," "enemy agents," "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and "persons having committed serious mistakes."

Bo Yibo and 60 other comrades got out of a Kuomintang prison in 1936 by fulfilling some procedures. This was done in accordance with a decision of the then Northern Bureau of the Central Committee and with the approval of the Party Central Committee. Kang Sheng took part in the latter's meeting discussing the matter in 1943. Yet at the start of the "cultural revolution," he framed these comrades as "anti-communist" and "renegades to the Party," and stirred up a movement to "ferret out renegades," vilifying many true comrades.

Kang Sheng also rigged up the so-called case of a "Xinjiang renegade clique." In September 1942, Sheng Shicai, a Xinjiang warlord, concocted the so-called "April 12th insurrection plot" and put all the local comrades working for our Party in prison. Most of the imprisoned comrades gave a good account of themselves, some even lost their lives in jail. When Mr. Zhang Zhizhong was Kuomintang Governor of Xinjiang in 1946, more than 130 comrades, except a dozen or so who became ren-



Kang Sheng's confidential letter to Jiang Qing and the list of the falsely charged Members of the 8th C.P.C. Central Committee.

egades, were rescued by the Party Central Committee and set free. They returned to Yanan in June of that year.

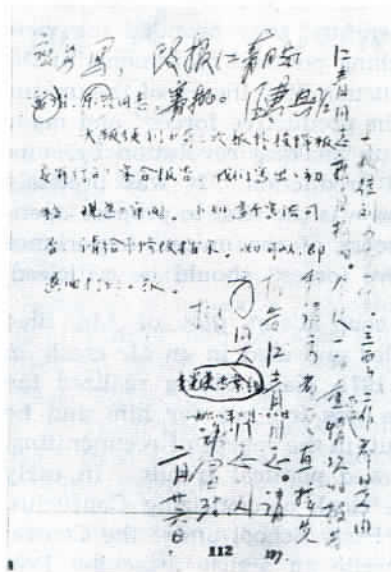
The Party Central Committee understood those comrades well and knew how they had behaved in prison and after their release. They were warmly welcomed in Yanan by leading comrades of the Party Central Committee. Kang Sheng even climbed aboard a car to embrace some of these comrades. But in 1967, he accused them of having "surrendered to the enemy," "concealed themselves inside the Party in an organized and planned way" and formed a "renegade clique." Many were again thrown into jail for eight years. Most of them were persecuted and 26 others died as a result.

Under the pretext of rooting out the so-called "Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party," Kang Sheng, in collaboration with Xie Fuzhi and others, framed and hounded large numbers of cadres and masses in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and sabotaged the unity between the various nationalities. On February 4, 1968, he said: "The Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party is still active underground. When we begin ferretting out its members, we may overdo it a bit, but we needn't be worried about that." On February 4, 1969, he said: "There are members of the Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party inside the army too. This is a very serious matter." At the instigation of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi, more than 346,000 cadres and other people in the region were framed and persecuted in the case of the "Inner Mongolian people's revolutionary party" and other false cases, and 16,222 persons were hounded to death.

Adventurous Henchman of Lin-Jiang Cliques

A host of facts pointing out Xie Fuzhi's crimes were brought to light at the trial of the other principal defendants in the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the court investigation by the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court.

It was Xie Fuzhi, former minister of public security and vice-premier of the State Council in charge of public security and judiciary work, who first called for "thoroughly smashing the old apparatus" of the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs during the turbulent decade of the "cultural revolution."



Xie Fuzhi's remarks, written on the report of the special group examining Wang Guangmei's case on February 26, 1968, reveal his collusion with Jiang Qing in persecuting Comrade Liu Shaoqi and his wife.

He sounded his call for smashing the old apparatus on August 7, 1967 at a meeting in the Ministry of Public Security. He then called for his speech being printed and circulated round the country.

This touched off a series of grave incidents such as breaking into and smashing public security and law-enforcement organs, seizing their case files, torturing personnel in these organs, and even breaking into prison and freeing prisoners.

Working hand in glove with Kang Sheng, Xie made false charges against his predecessor, Luo Ruiqing, alleging that Luo had headed a so-called "underground sinister ministry of public security." Xie Fuzhi also called 225 cadres of the Ministry of Public Security "renegades," "enemy agents," "counter-revolutionaries" and "capitalist-roaders." Forty-seven of them were arrested and imprisoned. With the exception of Xie Fuzhi himself and one vice-minister who held other posts concurrently, all the vice-ministers of the then Ministry of Public Security were arrested and jailed.

In Beijing, the trumped-up case of a "counter-revolutionary clique" in the municipal public security bureau was his doing. As a result, 1,600 people were persecuted, 72 of them sent to prison.

A rough count shows that 34,400 public security personnel in various parts of China were framed and persecuted during the "cultural revolution," of whom, 1,200 were hounded to death and 3,600 others injured or crippled.

Xie Fuzhi smeared the people's procuratorates as being "copied from the Soviet revisionists," the people's courts "taken over from the Kuomintang," and incited people to "go all out to destroy them." Large numbers of procuratorial and judicial workers, including Zhang Dingcheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and Yang Xiufeng, President of the Supreme People's Court, were thus framed and persecuted. The nation's public security, procuratorial and judicial organs and their functions were virtually paralysed at the time.

