

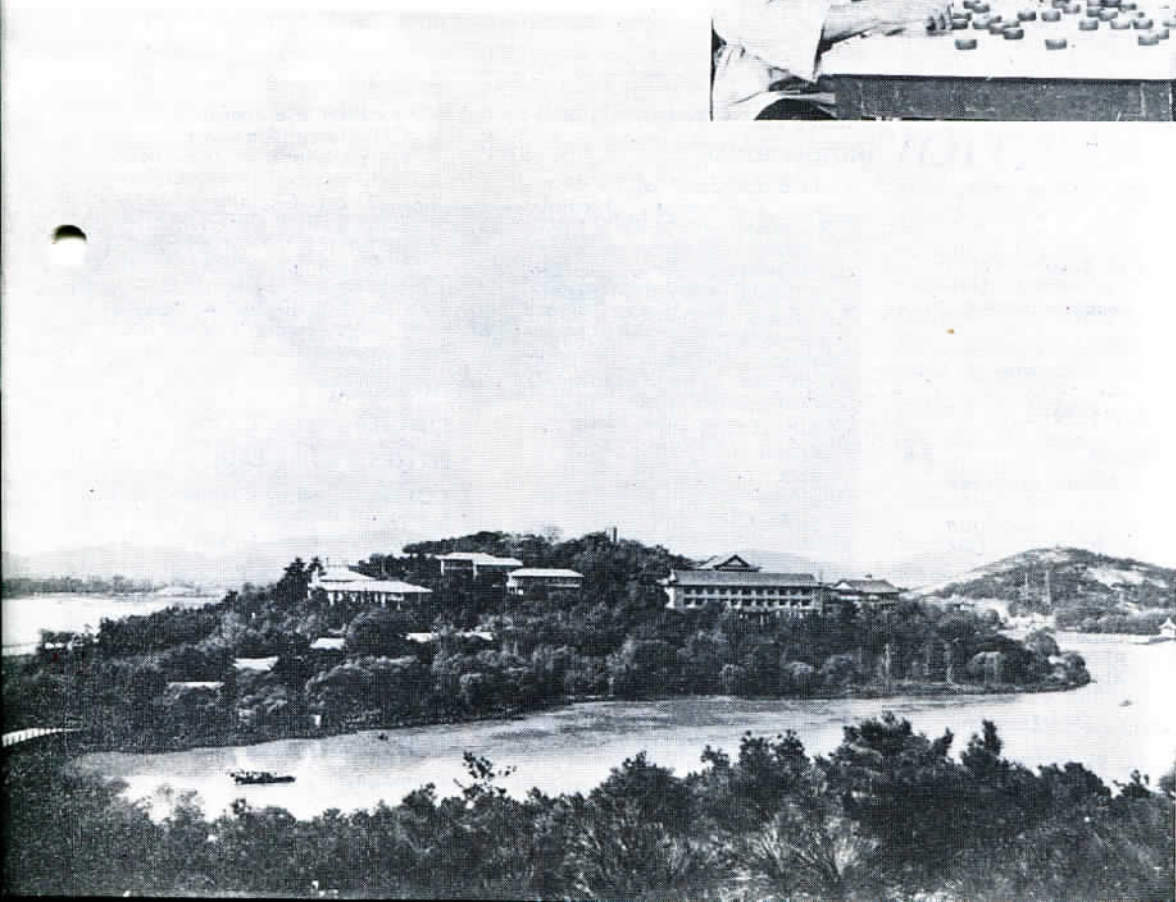
No. 18 May 5, 1980

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Premier Hua Answers Questions
- China's Stand on U.S.-Iranian Dispute
- Trade Unions in China



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Hua Answers Questions

The Premier dwells on major international and domestic topics in responding to questions by Japanese journalists (p. 3).

On U.S.-Iranian Dispute

China expresses regret over U.S. rescue operation, and hopes that the Iranian Government will release the American hostages in accordance with the norms of international relations. Rash actions will harm both the United States and Iran and are sure to play into the hands of Moscow (p. 4 and p. 10).

Bandung Spirit Lives on

In a world threatened by hegemonist aggression, the Bandung spirit of unity against imperialism is still very relevant (p. 9).

On "How to Be a Good Communist"

Liu Shaoqi's famous book, much vilified during the Cul-

tural Revolution, is now presented as it really is, along with background information on how it was written, what role it played in the education of Chinese Communists, and why Lin Biao and the gang of four opposed it. (p. 15).

China's Trade Unions

Answers by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to questions from our readers. They deal with the functions of the Chinese trade unions, requirements for union members, attitudes towards strikes, etc. (p. 25).

What's on the Minds of Young People

Views of 482 young Beijing workers: their hopes and troubles, their likes and dislikes (p. 27).

Survey on Cancer Mortality

Roughly one million cancer cases are diagnosed and 700,000

die from cancer in China each year. The survey shows some revealing trends (p. 29).

Xinjiang Murals

Ancient cave murals from Xinjiang where Chinese art merged with the arts of India, Central Asia and even Rome and Greece to form a unique painting style (p. 29).

A Philatelist's Delight

A current Beijing exhibition of stamps issued after the founding of the People's Republic, in the revolutionary bases during pre-liberation years and in old China (p. 27).



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Published in English, French, Spanish, Japanese, German and Arabic editions

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COVER: Many sanatoriums have been set up for the workers in various parts of the country.
Upper Right: Inmates of the Taiyangdao Workers' Sanatorium in Harbin playing chess.
Below: The Taihu Workers' Sanatorium in Wuxi, east China.

Published every Monday by
BEIJING REVIEW, Beijing (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People's Republic of China

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Premier Hua Meets Japanese Journalists

Premier of the State Council Hua Guofeng told Japanese journalists on April 21 that the Chinese Government and he himself attach great importance to his trip to Japan in May. He expressed the hope that his visit will strengthen understanding, develop friendship and expand co-operation.

He pointed out that as the world situation in the 80s will be even more turbulent and tense, the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between China and Japan is beneficial not only to the two peoples, but also to the cause of peace in Asia, the Pacific region and the world as a whole.

The Japanese journalists who met Premier Hua that day were members of the Japanese Journalists' Delegation, the Japanese Press Club Delegation,

the Reporting Group of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (N.H.K.) and Japanese journalists residing in Beijing.

Premier Hua answered a number of questions and made the following points during the meeting.

Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. The Afghan issue must be solved according to the U.N. resolution. The Soviet Union must unconditionally pull out its troops from Afghanistan and let the Afghan people solve their own problems without outside interference. If the Soviet Union should refuse to withdraw its troops, all the countries and people in the world who love peace and uphold justice have the right to condemn the Soviet invasion and to support the Afghan people morally and materially.

Sino-Soviet Relations. China is faced with a serious threat from the Soviet hegemonists. In the north, the Soviet Union has deployed a million troops along the Sino-Soviet border, including the stationing of large

numbers of troops in Mongolia. In the south, the Soviet Union supports Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea and Laos and continuous trouble-making along the Chinese border. In the west, the Soviet Union has now openly sent troops to invade Afghanistan. Sino-Soviet relations cannot improve as long as the Soviet Union's hegemonist policy remains unchanged.

Situation in Indochina. Tension on the Indochinese Peninsula has been created entirely by Viet Nam. The key to a solution of the problem is that Viet Nam must give up its ambition of rigging up an Indochinese federation, withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and Laos, stop its aggression there and abandon its expansionist schemes against Southeast Asia.

Situation on the Korean Peninsula. The divided state of Korea for such a long period is a legacy of war and is very abnormal. The 50 million Korean people long for the early reunification of their fatherland. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the stand of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for solving the Korean issue through independent and peaceful reunification. (Premier Hua noted that the Premiers of both north and south Korea had agreed to a personal meeting, and he expressed the hope that the meeting would produce positive results.)

Rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. It is the common aspiration of all the comrades of the Party and the people of the whole country to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi. It shows that the Chinese Communist Party adheres to the principle of seeking truth from facts and



Premier Hua Guofeng meets Japanese journalists.

correcting mistakes whenever they are discovered, which is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is precisely an effort to restore Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system and revive the fine traditions of the Party.

Cultural Revolution. Chairman Ye Jianying of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress made an initial appraisal of the Cultural Revolution last year in his speech at the meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. A more comprehensive and more systematic summing-up will be made at an appropriate time in the future.

Premier Hua Guofeng told the Japanese journalists that China was working out a long-term plan for developing the national economy, adding that "China hopes to further develop and expand economic and trade relations with Japan in the course of realizing the four modernizations." He expressed the belief that there are broad prospects for economic co-operation between the two countries in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and supplying each other's needs.

China Hopes U.S. and Iran Will Peacefully Solve Differences

After breaking off diplomatic relations and applying sanctions against Iran, the U.S. Government sent aircraft to Iran on April 25 to rescue the American hostages there.

The spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs said in a statement on April 27:

"The problem of the American hostages has remained unsolved for half a year now. It not only causes the anxiety of the American people but also arouses wide international concern. We have always hoped, and we still hope, that the Iranian Government will, in accordance with the principles of international relations, release the American hostages as soon as possible. However, we also consider that the U.S. Government's sanctions against Iran and its operation to rescue the hostages in violation of Iran's territorial integrity and sovereignty are not helpful towards a solution, but would rather worsen the situation. We express regret at such U.S. actions. We hope that the U.S. and the Iranian sides will both abide by the norms of international relations, act with prudence and restraint and try to solve their differences through peaceful consultation, so that no opportunity may be given to people who have ulterior motives."

China to Boycott Moscow Olympics

The Chinese Olympic Committee (C.O.C.) held a plenary session on April 24 and decided not to send athletes to the 22nd Olympic Games in Moscow if the Soviet authorities refuse to respect the noble ideals of the Olympic movement and withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan before May 24.

Chinese athletes and physical culture workers have always supported the principles of the Olympics. After the restoration of the legitimate rights of the C.O.C. in the International Olympic Committee, Chinese athletes took part in the 13th Winter Olympic Games and they have been vigorously training and making preparations for

the 22nd Olympic Games. But, as a member of the third world and a close neighbour of Afghanistan, China naturally cannot tolerate such action as the armed invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, the host country of the coming Summer Olympics, which threatens peace and violates the spirit of the Olympic movement.

The decision made by the C.O.C. fully reflects the just stand of the Chinese people and athletes who resolutely oppose the acts of the Soviet hegemonists.