In the summer of 1966, when cases of "beating, smashing and looting" began to emerge shortly after the start of the "cultural revolution," Xie Fuzhi, as minister of public security, not only did nothing to stop them but, on the contrary, showed his approval. He told public security personnel that "things cannot be handled according to convention," that those guilty of beating people should not be arrested, and that "we should keep our hands off even when people are beaten to death." At the instigation of Xie Fuzhi and others, beating,

smashing and looting became common practice throughout the country, and public order was totally upset.

During the "cultural revolution," Xie Fuzhi was in charge of many special groups for the examination of framed cases which persecuted leading comrades. He instructed the working personnel to extort confessions by torture. Investigation shows that in one Beijing prison alone, 500 leading cadres at central and local levels were jailed from 1967 to 1971. Of these, 34 were tortured to death, 20 were disabled, and 60 others contracted a mental disorder as a result of torture.

In collusion with Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, during the ten catastrophic years, Xie Fuzhi took an active part in trumping up many cases including framing Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei, fabrication of a "61-member group of renegades" and brought false charges against Zhu De, Chen Yi, Li Fuchun and other Party and government leaders. He was also responsible for the death of Liu Shaoqi and other comrades. □

Democracy and Political Stability

This article outlines the progress which has been made in China's political reform in the last two years. It points out that China must chart its own course and that socialist democracy is a process of development which cannot be accomplished overnight. It stresses that democracy can only be institutionalized gradually on the basis of political stability.

THE Party's general task at the present stage is to build China into a powerful modern socialist nation with highly developed democracy and civilization. Without this democracy it will be impossible to unleash fully the initiative and creativeness of the masses and realize our socialist modernization. Therefore, in our attempt to accomplish the general task, we make the development and perfection of socialist democracy an important target.

Effective Measures

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, we have adopted and taken a series of important measures and steps to strengthen and develop socialist democracy.

Collective leadership has been strengthened in leading bodies at various levels and the tendency of individuals making arbitrary decisions has been opposed and corrected. Reforms have been introduced in the leadership system of the Party and state so as to change the over-concentration of power, and solve the problem of leading cadres holding too many posts concurrently and the lack of division of work between the Party and government. The abolishment of lifelong posts for leading cadres has been under consideration and reforms of the cadre system are being adopted. The

election of grass-roots cadres by the masses has been initiated.

The system of people's congresses has been strengthened by extending the scope of direct election of deputies to the county people's congresses and by establishing standing committees in local people's congresses at the county level and above as permanent organs. The system of elections has been improved and the practice of running only as many candidates as the number of deputies to be elected has been changed.

In the reform of the economic management system, we have enlarged the powers of the localities and grass-roots units. Enterprises and other units, including production teams in the rural areas, have been given more power to make their own decisions. We have reinstated and improved the trade unions as well as the congresses of workers and staff members, restored these organizations for democratic management and supervision, and strengthened democratic management and supervision in the enterprises and other undertakings.

We have enlarged and guaranteed the right of regional autonomy in areas inhabited by national minorities and their other democratic rights, strengthened the work to answer letters and receive visits from the people, developed criticism and self-criticism in newspapers and enhanced supervision by the people over the leading organs of the Party and government as well as their working personnel. In order to prevent and eradicate bureaucracy and unhealthy tendencies such as privilege-seeking among cadres, we have laid down basic principles and formulated regulations. We have strengthened the work of legislation and the administration of justice, enacted a number of important laws, including the Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure, and adhered to the principle of equality before the law.

All these are designed to guarantee people's democracy and enlarge the rights of the people to act as masters of the country. The Party Central Committee also suggested to the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress that the Constitution be revised. One of the purposes is to perfect the Constitution and guarantee the full enjoyment of the democratic and citizen's rights by the people. The N.P.C. session accepted this proposal and took appropriate action. Now work to revise the Constitution, to draft the civil law, the law of civil procedure and other laws is being carried on energetically.

From this it can be seen that, in the short space of two years since the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have done a lot of practical work to develop socialist democracy and that our country is marching steadily along the road of democratization.

A Process

Of course, our socialist democracy and socialist legal system are far from perfect. There is still a long way to go in order to realize a highly developed democracy. As in the case of modernization, achieving a highly developed democracy is also a process of development which is impossible to accomplish in one move.

First, the democracy we intend to develop will be socialist, not bourgeois. Socialist democracy gives people the real right to run the state as well as economic, cultural and educational undertakings, etc. The socialist system is in practice now, so is socialist democracy. There is no ready model of socialist democracy in the world which completely accords with the actual conditions of China for us to copy. Therefore, to develop socialist democracy in China, we can only proceed from China's reality, carry out investigations and research, sum up historical experiences, draw on experiences of other countries and break a new path of our own. To this end, we have to experiment, to create and to advance step by step in a down-to-earth manner.

Secondly, to improve socialist democracy, it is necessary to further reform the leadership system, the system of work and the organizational and management systems. This is no simple matter, because part of the existing system and structural formation was copied from foreign countries in the early days of New China when we lacked experience while the other part was taken from practices developed under the particular historical conditions of the revolutionary war years. Both parts have remained in force for many years and have become a habit. Moreover, the reforms of such systems as the cadre system and the leadership system at the grass-roots level involve many problems. Thus it is a complicated matter and cannot be handled in a perfunctory way. It is necessary to make full preparations, draw up feasible programmes and make experiments beforehand, and then put them into effect in an orderly way. Only thus, will confusion be avoided.