The C.O.C. stressed at the plenary session that it will, always, strengthen its co-operation with the International Olympic Committee and make contributions to the development of sports the world over. It will also send sportsmen to take part in the pre-Olympic trials held outside the Soviet Union.

Vice-Premier Chen Muhua Visits Five African Countries

Vice-Premier Chen Muhua paid a visit to Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal, Mauritania and Algeria from March 15 to April 23. Her visit has promoted the friendly co-operation between China and these countries and strengthened the friendship between their people.

In Tunisia. During her eight-day stay in Tunisia, the Chinese Vice-Premier was received by President Habib Bourguiba on two occasions. She discussed current international issues, especially those in Africa, Middle East and Asia, with Mohamed Mzali, Minister of National Education currently in charge of co-ordination of government activities on behalf

of the Tunisian President. Ways and means of strengthening bilateral co-operation were also discussed.

In Morocco. The friendship and co-operation between China and Morocco have developed further in recent years. During her eight-day visit in Morocco, Vice-Premier Chen Muhua exchanged views with Moroccan Prime Minister and Minister of Justice Maati Bouabid on international questions of common concern and bilateral relations of co-operation. Chen Muhua said that the further strengthening and development of the friendship and co-operation between China and Morocco completely conform to the common desire of the two peoples and the interests of world peace.

In Senegal. This was the first visit by a Chinese leader to Senegal since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1971. When President L.S. Senghor met Vice-Premier Chen Muhua on April 3, he stressed the importance of developing co-operation between Senegal and China. He said that the two countries have points in common on the basis of which they can further develop their relations of co-operation.

In Mauritania. Vice-Premier Chen Muhua paid a seven-day visit to Mauritania. When Chairman of the Military Committee of National Salvation and Chief of State of Mauritania Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidella met with the Vice-Premier on April 7, he expressed the hope that the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries will be further developed in all fields.

In Algeria. Vice-Premier Chen Muhua paid a three-day visit to Algeria. Chadli Benjedid, Algerian President and General Secretary of the Party of the National Liberation Front, received Vice-Premier Chen Muhua on April 22. In their talks, both President Chadli and Vice-Premier Chen expressed the desire to develop further the friendly co-operation between the two countries. President Chadli said: "To strengthen our friendly co-operation in all fields is in keeping with the aspirations and interests of the people of our two countries."

Deng Meets Algerian Delegation

Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, on April 21 met with a visiting delegation of the Party of the National Liberation Front of Algeria led by Lakhdar Brahimi, Member of the Party's Central Committee.

Vice-Chairman Deng expressed the hope that the Arab countries would strengthen their unity. He said that if the 120 million Arab people really get united, they will become a force of great weight in the world.

Speaking of bilateral relations, Vice-Chairman Deng said that the two Parties and the two countries had grown up in protracted armed struggles and that relations between them had always been good.

The leader of the Algerian delegation said that Algeria would make every effort to maintain and develop the solid friendship between Algeria and China forged during the protracted arduous struggles.

ECONOMIC

Zhao Ziyang on Economic Reform

In a speech at an enlarged session of the Sichuan provincial Party committee held last March, Zhao Ziyang emphasized studying the new problems arising from the present economic reform. He said that economic work should be done in a flexible way and that the economy should move ahead steadily.

Zhao Ziyang is a Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and a newly appointed Vice-Premier of the State Council.

He said that, over the past year, economic work has been done in a flexible way, with notable results. However, new problems have arisen. In the wake of increased independence on the part of the enterprises and through the use of the regulatory role of the market, contradictions have emerged between that part of the economic structure which has undergone initial reforms and the other parts which remain unchanged.

With economic work done in a flexible way, illegal activities may emerge, such as speculation and profiteering, shoddy work and the use of inferior material, at the expense of the interests of state and other enterprises.

The new contradictions and problems, Zhao Ziyang said, need careful study and prompt solution, and the country should press ahead with the economic reform. Specifically, the Vice-Premier stated the following:



Left: A P.L.A. factory in Hunan producing sewing-machines and other products which are in great demand on the market. Right: A winery in Tianjin turning out various kinds of alcoholic beverages.

— Since enterprises now have large amounts of funds at their disposal, guidance is necessary to achieve the maximum economic results and to see that the funds are not spent blindly.

— Defects in the price policy have caused the profits of various types of enterprises to vary considerably. For instance, the processing industries make a greater amount of profit than the raw material, fuel and agricultural machinery industries. This calls for a gradual readjustment of the price policy.

— It is encouraging that many enterprises now pay more attention to the needs of the market. But if too many enterprises vie with each other in producing the same kind of goods in great demand on the market, such duplication in production will cause a great waste of labour. Guidance should therefore be given to planning so as to avoid blindness in production and management.

— Small enterprises in the same trade should be amalgamated into specialized companies with a major enterprise as the core.

— The role of big industrial cities should be brought into full play. For example, Shanghai has established a number of trans-provincial joint companies

with neighbouring provinces, with the industrial centre providing technology and the provinces furnishing raw materials and labour. This is a good method and is helpful to establishing economic ties between the big cities on the one hand and the small and medium-sized cities on the other, and between the factories in the big cities and county- or commune-run enterprises.

— Regarding bonuses, the principle of “to each according to his work” must be upheld, and both absolute equalitarianism and indiscriminate bonus distribution must be opposed.

Zhao Ziyang emphasized that economic work should be done in a flexible way along with strict discipline. There is nothing to fear when we recognize the fact that enterprises have their own economic interests, for this is the inner economic dynamic force that brings the initiative and creativeness of an enterprise into play.

However, he noted, the government departments should be adept at using economic levers, coupled with necessary administrative measures, to check activities that deviate from the socialist road and to integrate the interests of the enterprises

with those of the state and society.

Light Industry Leads The Way

For a long time, light industry was a weak link in China's national economy, and its development lagged behind heavy industry. Now things have changed. Last year, the total output value of light industry increased 9.6 per cent over that of 1978, surpassing the 7.7 per cent increase of heavy industry.

In the first quarter of this year, light industrial production continued its upward swing by a big margin. Its total output value increased 20.95 per cent over that of the same period last year, higher than the average increase of 13.8 per cent for industry as a whole. The output of 15 major light industrial products, including paper, sugar, cigarettes, sewing machines and wrist-watches, reached a post-liberation record high.

Readjustment of the major imbalances in the development of the national economy began soon after the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee, which was held towards the end of 1978. The accumulation rate, which was too high in the past,

dropped to 32 per cent last year, and the scale of capital construction for heavy industry was reduced, while the production of consumer goods and improvement of the people's livelihood now occupy an important place on the agenda. Such readjustment has created favourable conditions for speeding the development of light industry.

Some specialists hold that the ideal accumulation rate for China is 25 per cent. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), it was 24.2 per cent. At that time, the development of the various branches of the national economy was fairly well proportioned and the total output value of industry and agriculture increased at an average rate of 10.9 per cent a year. In the years that followed, the rate of accumulation was raised very quickly, reaching 39.6 per cent in 1960. As a result, the proportionate development of the national economy was destroyed and economic growth slowed down.

These facts show that Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis that more attention should be given to developing light industry, as

was expounded in his *On the Ten Major Relationships* in 1956, is entirely correct.

Readjustment of the national economy has now entered its second year. The State Economic Commission has decided to give support to facilitate the quick development of light industry in the following ways: ensure the supply of raw materials, fuel and power; take measures to tap latent potential and step up technical innovation and transformation; carry out capital construction; extend bank loans; supply foreign exchange to introduce advanced technology from abroad; improve transport and communications. The funds the state allocates to light industry this year greatly exceed the amount for last year.

Recently, at the national conference of directors of bureaus of light industry, experiences were exchanged on how to quicken the development of light industry, and ways and means were discussed on making better use of the favourable conditions provided by the state to develop production so as to meet the demands of the people and accumulate more funds for

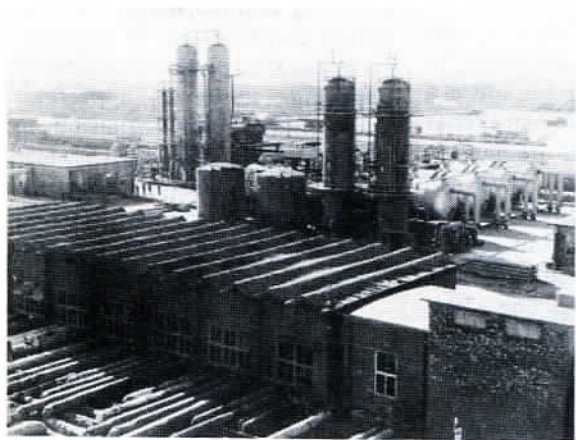
the state. *Renmin Ribao* carried an editorial on the conference, calling on the whole Party to pay more attention to light industry.

Statistics show that the profit and revenue from light industry last year accounted for about 19 per cent of the total state revenue, and foreign exchange earned through export of light industrial products was 22 per cent of the total. There is no doubt that light industry will play a bigger role this year.

Modernization March

• **Renqiu Oilfield.** North China's Renqiu Oilfield, opened four years ago, produced over 10 million tons of crude oil last year, one-tenth of the nation's total output.

The oilfield covers an area of more than 200 square kilometres. Zha Quanheng, the chief geologist of the oilfield, said that there are more than 40 oil pools on its eastern and western fringes and 85 per cent of them have high yields. New oil discoveries have also been made near Beijing and Tangshan, all in the Meso-Cenozoic sedimentary basins beneath the



Left: A big crude oil pumping station in the Renqiu Oilfield.
Right: Technicians of the oilfield processing data.

north China plain. The average daily output per well in these "buried-hill" oilfields now exceeds 600 tons, 20 times the output of a well in areas with a sandstone formation.

The No. 11 well now produces 2,053 tons of oil per day. There are several such high-yielding wells in the Renqiu Oilfield.

• **New Device for High Pressure Tests.** China succeeded in making a new device for very high pressure tests. It can be used in testing how much pressure rocks can stand. It is valuable for planning dam construction, studying earthquake-prone areas and for other purposes.

When a rock specimen is put into the device, the pressure from three directions can be raised to 10,000 atmospheres, which is equivalent to the pressure 30 kilometres below the earth's surface.

The Geophysics Research Institute under the National Seismological Bureau and the Shanghai Dalong Machinery Plant co-operated in making the device.

Von Karman of Germany first invented such a device in 1919. The maximum pressure he worked on was 3,260 atmospheres. In the 1960s scientists abroad began to make devices with pressures up to 10,000 atmospheres and more. At that time, China could only make such devices with pressures up to 1,500 atmospheres.

POLITICAL

Study Lenin's Economic Theory

To mark the 110th anniversary of the great revolutionary teacher Lenin's birth (April 22),

theoretical workers in Beijing gathered together to discuss his theory on socialist economic construction.

On April 15, the China Society for Studying the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the Beijing Society of Scientific Socialism held a forum to honour the memory of Lenin.

Theoretical workers taking part in the forum reviewed Lenin's theory on socialist economic construction and his activities in connection with China's experience and lessons over the last 30 years. They were of the opinion that many of Lenin's teachings still hold good today and can serve as a guide for China's construction.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin stressed the importance of socialist economic construction time and again. He pointed out that after the proletariat had seized political power, its most important and fundamental interest lay in increasing production and raising the social productive forces. Failing this, the labouring people would not be able to free themselves from the exploitation of the capitalists and socialism would not be able to achieve victory.

The speakers recalled that the line of the Eighth National Congress (1956) of the Chinese Communist Party conformed to Lenin's theory. But for quite a long period in the years that followed, there were deviations from this principle both in theory and in practice. It was only after the smashing of the gang of four that bitter lessons were drawn from the past practices and that the focus of work was shifted on to socialist modernization.

Some of the speakers stressed the fact that according to

Lenin's teaching, the relations of production must be in keeping with the development of the productive forces, otherwise the latter would be weakened. Both positive and negative experiences in the last 30 years prove that the relations of production must be evaluated in connection with the productive forces, otherwise it would be meaningless.

All the participants held that, at present, emphasis should be given to the study of Lenin's theory on socialist economic construction in order to push the great cause of the four modernizations forward.

To commemorate Lenin's birthday, *Renmin Ribao* on April 22 carried an article by the Bureau for the Translation of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin's Works under the C.P.C. Central Committee. Other newspapers in the capital also published articles to honour his memory.

On the same day, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association jointly held a meeting to mark the occasion. In his speech at the meeting, Wang Bingnan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, said that, in addition to studying Lenin's theory on economic construction, it is necessary to study his theories on opposing national oppression and military intervention in our struggle to safeguard world peace and oppose the expansionist and hegemonist policy pursued by the Soviet leading clique.

CORRECTIONS: "I.T.I.C." in the heading on page 24 and "I.T.I.C." in the caption on page 25 in our last issue should both read "CITIC."

Uphold the Spirit of the Bandung Conference

The Awakening of the People of Asia and Africa. The Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, 25 years ago was a turning point in the history of the people of the two continents. The banner of the conference is a banner of solidarity of the people in opposing imperialism. In the past 25 years, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have won great victories in their national-liberation movements, and more than 50 countries have won independence.

The great awakening of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitutes an exceptionally significant event in contemporary world history. The imperialist colonial system has completely collapsed. The third world consisting of over 100 developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as other regions has become the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and for safeguarding justice and peace in the world today. Consequently, it has become a major motive force in propelling the march of history.

The Realignment of World Political Forces. World history develops by twists and turns. In the past quarter of a century, tremendous and profound changes have taken place in the world and the various political forces have undergone drastic division and realignment. Social-imperialism, which emerged after the Bandung Conference, is seeking world domination. In order to outflank Europe, the Soviet Union has stepped up its

southward drive since the mid-70s, focusing its main thrust on the Afro-Asian region. The aggression and expansion of the Soviet hegemonists have become the main source of turmoil in the world as well as a major threat to the national independence and the security of the countries of Asia, Africa and other parts of the third world.

The ten principles of the Bandung Conference, an extension and development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, are incompatible with hegemonism, global or regional. The Soviet hegemonists have tried their utmost to pass themselves off as "natural allies" of the third world and upholders of the Bandung spirit. But it is the Soviet Union that has repeatedly trampled upon the fundamental principles governing international relations, interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, even sent its armed forces to invade and occupy other independent and sovereign states. The Vietnamese authorities, participants of the

Bandung Conference, have also betrayed the Bandung spirit by putting Laos under their control and invading Kampuchea in a bid to establish regional hegemony in Southeast Asia. Therefore, in order to uphold and carry forward the Bandung spirit, a resolute struggle must be waged against the hegemonists, big and small, who are against the Bandung spirit and the solidarity of the people of Asia and Africa.

To Seek Common Ground While Reserving Differences. An important aspect of the Bandung spirit is to seek common ground on major issues while reserving lesser differences, strengthen unity and promote co-operation among the countries of Asia and Africa. The disputes between them left over by history should and can be settled justly by consultations on an equal footing in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

It should be noted that the Soviet hegemonists are playing all sorts of tricks to sow dissension among third world countries and to undermine their unity. Confronted with a for-



The hall where the Bandung Conference was held.



Premier Zhou signing autographs at the conference.

midable enemy, they must see through the hegemonist scheme to divide them and settle their own differences and disputes through peaceful consultations.

The Bandung Spirit Is Unquenchable. The people of Asia and Africa have come to realize through their own experience that to win and consolidate their independence and gains, they need to further strengthen Afro-Asian unity and the

unity of the third world, and expose and foil imperialist and hegemonist plans for aggression and war. The Chinese people will, together with the people of other Asian and African countries, the third world countries and the rest of the world, continue to make contributions to the struggle against hegemonism and for world peace.

— Excerpts from "Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 24

U.S. Hostage Issue

Beware of Soviet Attempt to Exploit U.S.-Iranian Crisis

THE aborted U.S. rescue operation in Iran has sparked strong reactions worldwide.

While many Asian and African nations strongly disapproved of the American action infringing upon Iran's territorial integrity, opinion in the United States and among its

Western allies was divided. Some expressed sympathy with and even support for the operation. Others said that the attempt was understandable. But many expressed alarm, anxiety or objection, disturbed by the consequences it could bring in its wake.

World opinion in general still hopes that both the United States and Iran would be sensible enough to exercise restraint, observe the norms of international relations and resolve the issue by peaceful means.

The U.S. move to apply sanctions against Iran and violate its territorial integrity will not help to solve the hostage issue. The hostages have now been scattered to different parts of Iran. International mediation efforts have become more difficult and Iranian flexibility and accommodation less likely. Thus, the crisis has evidently escalated.

What is worse, the sanctions and the rescue attempt have created a situation on which the Kremlin could capitalize in its southward thrust to warm waters. The more the Gulf region and the Middle East are thrown into turmoil, the better things will grow for Moscow. The more protracted and deadlocked the hostage issue becomes, the happier the Kremlin will be.

Diverting World Attention. First of all, the turbulence would serve to divert the world attention from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, ease the universal pressure exerted on Moscow, and help it get out of the situation in which it is isolated morally. It would give the Soviets free rein to crack down on the Afghan people's resistance and even contemplate their next step in the strategic southward drive.

Act the "Patron." The aggravation of the crisis would make it possible for the Soviet Union to act as if it were the "patron" or "guardian" of Iran. Under the pretext of coming to Iran's aid in its confrontation with the United States, it would try its utmost to increase its influence

and gain a firm foothold in that strategically located and oil-rich country. After its invasion of Afghanistan, it is very difficult for the Kremlin to plunge headlong into either Pakistan or Iran without a respite. Now, the U.S. action has made things easier for Moscow to drive south into those two countries.

Excuse for Deployment of Troops. Militarily, the U.S. action has given Moscow an excuse for further beefing up its army along the Iranian border and naval strength in the Indian Ocean. The Kremlin is looking forward to some kind of military action on the part of the United States as justification for its own military steps, which would constitute a serious threat to the security of Iran and the other Gulf countries, to Europe and to world peace.

It is reported that the Soviet divisions deployed along the border with Iran have reached 60 to 80 per cent of their full strength and are armed with advanced weapons and equipment. Soviet forces in the Caspian Sea region, in the area close to the northern border of Iran's East Azerbaijan Province and in the Outer-Caucasian region have also been strengthened. More than 800 tactical fighter planes have been deployed not far from Iran's northern frontier.

Recently, Soviet aggressor troops have been moved from Afghanistan's eastern provinces to the neighbourhood of Herat near Iran's eastern frontier.

According to some foreign analysts, all this reminds one of the Soviet military movements and dispositions on the eve of its invasion of Afghanistan last December. Once the situation

in the area becomes explosive, Moscow can quickly move in militarily, invoking the 1921 U.S.S.R.-Iran treaty.

Grab Economic Interests. The advantage the Soviet Union has gained from the U.S.-Iranian crisis is conspicuous in the economic field, too. No sooner had the United States announced economic sanctions against Iran than Moscow sent a large economic trade delegation to Iran, resulting in the immediate signing of the protocol of an economic agreement. When the United States let it be known that it might impose a

naval blockade against Iran, Moscow told Teheran in many ways that Iran could use an overland route over Soviet territory to offset its loss of a sea route. The Soviet-Iranian gas talks which were suspended last month due to the Soviets forcing down the prices will be resumed soon. U.S. economic sanctions, as one foreign paper has said, "can scarcely help Western interests in the area and might open the door to Soviet influence. It will also damage the West."

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Guo Ping

Iran-Iraq Relations Badly Strained

SPORADIC clashes along the 700-mile Iranian-Iraqi border signal a grave turn of events in relations between the two Gulf states. This open renewal of hostilities which involved even their air forces stems from long-standing disputes over territories, nationalities and religious sects left over from history, particularly from prolonged colonial and imperialist rule.

Several years ago some of these problems were resolved through consultation and their relations improved. But, since February last year, the situation has rapidly deteriorated and leaders of both countries have recently made impassioned statements. There is now much troop movement in the border areas of the two countries.

One outstanding issue today is the claim over the three strategic islands of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tumbs in the Strait of Hormuz, the outlet of the Gulf. In 1971,

the Shah of Iran sent troops to seize and occupy these islands, and Iraq vowed to have them returned to Arab control.

Religion provides another sore spot in Iran-Iraq relations. Over 95 per cent of the Iranians are Shi'i Moslems as are more than half the Iraqis, though the political and military leaders in Iraq are mostly Moslems of the Sunni sect. The Shi'i Moslems in Iraq are said to have a special affinity to their fellow believers in Iran. Another source of conflict is frequent friction over the national minority question in the Kurdish-inhabited border areas of the two countries.