Thirdly, malpractices in the Party and state leadership system and other concrete systems have, more often than not, had something of a feudal character. China has a long history of feudalism, and the feudal vestiges cannot be overlooked. To eliminate these malpractices, it is necessary to conscientiously get rid of feudal vestiges from people's thinking. This cannot be completed overnight.

Clearly, it takes time to achieve socialist democracy. But such an admission cannot be used as an excuse to halt democratic reforms. On the contrary, we should proceed from reality and realize such reforms step by step. In the meantime, we should also surmount obstructions and difficulties, undertake a great deal of practical work, including ideological, organizational and legislative work, and make prolonged, arduous efforts. Although many difficulties exist in our country, the Party's determination to establish a highly developed socialist democracy can in no way be shaken. At present China has shifted the focus of its work to the readjustment of the national economy. Economic reforms which are advantageous to the readjustment, and political reforms as well, should be continuously carried out. The democratization of the political life will further unleash the enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses and be beneficial both to the economic readjustment and to the success of the four modernizations.

Stability and Unity — Essential Conditions

Political stability and unity are essential conditions for effecting these democratic reforms. Chaos cannot promote democracy and is detrimental to the nation's democratic reforms. The ten-year chaos did not promote socialist democracy, but, on the contrary, seriously harmed the existing imperfect socialist democracy and legal system.

After the downfall of the gang of four, the scope of people's democracy has been enlarged in a systematic way, and democracy has been gradually institutionalized by legislation. All this is possible because of the social and political conditions of stability and unity.

A handful of persons want chaos, want to repeat what was done in the "cultural revolution." They advocate "kicking away the Party committee to make revolution," making petitions, contacting others for concerted actions to realize their aims, issuing declarations and even going on strike for "democracy and

freedom." Some of them are the surviving forces of Lin Biao and the gang of four, and it is not strange that they want to create disturbances. We should pay attention to the fact that some people are either influenced by the "Leftist" thinking or the ideas of bourgeois freedom while others are influenced by both. Although such people are different in many ways, they share one thing in common: they cannot correctly comprehend the dialectical relationship between the development of democracy and the strengthening of Party leadership, democracy and centralism as well as freedom and discipline. Therefore, they place the two in opposition to each other.

It should be pointed out explicitly that democracy without the leadership of the Communist Party is not socialist democracy, but bourgeois democracy or anarchism. Although our socialist democracy is imperfect and still needs improvement, we must be careful not to supplant it with bourgeois democracy or anarchism. If we go in for bourgeois democracy after having established a socialist system for 30 years, we will be turning the clock backwards. People have endured untold suffering and detest anarchism—that is what Jiang Qing meant when she advocated "defy laws human and natural." Both bourgeois democracy and anarchism are against the interests and aspirations of the people. Whoever wants to whip up chaos in China, where the social order has been restored, under the pretext of "democracy" or other nice-sounding names will be isolated.

The shortcomings and mistakes of our Party in its work of giving leadership are an important reason why our socialist democracy and legal system have not reached their proper level. We have corrected and are continuing to correct our shortcomings and mistakes. The Party Central Committee regards the realization of a highly developed democracy as an important component of the general task for the new period. It has adopted a series of measures and done a great deal of effective work towards this end. As long as we closely rally around the Party Central Committee with one heart and one mind and make unremitting efforts, we can smoothly carry out the readjustment of the national economy, strengthen and develop the situation of stability and unity, gradually realize democratic reforms in the political life and victoriously push the socialist modernization drive forward.

(An abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 8.)

Dutch Government's Bad Decision

THE Dutch Government officially informed the Dutch Parliament on February 20 that it upheld the decision to grant licenses to the firm of Rijn-Schelde-Verolme to build two submarines for Taiwan. Earlier, on February 3, the second chamber of the Dutch Parliament had adopted the opposition motion tabled by Brinkhorst, Deputy of the Democrat's 66 Party, urging the government to rescind its decision.

The Dutch Prime Minister Van Agt in his letter to the Parliament claimed that it was merely a "business matter" between a private employer and a foreign client, and that his government's decision did not mean that it recognizes the regime of Taiwan, or pursues a "two Chinas" policy, or violates international law.

Lame Argument. When Sino-Dutch diplomatic relations were elevated to the ambassadorial level in 1972, the Dutch Government explicitly declared that it respects the Chinese Government's stand that Taiwan is a province of the People's Republic of China. The Dutch Government should be quite clear on this point. So when it refused to change its decision permitting the supply of two submarines to Taiwan, the Chinese Foreign Ministry handed a note to the Dutch side, asking for the downgrading of the two countries' diplomatic relations to charge d'affaires office level and proposed that the two sides conduct negotiations to this end.

Disregarding repeated representations and protests from

the Chinese side, the Dutch Government has now persisted in approving the sale of submarines to Taiwan. This grossly interferes in China's internal affairs and infringes on China's sovereignty. If China were to sell weapons to a certain region of the Netherlands to oppose the Dutch Government, would the Dutch Government consider that merely a "business matter"?

W.K. Schmelzer, the Dutch Foreign Minister in 1972 and now Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Christian Democratic Alliance of the Netherlands, points out: "We cannot justify ourselves in allowing the export of arms to an area which we only recognize as a province of China. I firmly believe that it is impermissible both by international law and from a political viewpoint."