The present tension between Iran and Iraq has complicated the turbulent situation in the Gulf region where hegemonist forces are attempting to use the disputes to pursue their goals. Arab public opinion has pointed out, "If war breaks out between Iran and Iraq, it will provide a pretext for outside interference and involve the re-

gion in big-power contentions." Clearly the people of both Iran and Iraq would not like to see such a situation.

Many countries, particularly Moslem nations, have shown concern over the conflict between Iran and Iraq, and some have expressed their willingness to mediate. The Chinese people, too, as *Renmin Ribao* pointed out in a recent commentary, hope that these two third world Moslem countries, which share the same historical experience of colonial invasion and enslave-

ment and the common tasks of safeguarding national independence and developing their national economies, will iron out their differences through consultations and re-establish good-neighbourly relations in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. Such actions would accord with the fundamental interests of both countries and would help promote stability in the Gulf region.

—“*Beijing Review*” news analyst Yang Bianyi

Middle East Peace Talks Resumed

Report From Cairo

EGYPT, Israel and the United States have decided to “speed up the talks” on Palestine autonomy in the wake of U.S. President Jimmy Carter’s separate talks with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. According to Egyptian newspaper reports, the negotiations are scheduled to be held first in Israel and then in Egypt till May 26, the deadline fixed in the Camp David agreement.

Talks in Washington. U.S. officials in Washington disclosed that during the separate talks in Washington the three heads of state discussed the problem of setting up a “permanent committee” as “a new means of action” in the follow-up negotiations after May 26. The committee will be responsible for mediating and resolving the issues outstanding between the elected Palestinian authorities and Israel.

The summit talks were held in Washington because the ten-month-long negotiations on

Palestine autonomy was stalemated as a result of Israel’s obstinate obstructions and sabotage. It was under these circumstances that Washington announced President Carter’s invitation to President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin to visit Washington for meetings.

Egyptian Proposals. On the eve of the Washington meetings, President Sadat said that he would suggest “several alternatives” to promote an agreement for the autonomy negotiations. Egypt reiterated its suggestion for realizing autonomy in Gaza first. Osama El-Bazz, Egyptian First Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that in order to relieve Israel of its security concern, Egypt would propose the setting up of a negotiation committee to handle the security problems. He said Egypt also would put forward a proposal for demilitarizing the West Bank of the Jordan and stationing an international peace-keeping force or a mixed Egyptian-Israeli force in the territory.

The U.S. President who is busy campaigning for another term of office has also come to see that the stalemated autonomy negotiations might plunge his “most spectacular achievement”—the Camp David accords—into “grave jeopardy.”

To break the deadlock, the United States has asked Israel to make concessions. After talks with Carter, Begin still refused to make concessions on substantial matters and clung to his intransigent stand on a number of questions of principle although he agreed to step up the negotiations.

According to the U.S. press, many U.S. officials have come to realize that failure to solve the Palestinian question may cause great harm to the U.S. policy of countering Soviet expansion in the Gulf area and the Middle East. But it seems that President Carter is unwilling to exert greater pressure on Begin as he is trying to win Jewish votes in the election campaign.

Western sources here predict that the United States might try to drag the autonomy talks past the U.S. general election this year, and during this period, a general election might be held in Israel ahead of schedule. The provocative policy of the Begin regime not only has been condemned abroad but has also caused popular discontent at home.

Just as Begin was to end his talks in Washington, Israeli Minister of Defence Ezer Weizman openly called for a general election ahead of schedule and hinted that he would resign. Meanwhile, an “election now movement” involving official circles is active in Israel and wants Begin to step down.

President Sadat indicated on April 17 that while expecting the autonomy talks to be successful, Egypt would like to see other countries and the U.N. Security Council "promote new ideas and new momentum for the peace process" after the May deadline. With Israel refusing to make concessions and Washington seemingly incapable of taking effective measures, several West European countries are deliberating about putting forward after May 26 new proposals for settling the Middle East problem, which could bring about "a new situation" as predicted by President Sadat.

— Xinhua Correspondent

The Awakening of Jewish Youth

AN unusual demonstration was held a few weeks ago in Taiyiba, an Arab village in an Israeli-occupied territory.

Young Jewish people joined the Arabs in the demonstration to mourn the six Arabs killed by the Israeli authorities four years ago for protesting the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. They held wreaths and placards demanding an end to the occupation.

This demonstration shows the growing unpopularity of the Begin regime among Israeli Jewish circles. Internationally, it is already repugnant to most people.

Internally, the Israeli authorities have for the past several decades oppressed and deceived the Jewish people, stirring them up against the whole Arab community. Externally, they have carried out a policy of aggression and expansion, occupying large tracts of Arab territories

and driving nearly one million Palestinians out of their homeland to seek shelter wherever they could.

But the Jewish people who have themselves been made to suffer much are gradually realizing that the policy of war and plunder pursued by the Israeli authorities does not bring them the peace and

tranquillity they want. They see that the supreme interest of their people lies in getting together with the Arab people and opposing the Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

The Taiyiba demonstration shows that the younger generation of the Jewish nation is awakening. This is encouraging.

— An Guozhang



Jewish youths join the Arabs in the demonstration.

South Korea:

Twenty Years After the "April 19" Demonstration

TWENTY years ago on April 19, a large-scale demonstration took place in Seoul. Triggered off by the "presidential election" farce the Syngman Rhee clique put on, the demonstration spread to eight provinces and some 20 cities in south Korea. A week later there was another mammoth demonstration in Seoul by 500,000 people. The next day, Syngman Rhee was forced to step down after 12 years of reactionary rule.

But what the south Korean people won in the struggle was quashed by the rise of another dictator, Pak Jung Hi. In the

18 years he was in power, Pak and company pursued a crueller and more barbarous policy than Syngman Rhee. This impelled the south Korean people to fight harder against dictatorship and it also sharpened the contradiction inside the ruling clique, resulting in Pak's murder by his own henchman, director of the south Korean central intelligence agency, Kim Jae Kyu.

Nothing has changed after Pak Jung Hi's death. The south Korean people are still deprived of democracy, freedom and the right to live. After coming to office, Choe Gyu Ha promised to guarantee "democratic

development," but he has suppressed and persecuted patriots demanding democracy, freedom and the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

Today, the prospect for the north-south dialogue seems promising with an agreement reached on the venue of contact between the Premiers of the north and the south. However, it must be pointed out that Vice-President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Kim Il has not got a reply from the south Korean authorities to his letter to the political parties, mass organizations and military personages of south Korea. Apparently, the south Korean authorities who want to maintain the status quo of "two Koreas" do not like the

idea of broadening the scope of the south-north dialogue. This, of course, runs counter to the aspirations of the entire Korean people.

Students in Seoul, Inchon, Kwangju and Kunsan have been calling for campus democracy and the disbandment of the "student homeland defence corps," a paramilitary student organization controlled by the south Korean authorities. They refuse to accept military training. The students' struggle is another blow to the south Korean rulers and a presage of the eventual collapse of those diehards trying to maintain dictatorial rule and obstruct national reunification.

— Wu Delie

Military Coup in Monrovia

LIBERIA has witnessed its first military coup since independence in 1847. After the coup, the government announced that the People's Redemption Council is the country's supreme body and Master Sergeant Samuel Doe of the Liberian National Guards Brigade who led the coup has become the country's new head of state and Chairman of the Council.

Rice Incident. Commenting on the coup, foreign newspapers pointed out that it is not a great shock to the people because the "rice incident" in April last year was already an indication of political instability in Liberia.

On April 14 last year a demonstration in Monrovia against an increase in the rice price engulfed the whole city. The government sent police to suppress the demonstrators. Over 500 were wounded and 41 killed. Some 160

shops (mostly run by Lebanese and Indians) were looted. It was one of the biggest riots in the country since its founding in 1847. It means that the country which claimed to have enjoyed long political stability has entered an unstable period.

Many Internal Contradictions. Liberia was founded by freed American slaves 133 years ago. It has all along been dominated by heirs of the slaves, that is, offspring of American blacks who account for less than 4 per cent of the country's population. There are acute contradictions between them and the indigenous Africans.

Last year, the country was gripped by economic and financial difficulties, yet the Tolbert government spent over 100 million U.S. dollars building the site for the Monrovia summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. This resulted in an increase in the financial

deficit, currency devaluation, soaring prices and a decline in the people's living standards and rising popular discontent. What was worse, the government decided to increase the rice price under these circumstances. This set off the April 14 demonstration.

After the incident, remedial measures were taken by the Tolbert government. For instance, it brought down the rice price to the original level and promised to reform the ruling True Whig Party and include more indigenous Liberians in the government. But these failed to resolve the contradictions.

After the Founding of the New Government. Samuel Doe, the new Head of State of Liberia, said in a speech after the coup that the government change was indispensable because corruption was rampant and the former government had not effectively handled the Liberian people's affairs. "We could do nothing but to topple the government," he noted.

Doe also pointed out that the new government would uphold the principles and goals of the non-aligned movement, do its best to maintain and develop friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, fully support the aims and objectives of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and develop a closer relationship with the United States. On domestic policy, the new government would bring equal economic and social opportunities to its people.

The situation in Liberia is gradually being normalized. The majority of workers in Monrovia have returned to their jobs and schools have resumed classes. However, it remains to be seen whether stability will last.

— Xu Guang

Beijing Review, No. 18

On Re-Reading Liu Shaoqi's "How to Be a Good Communist"

by Wu Liping

The famous work "How to Be a Good Communist" by Comrade Liu Shaoqi once enjoyed widespread influence both at home and abroad. It was published by the Beijing Foreign Languages Press in Burmese, English, French, German and Russian. During the Cultural Revolution, it was unjustly criticized. Since Comrade Liu Shaoqi's rehabilitation, we have received a number of letters from readers wishing to see a proper assessment of the book. To meet their request, we have selected this article from the periodical "Zhexue Yanjiu" (Philosophical Studies), No. 3, 1980. Subheads in this slightly abridged translation are ours. — Ed.

HOW to Be a Good Communist by Comrade Liu Shaoqi was first published 40 years ago. During the Cultural Revolution, it was viciously attacked and vilified by Lin Biao, the gang of four and their like more than any other book. As a Party worker who followed the writing and publishing of the book, I feel it's my bounden duty to let readers know the truth about it. This work, which played a significant part in our Party-building, will, I believe, continue to play its role in the days to come.

The Background

The Lugouqiao (Marco Polo Bridge) Incident [instigated by Japanese invaders on the outskirts of Beijing] on July 7, 1937 triggered the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Yanan, seat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party where Comrade Mao Zedong lived, was then looked upon by the entire population as the beacon light giving guidance to the war effort. Many young people from various parts of the country made long journeys to Yanan to

study and also to throw themselves into this great struggle for national liberation. These people with different family backgrounds came from all walks of life and their motives for coming to Yanan were just as different as their social experiences. They flocked to Yanan and to anti-Japanese base areas in the enemy rear. Influenced by the education they were given and by their revolutionary practice, the more progressive ones eagerly applied for Party membership. These applications were handled with circumspection and enthusiasm, as was the policy advocated by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, and were examined by the Party organizations at various levels before a large group of activists were admitted into the Party.

While swelling the ranks of the Party, they also brought in some non-proletarian thinking. How to educate them in Marxist-Leninist politics and proletarian ideology and help them shake off the harmful influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas of various descriptions thus became a question of great importance if Party leadership in the war of resistance was to be strengthened.

Comrade Mao Zedong in his *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* in 1937 systematically summed up our Party's historical experience on the ideological front and thus made a splendid contribution to the literature on the ideological aspects of Party-building. At that time, ideological education for Party members needed to be strengthened to ensure and develop the leading role of the proletariat in the anti-Japanese national united front. Comrade Liu Shaoqi, when he was in charge of the Party's Northern Bureau in the period 1936-39, in his work in the anti-Japanese base areas, already stressed the importance of educating Party members in the Party spirit. After he was transferred in 1939 from the Northern Bu-

The author is an adviser to the Central Party School in Beijing.

reau back to the Central Committee in Yanan, he became the next-door neighbour of Comrade Zhang Wentian, who was the General Secretary in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee under the overall leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and concurrently Head of the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee and President of the Yanan Institute of Marxism-Leninism. I lived nearby together with some other comrades. Both Liu and Zhang concerned themselves with the ideology of the Party members. It was Comrade Zhang Wentian who made arrangements for Comrade Liu Shaoqi to give a lecture at the institute on cultivation of the Party spirit. Given on July 8, 1939 to a large audience, including the entire body of students of the institute, it was a lively speech which people listened to attentively. Many people, both from the institute and elsewhere, were favourably impressed, thought it most enlightening and suggested that it be edited for publication. Comrade Liu Shaoqi who accepted the idea spent what little time he could spare to put it into written form and gave it to Comrade Zhang Wentian, who was also chief editor of *Jiefang* (Liberation) magazine. As editor in charge, I sent the manuscript to Comrade Mao Zedong for his examination. Comrade Mao Zedong went through it carefully before returning it to me with a letter saying: This article by Comrade Shaoqi "promotes the healthy trends while opposing the unhealthy ones." It is well written

and of great import, and should be published as soon as possible. On receiving the letter I sent the manuscript to the press and it was carried in *Jiefang* magazine in three instalments (in issues No. 81, 82 and the joint issue Nos. 83 & 84 published on August 20, August 30 and September 20, 1939 respectively).

Serving the Needs of Party-Building

The response to the magazine article was also very favourable and it was brought out in book form by the Jiefang Press in answer to a popular demand. Newspapers and periodicals in anti-Japanese base areas in the enemy rear carried the article and it also came out in book form in these places. This work greatly helped Party members all over the country to cultivate and strengthen the Party spirit; it was used by Party organizations everywhere in the country to develop their work in Party-building.

In the winter of 1941, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to launch a Party-wide rectification campaign, i.e., a Marxist-Leninist educational movement. The Party Central Committee at a discussion meeting listed 20-odd pieces of reading and study materials for cadres taking part in the campaign. Excerpts from *How to Be a Good Communist* (hereafter referred to as *A Good Communist*) were included in the list. During the campaign, this book was highly instrumental

Liu Shaoqi's Works on Party Building

COMRADE Liu Shaoqi wrote many works on Party-building in the course of protracted revolutionary struggle. Expounding the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the Party, they played an important role in the building of our Party, for example his famous *How to Be a Good Communist* and *Be a Good Communist and Build a Good Party*. Following is a brief introduction to three of his other works.

On the Party

This work was a report on revision of the Party Constitution delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on behalf of the Party Central Committee at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on May 14, 1945. Through 24 years of grim struggle, our Party had accumulated rich experiences in opposing "Left" and Right opportunism in the Party. In order to lead the people of the whole country to win final victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and found a

new China, it was necessary to draw up a good summary of these valuable experiences; this would further raise the whole Party's Marxist level, strengthen solidarity and unity and enhance fighting capacity.

This work gave a scientific definition to Mao Zedong Thought for the first time in Party history. It pointed out: "Mao Zedong Thought is the thinking that unites the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution; it is China's communism, China's Marxism." The work made an incisive and original exposition of the nature and role of the Party, its mass line, democratic centralism, how to be a good Communist, and how to correctly handle inner-Party relationships.

Liquidating Menshevik Ideas in the Party

This was an article written by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on July 4, 1943 in commemoration of the 22nd anniversary of the founding of our Party. It was one of his important works dealing with the struggle against "Left" and Right opportunism inside the Party. The article pointed out that "one of the most important experiences of our Party in the past 22 years was that concerning the problem

in helping to rectify the Party's style of work and to overcome various forms of erroneous thinking inside the Party.

A *Good Communist* was reprinted many times both before and after liberation. It was republished in 1962 in the joint issue Nos. 15 & 16 of *Hongqi* magazine, with some changes in wording and additions in substance by the author, and it continued to play a useful part in Party-building in the period of socialist revolution and construction.

During the Cultural Revolution, some people in the Party School for Senior Cadres produced an article entitled "Uncover the Monstrous Scheme of Thrice Putting Out 'Self-Cultivation' [meaning the book]." In it Liu Shaoqi was accused of bringing out this "poisonous weed" "self-cultivation" first in July 1939 "to oppose" the movement to resist Japanese aggression and for national salvation." This book, it was alleged, "publicly advocated capitulation to the Kuomintang" and was described as "an instrument of surrender bringing ruin to the Party and the country." The calumny was indeed outrageous; it could not be anything but a big lie. This book, as every reader can see clearly, imbues a Communist with the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of readiness to sacrifice one's personal interests or even life in the interests of the Party, for national



Comrade Liu Shaoqi revising the manuscript of *How to Be a Good Communist* for lecture (summer, 1939).

liberation and for the future of mankind. The article also asserted that publication of the revised edition of the book in August 1949 was for the purpose of "providing a theoretical basis for the promotion of capitalism in China." This was also groundless. It must be noted that the publication of the revised edition of the book coincided with country-wide victory in the War of Liberation. As Chairman Mao had then observed: "With victory, certain moods may

of what is a true Marxist—a true Bolshevik." "In the past, our Party suffered many unnecessary setbacks and failures, took many useless detours, the most important reason for which was that there were sham Marxists in our Party and many Party members unwittingly and blindly trailed behind these sham Marxists." Then how should one distinguish between genuine and sham Marxists? The article held that Stalin had an apt description of sham Marxists. Stalin said: "The first group [sham Marxists] usually confines itself to an outward acceptance, to a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. Being unable or unwilling to grasp the essence of Marxism, being unable or unwilling to put it into practice, it converts the living, revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless, meaningless formulas. It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its instructions and directions from an analysis of living reality, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group."

On Inner-Party Struggle

This was a speech published by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on July 2, 1941. This work elaborated on

inner-Party struggle in respect to its social roots, its importance and its content, on the specific conditions under which the Chinese Party was founded and on the deviations in inner-Party struggle. These deviations included liberalism and conciliationism; mechanical and excessive struggle within the Party, which constituted "Left" opportunism in Party organization and in inner-Party struggle; and unprincipled disputes and struggles in the Party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi elucidated the manifestations and harm of these three deviations, pointing out that the most serious deviation of the three was the "excessive and unrestrained struggle within the Party, which went to another extreme—'Left' opportunism in inner-Party struggle and in Party organization." Those who perpetrated this deviation thought that in inner-Party struggle, "the more fiercely the struggle was conducted, the better; the more gravely the problem was formulated, the better; the more mistakes of other people one picked out, the better; the more epithets used, the better; the bigger the labels stuck on others, the better; the more sharply the criticism was worded, the better; the sterner and ruder the method and attitude adopted in criticism and struggle, the better." This brought extremely serious harm to the cause of the Party.

grow within the Party — arrogance, the air of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation.”

Accordingly, on the eve of the liberation of the whole country, republication of *A Good Communist* was particularly significant in that it advised Party members and cadres how to unswervingly resist being corroded by the bourgeoisie and how to withstand bourgeois influence after taking over the cities, and so to consolidate and further develop the country-wide victory. Hack writers, followers of Lin Biao and others, also vilified the 1962 third edition of *A Good Communist* as scheming to prepare opinion for capitalist restoration, “a declaration of counter-revolutionary capitalist comeback.” These slanders, however, cannot dim the Marxist-Leninist lustre of this work, now that the whole Party and the whole country have passed a fair judgment on it based on facts.

It was by no means accidental that Lin Biao, the gang of four and their like should bitterly attack the book. This was because the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Party-building rightly and systematically discussed in the book was a challenge to these conspirators and careerists who took an anti-Marxist stand and sought to usurp Party and state leadership. In *A Good Communist* the author persistently upheld a scientific attitude towards Marxism-Leninism and leaders of the proletariat; this was diametrically opposed to the practice of Lin Biao and the gang of four who tried to tamper with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and spread the cult of personality and other current superstitions in a big way. In the book the author insisted on the principle that a Party member must unconditionally subordinate his personal interests to the interests of the Party and to the highest interests of the people. This ran directly counter to Lin Biao and the gang of four's bid to set

up a feudal autocracy and their indulgence in a life of dissipation. In the book the author insisted on the correct attitude and method in inner-Party struggle. This was the very opposite of the practice of Lin Biao and the gang of four who carried out ruthless struggles, cruel persecutions and other fascist atrocities.