Unpopular. The second chamber's motion shows how unpopular the decision is at home. Many Members of Parliament and people of all circles criticized the government for its "short-sighted and dangerous stand." Many eminent people wrote to the Dutch Government urging it to cancel the sale of submarines to Taiwan. Among them was Van Der Lauw, Mayor of Rotterdam where the Rijn-Schelde-Verolme firm is located. He appealed to the government to correct its mistake. The Dutch people have shown in many ways how they cherish friendly relations with the Chinese people and understand the stand of the Chinese Government.

The Dutch Deputy Prime Minister at a press conference

on February 20 announced the reasons for his government sticking by its decision: job opportunities, the legal obligation involved in the first decision and the trustworthiness of the Dutch Government's word. He even averred that benefits from the arms deal outweighed the losses arising therefrom. It is to be regretted that he did not go on to explain how the word of a country, which is not averse to infringing on the sovereignty of another country and which, in order to get more employment opportunities, backs down from solemn commitments undertaken in signing the communique on establishing bilateral relations, is to be believed.

Adverse Current. The Chinese people set great store on the friendly relations between the two countries and are unwilling to see a regression in their relations. But the matter has now become exactly what far-sighted people feared: For the sale involving a handful of U.S. dollars, the Dutch Government throws aside long-term friendly relations between the two countries and also ignores the larger issue of the preservation of world peace. This is unwise to say the least. It impairs the Netherlands' prestige and is not in the interests of the Dutch people.

It must be pointed out here that there is at present an adverse move in the world which would like to see the creation of "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan." The Dutch Government has spearheaded this adverse move and played an unenvied role. The consequences arising therefrom call for deep consideration.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang

Lao-Thai Border Incidents

THAILAND has once again sealed off its border with Laos in the wake of a series of shellings and shootings into Thai territory by Laotian troops since the beginning of February. On February 6 and 7, Laotian troops opened fire with heavy and light weapons on two border villages in Thailand's Nongkhay Province, wounding seven residents and two policemen and forcing 2,000 villagers to evacuate the area. A few days later, Laotian troops shelled another village, Thakratin, in the Srichiengmay District of Nongkhay Province, destroying 20 homes and other property. Since then the Vientiane and Hanoi authorities have been rapidly rushing in troops and armaments, including tanks, to the Laos-controlled islands of Sangr and Kan Pean in the Mekong River and building other military projects along the Lao-Thai border. The situation there remains very tense.

Officials in Thailand have charged that these military provocations were instigated by Hanoi. Vietnamese and Laotian troops have been stationed on the two previously mentioned islands since last year and reinforcements, including large amounts of weapons and ammunition, have been sent to them in the last few months. There is presently a full Vietnamese battalion on Sangr Island alone.

The recent border attacks are thus seen as a continuation of Hanoi's policy of military expansion and provocation that began in earnest with the attack on two Thai patrol boats on the Mekong River by Laotian

troops last June. The incidents are also considered a move by Viet Nam to threaten and encroach upon Thai territory, following its invasion of Kampuchea. Hanoi has reportedly included Thailand's 16 north-eastern provinces in its planned "Indochinese federation."

New Lao-Thai border incidents call attention to Vietnamese ambitions.

In addition, Thailand has repeatedly insisted that Vietnamese troops be withdrawn from Kampuchea in order to allow the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny; Thailand is therefore regarded by Hanoi as the main obstacle in its efforts to dominate the region. Hanoi is thus exercising various pressure tactics against Thailand:

- Military threat. The Vietnamese authorities have deployed substantial numbers of troops in Laos along the Lao-Thai border and have ordered the Laotian Government to provoke border conflicts. These actions are designed to force Thailand to abandon its just

stand against Vietnamese expansionism and to pave the way for a future invasion of Thailand.

- Smear campaign. Hanoi is waging an intense slander campaign against Thailand in an effort to turn public opinion against it. Following the recent Lao-Thai border clashes, Viet Nam accused Thailand of being "bellicose" and alleged that "Thai ruling circles nurture big-nation ambitions of incorporating Laos and Kampuchea into Thailand's sphere of influence."

- Sowing discord. The Vietnamese authorities are also seeking to create conflicts between Thailand and other ASEAN nations in an attempt to isolate and weaken Thailand.

Actually, the recent border incidents have not only brought loss of life and property to the Thai people, but added misery for the Laotian people as well. Since Thailand was forced to close the Thai-Lao border, prices have soared and many commodities have been in short supply in Laos' capital of Vientiane. Under the direction of Hanoi's aggressive policies, Laos has thus hurt itself.

— Ji Ying

Afghan Resistance Groups on Political Solution

Report From Islamabad

TALKS with members of Afghan resistance groups lead us to believe that minor differences exist in their attitude towards a political settlement, but on many major issues they have a common stand and a common view.

1. All the resistance groups stress the need to beware of Soviet attempts to induce countries concerned into recognizing the Babrak Karmal regime through a Soviet-inspired "political solution." For instance, the recent Soviet proposal that the Kabul regime hold talks respectively with Pakistan and

Iran. The resistance groups maintain that the Kabul regime does not represent the Afghan people. It was installed by the Soviet invaders and is nothing but an instrument of the Soviets to impose their rule on the country. The Afghan people do not recognize it, nor most countries of the world.

The resistance groups also stress that it is imperative for the genuine representatives of the Afghan people to sit in on the talks if a real political solution is to be attained, because it has a direct and vital bearing on the interests of the Afghan people. A spokesman of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan told us: "The Afghan issue cannot be solved without the participation of the freedom fighters." "Any plan which runs counter to the Afghan people's interests and the independence and sovereignty of the country is unacceptable."