Scientific Attitude Towards Leaders

A Good Communist stresses the scientific attitude towards Marxism-Leninism and leaders of the proletariat. Dealing with what a Party member should do in self-cultivation, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: “We should of course adopt a correct attitude towards learning from the qualities of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and towards learning Marxism-Leninism itself. Otherwise it is impossible to learn well, if at all.” He also sharply criticized the erroneous tendency of those “who learn the terms and phrases of Marxism-Leninism superficially” and “are unable to use its principles and conclusions as a guide to action and apply them to concrete, practical problems in real life.” He took to task in especially strong terms opportunists who had wormed their way into the Party. “We had,” he wrote, “certain representatives of dogmatism at one time who were even worse. These people knew absolutely nothing about Marxism-Leninism and could only babble Marxist-Leninist phraseology, and yet they regarded themselves as ‘China's Marx’ or ‘China's Lenin,’ posed as such in the Party and had the impudence to require that our Party members should revere them as Marx and Lenin are revered, support them as ‘the leaders’ and accord them loyalty and devotion. They went so far as to appoint themselves ‘the leaders’ without being chosen, climbed into positions of authority, issued orders to the Party like patriarchs, tried to lecture our Party, abused everything in the Party, wilfully attacked and punished our Party members and pushed them around.” Accordingly, Comrade Liu Shaoqi dismissed these people as careerists in the Party, termites in the communist movement.

Pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Liu Shaoqi wrote, “. . . will lay special stress on maintaining the Marxist-Leninist stand and using the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method to solve the problems arising in the revolutionary movement, led by the proletariat, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism did. He will give no thought whatsoever to his own position or fame in the Party, nor will he ever claim to be a Marx or a Lenin, nor

require or expect others to have the same high respect for him as for Marx and Lenin, for he does not think he has any right to do so. Yet such a person will enjoy the considered respect and support of the mass of the Party members just because he acts in this way, because he is always honest and loyal, brave and firm, and shows great ability in the revolutionary struggle." "The communist cause," he further pointed out, "is an undertaking which requires the collective efforts of tens of millions of people over a long period of time, and which cannot be encompassed by any one individual alone. Even such great men as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could only perform part of the work needed by the communist cause."

One should adopt a scientific attitude towards leaders of the proletariat; this question is a basic Marxist principle. Lin Biao and the gang of four in the Cultural Revolution tampered with Marxism and sabotaged socialist revolution and construction through their all-out effort to establish a modern cult of personality. This grave historical lesson teaches us that if we want to become the most loyal, the best pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, we must master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought totally and accurately and assume a correct attitude towards leaders of the proletariat. Isn't the statement by Comrade Liu Shaoqi quoted above a truth that has been tested and proved in practice?

For the Party, For the People

Another of the clear-cut outstanding themes in *A Good Communist* is that a Party member's self-cultivation and tempering are undertaken solely "for the sake of the Party, of the people, and of the victory of the revolution," not "as a means of getting ahead in life, of showing off and becoming famous." Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointedly criticized some Party members who still had fairly strong individualistic, selfish ideas, noting that our Party had the wholehearted support of the masses because it had from the very beginning carried out the fundamental principle of serving the people, because we joined the Party ranks determined to give our all in the fight for the liberation of the people and for the interests of the people. The interests of the people are the interests of the Party as the Party has no other special interests of its own. Comrade Liu Shaoqi went on to point out that Communists, as vanguard fighters of the proletariat, "are absolutely opposed to privileges of any kind for

anyone, consider it impermissible to think in terms of privileges for themselves, and would deem it unthinkable, and indeed a disgrace, to occupy a privileged position among the people." He severely criticized the kind of people who, "when it comes to status, material benefits and other questions affecting everyday life," "invariably try to get more than others," and "when it comes to orderlies, they always want more. Their living quarters must be of the best and they want to show off and to bask in the Party's glory." "The heads of such people," he observed, "are stuffed with the ideology of the exploiting classes."

Everywhere in the book, the author criticized these unscrupulous traits of the exploiting classes and warmly praised the real Communists. "Whether in the Party or among the people, he is the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy comfort; he compares himself with others not with respect to material enjoyment but to the amount of work done for the revolution and the spirit of hard endurance in struggle. In times of adversity he steps forward boldly, and in times of difficulty he does his duty to the full. He has such revolutionary firmness and integrity that 'neither riches nor honours can corrupt him, neither poverty nor lowly condition can make him swerve from principle, neither threats nor force can bend him.'" In this book, the author warmly praised from beginning to end this lofty mettle of the proletariat. Herein lies the basic reason why our Party is able to win the support of the people and overcome the biggest difficulties and here is the glorious tradition that we must set great store by and carry forward.

"Party members," Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out, "do have their personal problems to attend to, and, moreover, they should develop themselves according to their individual inclinations and aptitudes. Therefore, so long as the interests of the Party are not violated, a Party member can have his private and family life, and develop his individual inclinations and aptitudes." Lin Biao and the gang of four, with an ultra-Left look, alleged that this was "the theory of merging public with personal interests." It has now come to light how these vampires, on the strength of the power they had usurped, embezzled and squandered the riches of the state and the people to lead a most extravagant and immoral life like members of an exploiting class. And such ugly, dirty souls of these demagogic hypocrites are the very

thing which the author had severely denounced in the book *A Good Communist*.

The Attitude and Method Towards Inner-Party Struggle

The third main topic of *A Good Communist* is to maintain a correct attitude and method in struggling against various erroneous ideas inside the Party. In the opinion of the author, the correct Marxist-Leninist approach to inner-Party struggle should be:

"First of all, get to know the various phenomena, ideas, views and opinions in the Party and distinguish those which are correct and beneficial to the interests of the Party and the revolution from those which are not," and "after sober analysis and consideration, decide on a clear-cut attitude and take a correct stand. Do not follow blindly or drift with the tide."

Two, "profit by every good example, promote and spread a spirit of integrity in the Party and vigorously support all correct views and opinions. Do not follow any bad examples or be influenced by any wrong ideas."

Three, "do not take a liberalistic attitude or flinch from any necessary inner-Party struggle."

Four, "inner-Party ideological struggles on matters of principle as are necessary at different periods should be waged in a concrete and proper way; inner-Party struggles should not be waged indiscriminately, subjectively, mechanically or on shadowy pretexts. Do not become 'struggle addicts.'"

Five, "strengthen the unity and discipline of the Party, and enhance its prestige, through inner-Party struggle." "We should regard it as our supreme duty to safeguard the Party's unity, preserve the purity of its ideology and consolidate its organization."

In this book the author gave a profound exposition of inner-Party struggle as an indispensable, necessary component of the revolutionary struggle as a whole. The masses of Party members were thus educated to temper and cultivate themselves in inner-Party struggle.

Lin Biao and the gang of four slung mud at the book by saying that the author "promoted slavishness." As a matter of fact the very opposite was the case. In it the author encouraged Party members to consider things independently in inner-Party struggle, as he was oppos-

ed to following blindly, drifting with the tide and slavishness. There, Comrade Liu Shaoqi sharply criticized the wrong attitude and method adopted by the "Left" opportunists in the Party towards inner-Party struggle. These people indiscriminately wage inner-Party struggles under any and all circumstances — the more often and the fiercer, the better. These people treat everything as a matter of "principle" and brand every faulty thing with such labels as political opportunism. "According to these almost hysterical people," the author pointed out, "any peace in the Party was intolerable — even peace based on complete unanimity on matters of principle and on the Party line." These views were vilified by Lin Biao and the gang of four as "a revisionist fallacy preaching inner-Party peace." Comrade Mao Zedong had long ago said that we must be ruthless with our enemies and kind to our own people. When Comrade Liu Shaoqi talked about "peace in the Party," he did not deny inner-Party struggle in the slightest but stood for upholding principle and unity. What is there to censure? Our Party, in the last 20 years, especially during the Cultural Revolution which taught us a very serious lesson, adopted the wrong policy and method in inner-Party struggle. Lin Biao and the gang of four, for their own counter-revolutionary ends, exploited this mistake by pushing it to the extreme to form and pursue an ultra-Left line.

Refuting the Charge of "Betrayal of Proletarian Dictatorship"

Inspired by Lin Biao and the gang of four, an article entitled "The Essence of 'Self-Cultivation' Is Its Betrayal of Proletarian Dictatorship" was published in May 1967. It alleged that the main point of *How to Be a Good Communist* [or the book on "Self-Cultivation" as they put it] was the betrayal of proletarian dictatorship, that the author had encouraged people to indulge in idealist self-cultivation and that it was therefore a big poisonous weed opposed to Mao Zedong Thought. An attack on the book was mounted throughout the country.

What grounds did Lin Biao and the gang of four have for alleging that the essence of the book was betrayal of proletarian dictatorship? The only point they made was that the author "makes no mention whatsoever of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is absurd logic. This book was published in the period of the war of resistance, during which most of the articles carried in Party journals dealt mainly with the significance of resisting

Japanese aggression, saving the country and Party leadership, mentioning as little as possible the issue of proletarian dictatorship unless it was directly related to the subject under discussion. This was common sense and easy to understand. Can it be said that making no mention of proletarian dictatorship is tantamount to opposing it? It is true *A Good Communist* has not directly used the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," but the whole book is permeated with the revolutionary spirit of a Communist wishing to fight for this dictatorship. Every aspect of self-



Comrade Liu Shaoqi delivering the report on the revision of the Party Constitution to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China (1945).

dwells on the historical mission to be shouldered by the proletariat, namely, to take state power into its own hand, to transform the old society and build up a new one. The author points out in the book, "bourgeois revolution . . . are usually completed with the seizure of state power. But for the proletariat, victory and political emancipation are only the beginning of the revolution, and a tremendous amount of work remains to be done after victory, after the seizure of state power." Here, Comrade Liu Shaoqi has closely associated self-cultivation by Party members with the fundamental issue of the proletarian revolution, namely, the issue of seizing state power and consolidating it, and transforming the society as a whole.

Refuting the Charge of "Promoting Idealism"

According to Lin Biao and the gang of four, the book advocated personal cultivation of an idealist kind. This is nonsense. At one time they claimed the book advocated self-cultivation on the basis of bourgeois individualism. At other times they said the book promoted feudal philosophy in human conduct. This is another outright lie. Everywhere in the book the author took a clear-cut stand against the idealist method of self-cultivation by the bourgeoisie and the feudal landlord class; everywhere in the book he stressed the integration of Party members' self-cultivation in the spirit of the Party with the revolutionary practice of the masses. He said: "But the 'self-cultivation' pursued by many people in the past was generally idealistic, formalistic, abstract and divorced from social practice. They exaggerated the role of subjective intentions, thinking that so long

as they had 'good will' in the abstract, they could transform reality, society and themselves. Of course this is absurd. Our self-cultivation cannot be done that way. We are revolutionary materialists; our self-cultivation cannot be separated from the revolutionary practice of the masses." This book clearly explained the Marxist-Leninist method of self-cultivation, which is entirely different from all other idealist methods of self-cultivation divorced from the revolutionary practice of the masses.

A Communist should undergo self-cultivation in various aspects—self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theories, self-cultivation in the ideology and moral quality of the proletariat, etc. In this regard, the former is of very great importance. Comrade Liu Shaoqi considered the wrong tendency of alienating theory from practice as followed by some of our Party members the worst vice the old society has left us. He said: "We must resolutely oppose and thoroughly eradicate one of the worst vices bequeathed to us by the old society in the field of education and study, namely, the separation of theory from practice." He also pointed out clearly that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, which is the fundamental principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge. In the book the author called on all Party members "to seek truth from the facts," and "test all theories and distinguish what is true from what is false in revolutionary practice." In *A Good Communist*, Liu Shaoqi upheld the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge; this is in complete accord with the dialectical materialist viewpoint of the unity of knowing and doing as

expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in *On Practice*.

The book also deals at length with the integration of one's lofty ideal and the great goal one is striving for with conscientious work and the spirit of seeking truth from facts; at the same time it opposes visionaries and idle prattlers who indulge in empty talk. It says: "We members of the Communist Party must initiate and press ahead with our great communist task of changing the world, beginning with our immediate surroundings, with the people immediately around us and such work as we can immediately undertake. Here we should criticize those young comrades who frequently make the mistake of wanting to escape from or disregard reality. It is good that they have lofty ideals, but they often complain about their place of work and the kind of work they are given. They are always looking for some 'ideal' place or job so that they can 'change the world' with ease. But no such place and no such job exists, except in their dreams." The book is imbued with the profound spirit of approaching things realistically, which is a thoroughgoing materialist spirit, and not in the least one of idealist, personal cultivation.

The most serious charge brought up by Lin Biao and the gang of four against the book was its "opposition to Mao Zedong Thought." They said: "In none of its many reprints and revised editions does the book anywhere call on people to be good pupils of Chairman Mao. Nowhere does it so much as mention Mao Zedong Thought. This also goes to show that the author is a sham Marxist and a real revisionist." What nonsense! It must be pointed out that there is a basic theme in the book *A Good Communist*, namely, its adherence to the spirit of integrating the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, which is completely at one with Mao Zedong Thought. In his book the author applied specifically many important principles put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong to illustrate problems in Party-building. The term Mao Zedong Thought was never used officially until the Party's Seventh National Congress at which Comrade Liu Shaoqi made the report on the revision of the Party Constitution, and this took place six years after the publication of *A Good Communist*. The book, as a historical document, was published as what it had been. What is there to censure?

Comrade Mao Zedong in a letter to the Head of the Propaganda Department of the

Party Central Committee in 1943 said: "I myself feel that my thinking (Marxist-Leninist) is not yet mature, that it is still in the stage of learning, not the stage for propagating. If there is anything to be propagated, only some segments of it (such as some of the documents for the rectification campaign) are appropriate; to propagate it as a system is not suitable because my system has not yet reached maturity." As late as August 1948 Comrade Mao Zedong reiterated this point. He said: "There is no such thing as Mao Zedong Thought. The issue is not one of 'mainly studying Mao Zedongism,' but one of calling on students to study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the experience of the Chinese revolution. The 'experience of the Chinese revolution' mentioned here includes some pamphlets written by Chinese Communists (including Mao Zedong) based on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as documents defining the Party Central Committee's line and policies." (See "Chairman Mao on Mao Zedong Thought," *Beijing Review*, No. 2, 1980.) The attitude towards our Party leader Comrade Mao Zedong stated in *A Good Communist* is a correct, scientific attitude, in full conformity with the stand always taken by Comrade Mao Zedong himself.

For exactly ten solid years, Lin Biao and the gang of four heaped all sorts of counter-scientific phrases on Mao Zedong Thought, describing it as "supreme," "the most creative," and "the acme," declaring that "every sentence is a truth, one sentence is as good as ten thousand sentences." Unscrupulously trampling on the scientific nature of Marxism, they wantonly tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, bringing unprecedented damage to our Party and the gravest harm to the people and country. This is a profound historical lesson which tells us exactly what *A Good Communist* is — an important document which promotes the correct spirit of Marxism-Leninism in direct confrontation with anti-Marxist trends.

The damage done to our Party by Lin Biao and the gang of four has been heavy. Their advocating that Party members should not talk about self-cultivation has had a very widespread, pernicious influence.

As we look back at our Party's history, we find that whenever emphasis was laid on strengthening Party members' self-cultivation, our

Party thrived; when the book *A Good Communist* was repudiated and banned and Communists were not allowed to talk about self-cultivation, it was the time when the unhealthy tendencies were in the ascendant and the cause of the Party suffered serious damage. Practice is the only criterion for testing the truth. The

history of our Party has fully borne out that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's *How to Be a Good Communist* is an important Marxist-Leninist document in our Party-building. We should restore the good name of this book and present it as it really is.

At Farewell Banquet for Italian C.P. Delegation

Hu Yaobang: Talks Between The Two Parties Are Of Historic Significance

HOSTING a farewell banquet for the delegation of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee, General Secretary of the C.P.C. Central Committee Hu Yaobang said on April 22: "In the past eight days our two Parties have held seven rounds of meetings and talks in a sincere and comradely atmosphere.

"This has helped deepen mutual understanding on wide-ranging questions and enhance mutual trust on many major issues. This is of historic significance. It marks a new stage in relations between the Chinese and Italian Communist Parties. It also adds a new chapter to the annals of friendly relations between the two peoples."

"At no time will our two Parties deviate from our great common ideal or forsake our great common goal. This is the ideological basis for our long-term unity and co-operation," Hu said. "We are resolved, in handling the relations between our two Parties, to strictly abide by the basic guiding principles of complete equality, independence and mutual respect."

"The divergences and differences between our two sides in our understanding of some problems and in our viewpoints will only inspire us to enlighten each other, exchange views and, through practice, constantly put them to the test so as to make common progress and improvement on the basis of Marxism. With this spirit, our Party will firmly safeguard and promote the militant friendship that has been reactivated between our two Parties," said Hu Yaobang.

Hu Yaobang thanked the Italian delegation for its praise of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese Communist Party and the cause being undertaken by the Chinese people.

"You have deeply impressed us with your working style of strictness, seriousness and treating others on an equal footing, and also with your scientific approach of independent thought and bold exploration," Hu said.

He went on to say: "We are firmly convinced that the Italian Communist Party will play a greater role and register brilliant achievements in the political life of Italy, in its international activities for peace, security and stability in Europe and the world as a whole, and in its efforts for the cause of human progress and socialism."

Berlinguer: Talks Help Mutual Understanding

ENRICO Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, said that the recent meetings between the Italian and Chinese Communist Parties had achieved positive results.

He said: "We have exchanged views in a thoroughgoing way and briefed each other on the state of affairs in Italy and China, on the goals our two Parties will achieve at home and in the international sphere and on how to look at the problems and prospects of the workers' and progressive movements in Asia, Europe and the world over.

"We believe these talks are very useful to our two Parties in better understanding each other's policies and the objective and subjective reasons for formulating these policies."

Comrade Berlinguer continued: "The efforts we are exerting are directed particularly towards promoting the broadest possible

understanding and co-operation among all Parties and all those movements and governments cherishing the ideal of the emancipation of humanity.

"Such understanding and co-operation, we believe, call not only for recognizing but also for advocating the divergence of the revolutionary process and full respect for the independence of every Party, movement and country."

During the Italian delegation's visit to China, he said, "Members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have shown friendliness towards the members of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian people."

"We cherish the same feeling towards your entire membership and the whole Chinese people," he added.

"Thanks to the wide range of information given to us and through our visit, we have discovered that in the remote past, and not long ago, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people encountered innumerable grave difficulties and that they are making enormous efforts to make their socialist China a more stable, more progressive and more modernized state with each passing day. We greatly admire your efforts and wholeheartedly wish you success."

Berlinguer's Press Conference in Beijing

Relations of the Two Parties. Comrade Berlinguer said at his press conference in Beijing on April 22: The basis for the resumption of relations between the Italian and Chinese Communist Parties is respect for the independence of the two Parties and their respective positions, frank discussions of divergences and differences and the seeking of better understanding and all possible co-operation.

"Another goal of our current visit to China," he said, "was to help develop relations and exchanges of views between Italy and China. We firmly believe that we have made contributions to the realization of this goal."

"The resumption and development of relations between the two Parties is not against any third party," he said. "The talks between

leaders of the Communist Parties of China and Italy prove that the existence of divergences and differences does not represent an obstacle to dialogue." To recognize this is important to the further development of relations between the two Parties and to all the liberation and progressive movements throughout the world, he added.

On Differences. Answering questions raised by some journalists on the differences between the Italian and Chinese Communist Parties, Comrade Berlinguer said: "We do not agree to regard the Soviet Union as an enemy. But we want to add that neither do we agree to regard China as an enemy." On the possibility of a new world war, he said: "We hold that the outbreak of war is not impossible. In fact, our Party is gravely worried about the present developments in international relations." "We do not rule out the possibilities of the outbreak of a world war. We still hold, however, that war can be avoided. On this point, we have differences of opinion with our Chinese comrades. But the important thing is that we all agree to work actively for peace."

On Eurocommunism. Answering the question put by a *Renmin Ribao* journalist on "Eurocommunism," Comrade Berlinguer said: This is a big question and also a complicated one. People are waiting to see how it develop.

What is known as "Eurocommunism" is the search for a road to socialism, proceeding from the particular conditions of European capitalism, Comrade Berlinguer added. This road is different from the road of the European social democratic parties and also from that of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The distinguishing feature of "Eurocommunism" is shown in the fact that people are fully cognizant of the results of freedom and democracy already attained in these countries of Western Europe.

Comrade Berlinguer pointed out that the Italian Communist Party does not see "Eurocommunism" as something concerning only the Communist Parties themselves. The Communist Parties in Europe should reach an understanding with all forces developing the workers' movement. The Italian Communist Party does not believe either that "Eurocommunism" is "Eurocentricism." On the contrary, it holds that the workers' movement in the European capitalist countries and the struggle of the people of the third world are co-operative.

Other Questions. On the Italian Communist Party's view of the development of friendly relations between China and the United States, Comrade Berlinguer said that at the talks "we expressed our views of the policy followed by the United States. We do not oppose the establishment and development of relations between China and the United States on the basis of peaceful coexistence."