2. The Soviet Union must pull all its troops out of Afghanistan. Representatives of the resistance groups point out that as the Afghan issue is the result of Soviet military intervention, the best and, in fact, the only solution is for the Soviet troops to quit Afghanistan. Soviet withdrawal is a primary condition for a political settlement. A leader of the Islamic Alliance maintains that a solution is impossible with the Soviet forces remaining in Afghanistan.

3. The resistance groups do not believe for a moment that the Soviet Union sincerely



Winter in Kabul.

Cartoon by Zhu Genhua

wants to see a political settlement to the Afghan issue. Their distrust stems from their experience. With almost 100,000 Soviet troops inside Afghanistan and Afghan people being killed every day by the invaders, anyone can see that the Soviet proposal for a political settlement is designed to consolidate Moscow's hold on Afghanistan.

4. The resistance groups have no illusions about a political settlement. While some of them are not opposed to efforts towards this end and others take a negative attitude, they

all believe that under present circumstances nothing can come from efforts to find a political solution. They point out that the Soviet Union has ignored all the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Islamic conference, which repeatedly pressed for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

For the past year the Afghan resistance groups have seen that talks and resolutions cannot drive out the Soviet invaders from their country, which is why they maintain that resolute action is necessary. The Afghan resistance groups all hold that while a political settlement is not to be ruled out, they must never relax their fight against the Soviet invaders on all fronts. They call on all peace-loving countries and people to continue to give them support and assistance, moral and material, to enable them to carry on their just struggle. At the same time they want the world to apply pressure on the Soviet Union to get it to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and leave the Afghan people free to solve their own problems.

— Xinhua Correspondents
Shen Yuqiang and Chen
Mouhua

World Oil Outlook

SINCE World War II petroleum has become the world's most important source of energy. It is not only the major raw material of the modern chemical industry, but also a vital resource strategically and militarily. In the last decade,

petroleum has assumed a growing significance in the common struggle of the world's developing countries against international monopoly capital. Petroleum has therefore become a key factor in current international political and economic

relations, and almost all the countries of the world pay great attention to it.

World Oil Crisis Ahead?

The exploitation of petroleum has a history of more than one hundred years, but only in recent times has the world become so heavily dependent on oil as an energy resource. Petroleum now accounts for 48 per cent and 45 per cent respectively of world energy production and consumption, and world consumption continues to grow faster than new reserves can be found. Basing their predictions on present levels of production and consumption, some petroleum experts fear that the world's oil reserves will be exhausted by the end of this century. Will such a worldwide energy crisis really occur?

By most estimates, the world's total proven oil deposits exploitable at present technical and economic levels amount to over 87 billion tons, recoverable in 28 years at the current rate of production. However these figures are only data for reference, because they only consider known deposits and the amount of oil which can be extracted from them under present conditions. New deposits will undoubtedly be discovered in years to come, thereby extending the time remaining before the world's oil supplies are exhausted.

Furthermore, continued development of the techniques of petroleum exploration and exploitation may en-

sure a more lasting supply of oil. The seismic method developed in the 1960s has played a major role in accelerating oil prospecting and exploration and facilitating accurate appraisal of oil reserves. Many petroleum experts feel that improving the percentage of oil recovery from known deposits through new technical methods will be the best way to extend the life of the world's oilfields and increase oil output. In the past, only 25 per cent of the oil in an average well was able to be recovered under existing technical levels. More recently, by injecting water or gas into underground oil reservoirs to maintain high levels of pressure, oil output was given an important boost. This procedure, called secondary recovery, raised the overall percentage of recovery from an average well to around 40 per cent. If new methods like this continue to be found, speed of petroleum exploration and the rate of its recovery may be further extended.

In addition, steps now being taken for the protection of oil resources by the oil-producing countries and the conservation of energy in general by the major consumer countries are conducive to the reasonable exploitation and use of petroleum; these will surely help to prolong the time of oil exploi-

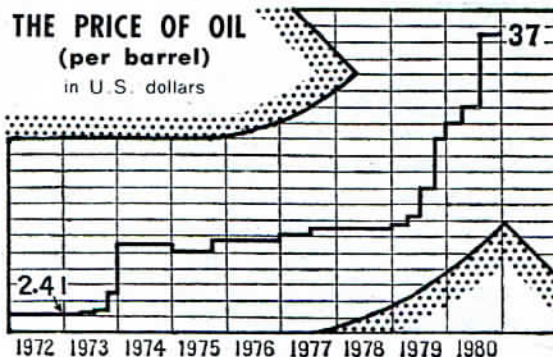
tation and consumption. Finally, the rapid development of energy alternatives such as coal, nuclear and solar energy will also lighten the pressure on the world's oil supply.

Relation Between Supplier And Consumer

Oil resources are not evenly distributed throughout the earth. The deposits in the Middle East alone account for more than 57 per cent of the world's total proven oil reserves. Furthermore, the world's deposits are mainly concentrated in a few major oilfields. Among the existing 30,000 oilfields today, 90 per cent have proved insignificant in their reserves, while 37 huge oilfields (including the Ghawar of Saudi Arabia, Burgan of Kuwait and Rumaila of Iraq) account for 51 per cent of the world's total proven reserves.

However, those countries commanding very large oil reserves, such as Mexico, Venezuela, Indonesia and countries in the Mideast and northwest Africa, consume very little oil; the developed countries, on the other hand, which have relatively small or no oil reserves, consume 80 per cent of the world petroleum output. This phenomenon of consumption divorced from production inevitably has an impact on the world's oil supply.

Since 1975, oil consumption has grown faster than the discovery of new oil deposits; the level of consumption rose 36 per cent between 1970 and 1979, while known oil deposits increased by only 20 per cent. In addition, the developed countries have become in-



creasingly dependent upon oil imports. The United States, for example, the world's largest oil-consuming country, was fundamentally self-sufficient in oil at the beginning of the 1970s. In less than ten years, however, it has become one of the largest oil importing countries. U.S. consumption averaged more than 800 million tons per year from 1975-79 (28 per cent of total world oil consumption); in 1979, U.S. imports of crude oil and oil products reached nearly 420 million tons, approximately 48 per cent of its total oil consumption. Moreover, the consumption of the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries and Japan has also grown by a big margin. All these factors have put more pressure on the world oil supply.

The scramble for oil resources by the world's superpowers has given rise to political instability in the oil-producing countries and regions. As a result of this instability in the Middle East, for example, highlighted most recently by the eruption of war between Iran and Iraq, the oil market is increasingly uncertain and prices continue to rise. Many countries, worried that

oil supplies may suddenly stop, are storing away large amounts of oil as a precautionary measure; such emergency supplies have reportedly reached nearly 680 million tons worldwide, sufficient for about three months at current levels of consumption. The war between Iraq and Iran has destroyed numerous oil installations and temporarily affected oil exports from the two countries, thus heightening world apprehensions and straining the oil supply even more.

Develop New Energy Resources

It is expected that the use of coal will grow in the next 20 years. But the conversion to new forms of energy will require time and, though the proportion of petroleum consumption to other energy sources will decrease, it will nevertheless remain the primary source of energy for some time. Of course, petroleum is an unrenovable energy resource that ultimately will be exhausted. Hence development and exploitation of new energy alternatives is an increasingly imperative task facing the world today.

— Cai Tianchang

Uranium Rush

SINCE the discovery of atomic energy, there has been a rush for uranium similar to the gold rushes on the North American continent in the last century. But, paradoxically, uranium prices are currently plummeting on the world market, even though there is an energy crisis. Why?

The major cause is a surplus of uranium at existing nuclear power stations. A secondary factor is that governments are more hesitant to build plants (except for France) because more accidents have bred greater negativism among environmental protectionists. Only a few nuclear power stations

were constructed in the latter half of the 1970s as the overall bleak economic picture in the West discouraged investments. Meanwhile, the market became glutted with uranium as more and more big uranium mines were being discovered in Africa, South America, Australia and Canada. Uranium prices dropped and there is not much likelihood that they will rise substantially in the next few years.

From a long-term view, however, the uranium resources are inadequate. Present deposits of 1.85 million tons (includes only those uranium mines in the West whose deposits are economically profitable to exploit) will last 15 or 20 years and new uranium mines require at least 15 years to develop for exploitation. Therefore, it is this overall picture which has spurred the rush for uranium in spite of the drop in prices.

With an eye to the future, some countries are now exploring for new mines while reducing their production of uranium. Some big exploration companies in France, the world's second largest uranium consumer and a heavy importer of the mineral, have joint ventures with practically all the world's uranium-producing countries.

Thus, Western countries are confronted with the dilemma of having to reduce present uranium production in the face of sluggish consumption while having to spend huge sums on mine exploration. Furthermore, fear of future shortages has prompted some countries to begin scrambling for uranium.

— Liao Xianwang

RADIO PLAYS

An Enthusiastic Response

Radio plays have not been eclipsed by the rapid growth of the TV industry, as some had suspected, but rather continue to enjoy tremendous popularity. This was shown when the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Beijing ran a special series for the month of January to herald the new year. Beginning on New Year's Day, a new play was broadcast every noon or evening. The 30 selections, which represented the best productions of local radio stations throughout the country in 1980, displayed as good characterization, music, themes and plot development as most plays appearing on TV or in the theatre.

Real life stories provided the raw material for more than half the works. For instance, the Shanghai production of *Rifts* shows the harm caused to the socialist revolution and

construction by an ultra-Left line in the late 1950s. Many misunderstandings — rifts — developed among colleagues, friends and lovers as well as within families. Today, these wounds are beginning to heal. The play also demonstrates the great confidence, enthusiasm and strength the victims feel for the revolutionary cause. Many people commented that the message was fresh and relevant, but some thought the cast was too big.

Bank Check, a radio comedy that was particularly liked for its music, concerns some country people who erroneously equate getting rich with advocating capitalism. Because of a new comparatively flexible policy in the rural areas, a peasant is able to earn 1,000 yuan, which he gets in the form of a bank check. So much money makes him anxious and also arouses the concern of his neighbours. Originally produced in Hunan Province, this play contains elements of local folk



Radio play actors on the air.

opera art, has a concise plot and is simple in style.

A number of historical plays were included in the month-long national programme. For instance, the *Great Historian Sima Qian* depicts the life of Sima Qian, a great scholar of 2,000 years ago. He was persecuted by the emperor for his frank criticism, but still was able to finish his great work *Records of the Historian*. Other important historical figures who were portrayed in these radio plays include General Zheng Chenggong, who led the struggle in Taiwan 300 years ago against the Dutch invaders; the painter Ni Zan in the 14th century; the engineer Zhan Tianyou, who successfully built railways under difficult conditions in the latter part of the 19th century; the excellent modern composer Nie Er; the hero Gada Meilin of the Mongolian nationality; and Marshal Peng Dehuai, who in his later years suffered from persecution (based on the reminiscences of his bodyguard). Still another historical play concerns events at the Dunhuang Mural Caves in the 1920s.

Another popular play was *Three Children Visit Snake Island*. A children's play, it is



Directors and performers discussing a play.

taken from a true story of children visiting an island to discover the secrets of the animal world without the knowledge of their parents and teachers.

Foreign plays were also included in the series. One was an adaption from a novel by Chekhov; others were based on an American film, a Hungarian drama and a Japanese work.

The 30 plays presented elicited much interest from their listeners. A miner in north China, for example, wrote that listening to the radio plays was one of the most enjoyable things he and his family had done in the new year. Articles were also carried in the press describing what it was like to produce the first radio plays in Shanghai in the late 1930s.

When the radio play workers met last December to select the plays for the series, they also established the China Radio Play Association for the purpose of encouraging a greater exchange of radio plays throughout the country and abroad.

METEOROLOGY

Use of "Fuzzy Mathematics" Explored

The application of "fuzzy mathematics" in meteorology has proved initially useful in studying China's agricultural climate in order to determine the best areas for growing specific crops.

The theory was put forward in 1965 by L.A. Zadeh, an American cyberneticist, for the study of phenomena that conventional mathematical methods could not explain. It has since been described as "a step towards a rapprochement between the precision of classical mathematics and the pervasive imprecision of the real world."

On conventional mathematical graphs, agricultural climatic zones appear with sharp boundaries, taking no account of the actual unsharp, transitional boundaries between them. But when two Chinese women meteorologists used the "fuzzy" system to assess the potential for growing rubber in some areas of south China, their results tallied with those gathered on the spot. One of the women commented: "By using 'fuzzy mathematics' only one calculation is necessary to judge the suitability of areas for growing rubber trees. We applied fuzzy multifactor evaluations to the study of the three most important factors — the lowest annual temperature, the average annual temperature and the average annual wind velocity. If we had used ordinary mathematical methods, we would have had to calculate the three factors one by one and draw a graph for each calculation. Then the three graphs would have been put together, with the overlapping parts constituting the best places for rubber trees. Such a procedure is very complicated and not very reliable."

She also used the new method to compare the agricultural climate of Fukuoka, an important orange-growing centre in Japan, with that of many places in China. Her results indicated Changsha's climate is the most similar.

The two meteorologists also experimented with "fuzzy mathematics" to make retrospective estimates of the wheat harvests for 1974, 1975 and 1976 in the suburbs of Shanghai. These also tallied with the actual harvests, they reported.

Other Chinese scientists are now using "fuzzy mathematics" for analysing agricultural climatic resources, and for the

petroleum and chemical industries, telecommunications, medical science and weather forecasting.

EARTHQUAKE FORECAST

Natural Indicators

Observation of abnormal phenomena in underground water and gases may become an important means of predicting earthquakes, according to Chinese seismologists.

Data from some 60 earthquakes in China since 1966 (including seven registering more than seven points on the Richter scale) indicate that before a quake, underground water levels lower and then rise, sometimes the water even gushes from nearby wells. At the same time, ground water temperatures and pressure also change.

The data also show that chemical elements dissolved in ground water have varied reactions prior to a quake. The densities of radon, hydrogen and many other gases increase, and in some areas concentrations of fluorine, chlorine, and calcium ions also rise. In live fault zones where there is a high concentration of stress, the densities of some gases in the soil increase sharply.

These findings have already led to some success in the past few years in predicting earthquakes. Warnings based on underground water and gas changes have helped forecast three major quakes in 1975 and 1976 that shook parts of Liaoning, Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces, allowing residents time to take proper precautions beforehand.

New Material for Students of Chinese

Elementary Chinese Readers
(explanations in Chinese and
English, four volumes)

《基础汉语课本》

Edited by Beijing Languages
Institute,

Published by Foreign Lan-
guages Press,

Renminbi: Book One 2.50 yuan,
Book Two 2.25 yuan, Book
Three 2.40 yuan, Book Four
2.60 yuan.

A new and improved version of *Elementary Chinese Readers*, which was originally compiled for foreign students studying Chinese language at the Beijing Languages Institute, has recently been issued. It includes four books with tapes and two character exercise books for Book One and Book Two. This set of books provides English explanations which make it easy to understand and which take into account beginners' difficulties in learning Chinese.

The four tones (一、二、三、四) in the Chinese language are quite troublesome to foreigners. To help them, there are tone drills for each word in the first ten lessons. From lesson 11 on in Book One and Book Two, a tone mark is given for every character in the text, including the substitution drills.

Another common headache for foreigners is learning to write ideographs. Two tables, *Basic Strokes of Chinese Characters and Rules of Stroke-Order of Chinese Characters*,

are provided in the first lesson. In addition, each succeeding lesson in the first two books contains a table which shows the stroke-order of every new word that appears in the text, enabling students to learn some basic rules for writing Chinese characters. For their convenience, the first time a simplified Chinese character appears, the original complicated form is given in the stroke-order table of that lesson.

The exercise books for writing characters are compiled on the basis of traditional Chinese teaching methods. Beginners first master basic strokes and the rules of stroke-order; they trace each stroke of a character and then write characters in squares. There are a total of 480 Chinese characters in the two books. Foreigners can master the skills of writing in a correct way if they follow the instructions in the books.

Although the student of Chinese does not have to be concerned with cases, tenses, gender and agreement, he or she must give considerable care to word order. *Elementary Chinese Readers* provides substitution drills to help beginners learn sentence structure, word order and grammatical rules. In addition, new sentence patterns are repeated. Major grammatical points are explained concisely in the grammar section in Chinese and English.

Another feature of this set is that much space is devoted to review exercises. In the first three books, practice exercises

are provided after each lesson. After every three lessons, there is a review lesson containing important sentences, words, expressions, grammatical points and characters.

Book Four contains 15 short articles which review materials in the first three books, enlarging vocabulary and raising the students' ability to use them. There are more than 100 example sentences with common words and expressions, particularly those which are difficult for foreigners to use, including some function words and 18 groups of synonyms.

One disappointing feature of this set is that the texts in the first three books are almost all about school life. Only a few of the lessons cover daily life and society. Beginning students may also be bothered by the failure to provide *pinyin* for many of the sentences in the first two books.

The *Readers* contains 90 fundamental sentence patterns, 1,600 common expressions and 1,050 common Chinese characters. Upon finishing the four books, students can converse with Chinese people and read written materials with the help of a dictionary. They have acquired a good foundation for further study. This set will also be available in French, Spanish and German by the end of this year. In order to help foreigners improve their Chinese, the Foreign Languages Press will be publishing *Teachers' Guide for Elementary Chinese Readers*, *Selection of Stories of Chinese Idioms* and *Selection of Works by Famous Chinese Writers*.

— Li Ping

1980 Best Sellers

Investigation Into Problems of China's Socialist Economy, a special study by the noted economist Xue Muqiao, sold 2.1 million copies, disclosed the Xinhua Bookstore.

Be a Qualified Communist and *Days With Commander Peng Dehuai* were also best-sellers. Peng Dehuai, Minister of National Defence in the 50s, was persecuted to death during the "cultural revolution."

Others at the top of the popularity list were: *General Family Encyclopaedia* and *Medical Advice to Families* (combined total, 6.63 million copies); the classical novel *Pilgrimage to West* and *The Biography of Yue Fei* (combined total, 3.35 million); a selection of short stories by the famous contemporary writer Mao Dun; *C.I.D. Superintendent*, a detective story by a young writer, Wang Yaping, and *Selected Novels From Taiwan*.

Books also selling extremely well were Chinese translations of Romain Rolland's *Jean-Christophe*, Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* and Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, as well as foreign science fictions in translation.

New Books

• *Yearbook of Chinese Publications (1980)*, the first major reference book on publication work in China, has been recently released by the Commercial Press. This valuable research aid provides a list of more than 2,700 books published in China last year, most of them supplemented with brief summaries of their contents. Major works are introduced and discussed at length in another section of the

book. Comprehensive lists and information, including addresses, are also supplied for the 1,100 newspapers and periodicals circulated publicly in China as well as for all of the country's major publishers and presses.

• *Industrial and Commercial Enterprises of China*, the first book of its kind, will be published this year by the Xinhua Press and circulated at home and abroad. Aimed at helping understanding and production exchanges among enterprises, the book will introduce industrial and commercial enterprises throughout the country, their products and services and the way to make contact with them.

The Xinhua Press is now busy collecting material on the country's more than 10,000 major enterprises, as well as editing articles on various sectors of the national economy. Economic laws and related materials and a chronicle of Chinese economic history from 1949 to 1980 will also be included for reference.

• *The Complete Dictionary of Chinese Calligraphy*, edited jointly by the Guanghua Press and the Xianggang (Hongkong) C & W Publishing Co., will soon be published. A collection of photocopies of original handwriting by 360 famous calligraphers of various dynasties will be given, including more than 47,000 Chinese characters.



MIDNIGHT

by Mao Dun (Mao Tun)

MIDNIGHT, one of the most famous novels of the celebrated contemporary Chinese writer Mao Dun, is set in the 1930s when China was still a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. The central figure in the story is Wu Sunfu, an industrial capitalist in Shanghai, which was at that time the industrial and commercial centre of China. From Wu Sunfu's story one can see that, under the pressure of imperialist economic aggression and the rule of warlords and bureaucrats, those members of China's national bourgeoisie who were hostile to the Communist Party and the people had no alternative but to submit to the compradore-bourgeoisie and come to terms with the forces of feudalism. The writer describes in vivid detail how Wu Sunfu colludes with reactionary politicians, swallows up smaller competitors and ruthlessly fleeces the workers and suppresses their strikes, and how he goes bankrupt after his unsuccessful gambles on the Stock Exchange. Through the story of Wu Sunfu the reader is shown the ruthless ferocity of the compradore-financial capitalists, the dissipated, decadent life of the propertied classes, and the restless ennui of the young men and women of the urban petty bourgeoisie. All through the book, sidelights are thrown on the rise and fall of the tide of revolution both in the cities and in the countryside.

Since its publication in 1933 "Midnight" has enjoyed immense popularity in China. It is generally agreed by contemporary critics that "Midnight" has played a vital pioneer part in the development of revolutionary realism in China.

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*Humour
In China*



No one can take away my right to sleep!

- Hua Junwu



Bumpy break-up.

- Tang Xiaoding



- Liu Qingtao

Wang Fuzi

- Li Shimin



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