On the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, he said: "Our position on the

Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan is one of criticism and condemnation. With regard to the Chinese comrades' view of this problem, it is known to all."

On the question of West European unity, Comrade Berlinguer said: "Both the Chinese comrades and we are adopting a positive attitude, urging Western Europe, the European Community in particular, to strengthen their unity so as to contribute to relaxing the tense international situation."

Answering Our Readers

Some Questions on China's Trade Unions

In issue No. 23 last year, "Beijing Review" carried a special feature entitled "China's Trade Unions." Since then, many readers have sent in questions to us. This article is a response by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. — Ed.

Question: Since Chinese trade unions are mass organizations of the working class, why must a worker or staff member submit an application when he wants to join a union and why must the application be approved? What are the requirements for being a union member?

Answer: A worker or staff member submits an application to show that he wants to join the union out of his own wishes. His application must be discussed and accepted by a trade union group and approved by the grass-roots union committee concerned so as to keep those who do not belong to the working class out of the trade union.

The trade union constitution stipulates: "Anyone who engages in physical or mental labour and whose wage income constitutes the sole or main source of his means of subsistence and who accepts the trade union constitution, may become a trade union member, irrespective of nationality, sex and religion."

Q: Have there been any changes in the functions of the trade unions since liberation?

A: Yes. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a fundamental change has taken place in their political position and functions. Now the trade unions are not only mass organizations of the workers and staff members, but also a pillar of the state power. At the same time, they are communist schools for training the workers to take part in the management of socialist enterprises. They encourage the workers and staff members to study politics and technical know-how, raise their educational level and take part in socialist modernization. They also help improve the democratic management of the

The library of the Shanghai Workers' Cultural Palace.



enterprises, protect the interests of the state, the collective and the workers and solve problems of immediate concern to the workers and staff members in their daily life.

Q: Do the trade unions take over the functions formerly performed by the revolutionary committees?

A: No. Revolutionary committees and trade unions are different organizations.

Before the revolutionary committees were abolished, they had been temporary administrative organs of the local governments or the enterprises during the Cultural Revolution. Their functions are now performed by the people's governments at various levels and, in factories, by the administrative organs headed by the factory directors.

Q: What role do the workshop heads play? Why are they elected in some places and not in others?

A: In the past, they were appointed by the factory director with the approval of a higher organ. At present, a system of electing them by workers and staff members is being tried out in some places. This reform is aimed at enabling workers and staff members to play a better role as masters of their enterprises. It helps avoid appointing unsuitable persons because of inadequate understanding and making appointments by favouritism. It will also help eliminate the tendency that cadres are ready to accept leading posts but unwilling to work at the grass roots later. In addition, it may promote closer contacts between leading members of an enterprise and its workers and staff members.

Because it is a reform of both the cadre system and the management system, we need to acquire practical experience and spread it step by step. That is why workshop heads, section chiefs and group leaders are democratically elected in some places and not in others. Actually, we are also now experimenting with workers and staff members directly electing directors and managers in some factories. It takes time to realize the goal of having all leading members in enterprises elected by the workers and staff members.

Q: Should a strike occur, what are the criteria for judging whether the workers' demands are reasonable? How do you judge whether or not the strike is instigated by bad elements to make trouble?

A: In socialist China, the workers and staff members are the masters of the country and the enterprises. Under ordinary conditions, there is no need for them to achieve their ends through strikes, for there are many democratic channels to express their views. For instance, they may make their demands known to the departments concerned through the trade unions, talk with the factory directors or leading members of the departments concerned or write letters to departments at higher levels.

At present, many enterprises are restoring or establishing the system of congresses of workers and staff members. Generally, the congresses meet every three months. At the meetings major problems of an enterprise and urgent demands of its workers and staff members are discussed, and their suggestions and demands will be properly solved after being discussed.

If a strike occurs, the trade unions should co-operate with the local industrial and labour departments to investigate the causes and solve the problems properly.

Whether the demands of the workers and staff members are reasonable is mainly judged according to the Constitution, law, principles, policies and related regulations of the country. If the strike is mainly against the bureaucracy of the leadership in the enterprise, the trade unions should stand firmly on the side of the workers and ask the departments concerned to settle the problem as soon as possible. If some of the workers' reasonable demands cannot be met immediately owing to a lack of financial and material resources, the trade unions should explain this to the workers so that they might have a better understanding of the situation. Normally, strikes can be solved in this way. After so much work, it is not difficult to see whether there are bad elements inciting the people to make trouble.



● **Young People's Views Polled**

Recently the Communist Youth League committee of the Beijing Heavy Machinery Plant polled 482 young workers on their likes and dislikes. Of the plant's 7,600 workers and staff members, 48 per cent are under 28.

Participants ranged from graduates of middle schools to college graduates, and came from 25 workshops and offices. They were all between 17 and 25.

Following are some of the questions and summaries of their answers.

Question: What do you think most about?

Answer: Of the 482, 314 or 65.15 per cent said they were concerned about the future of the country and the realization of the four modernizations. Forty-nine (10.16 per cent) answered: Raising living standards of the people. The rest replied: "Whether I'd be included in the next wage rise," "the plant's ability to fulfil this year's state quotas," technical studies and prices.

Q: What is the biggest obstacle to China's modernization?

A: "Lack of advanced technology," 84 persons, 17.43 per cent; "inefficiency," 51 persons, 10.58 per cent; "bad management," 40 persons, 8.3 per cent; and "residual influence of the gang of four," 40 persons, 8.3 per cent. Others replied bureaucracy, the huge population, remnants of old customs and habits, lack of capable personnel and lack of funds.

Q: What do you like best?

A: "Knowledge," 72 persons,

14.94 per cent; "people of moral integrity," 40 persons, 8.3 per cent; "social stability," 32 persons, 6.64 per cent; "a down-to-earth working style," 18 persons, 3.73 per cent. Others said: nature, adventure, tourism, meditation, democracy, friendship, literature, automation, music, sports and chess. One replied: "My young son."

Q: What do you hate most?

A: "The gang of four," 215 persons, 44.61 per cent; "liars," 56 persons, 11.62 per cent; "bureaucracy," 37 persons, 7.68 per cent; "wreckers of social order," 20 persons, 4.15 per cent. Other replies included parasites, flatterers, hypocrisy, incompetency, those living off socialism, and incompetent leadership.

Q: What do you want most?

A: "Knowledge and techniques," 182 persons, 37.76 per cent; "time," 48 persons, 9.96 per cent. Others wanted housing, a good environment, will-power, and an ideal girl or boy friend.

Q: What troubles you most in your life?

A: "No trouble," answered 78 persons, 16.18 per cent and 58 (12.03 per cent) said "housing." Others complained of lack of time, knowledge, social experience, guidance in their studies, or care for aging parents and difficulties in buying furniture.

Q: How do you spend your leisure time?

A: "Studying," said 146 (30.29 per cent); "doing household chores," 125 (25.93 per cent); and 21 persons (4.36 per cent) said that they spent most of their free hours catching buses to and from work. Others said

they read novels, watched TV shows and learnt a foreign language.

● **Philately**

A stamp exhibition held in the Museum of Chinese Art in Beijing displayed 1,600 postage stamps issued since the founding of New China in 1949, including some 400 sets of commemorative and special stamps, and ordinary stamps.

Of the commemorative stamps there was a valuable one showing Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other leading comrades, while Chairman Mao Zedong was proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949 from the Tian An Men rostrum.



Upper: Stamp showing the founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China. Lower: Stamp issued in 1929 in the Jinggang Mountain revolutionary base area.

People in the News



Sheng Zhongguo (1st from left) with members of his family.

Sheng Zhongguo, one of China's famous violinists, held several concerts in Australia last April at the invitation of the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Sheng was trained by his father, now a professor at the Nanjing Art Academy, when he was five years old. In 1950 on his 9th birthday, the

Wuhan Broadcasting Station broadcast several of his solo performances. A few years later he attended the middle school attached to the Central Conservatory where he trained rigorously for 8, 10, or even 12 hours a day.

In 1960 he was sent abroad for further study and received in 1962 an award for his excellent violin performance in the second Tchaikovsky musical festival.

Sheng comes from a family of violinists. His father is a violinist and eight of his ten brothers and sisters play the violin or are violin teachers. In addition, his mother is a graduate of a vocal music school.

Sheng's family suffered during the Cultural Revolution. Now he has resumed his musical career and is a council member of the Chinese Musicians' Association. He continues to train while giving performances and exchanging experiences with his counterparts in foreign countries.

Other stamps showed China's rare flowers, plants, birds and animals as well as its landscapes and historical relics. The issue of six stamps using giant panda designs painted by the well-known artist Wu Zuoren was much admired by visitors. More than one million sets were sold in two years following its issuance in 1973.

In addition, there were also 1,500 stamps issued by revolu-

tionary governments in the various base areas from 1929 to the eve of the liberation in 1949. One of them was put out in 1929 in the Jinggang Mountain area, the first revolutionary base area that Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De had set up.

About 100 ancient stamps were also on display, including a three-stamp set with designs of dragons published in 1878 in the Qing Dynasty.



A set of special stamps with pheasant designs.

Stamp collecting is popular in China. The number of subscribers to the bimonthly *Jiyou Zazhi* (Philately) tops 100,000.

Commune Members Retire on Pensions

A system of old-age pension for retired commune members has been introduced in most people's communes on the outskirts of Weihai in Shandong Province.

Today, some 17,000 retired rural commune members, about 10 per cent of Weihai's total suburban population, draw old-age pensions. This has reduced many married couples' economic burdens of supporting their parents and was a relief to those who worried about having no son to support them in their old age. Thus, birth control plans have proceeded smoothly, with approximately 95 per cent of Weihai's young parents declaring they would have only one child.

In the Beizhudao Production Brigade, where the pension system was introduced several years ago, no married couple has had a third child for five consecutive years. The 40 young couples have all announced they want just one child.

The system was first introduced in 1976 in the more prosperous production brigades in Weihai's suburbs and then to most other brigades as agricultural production and public accumulation rose.

Men commune members retire at 60 or 65 and women at 55 or 60. Pensions vary according to the money income of the various production brigades and contributions retired members have made to the collective. In general, an annual pension ranges from 100 to 150 yuan, the maximum being from 200 to 300 yuan.

MEDICINE

Cancer Mortality Survey

The Institute of Oncology under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences has made public the results of a retrospective survey and study of cancer mortality covering the years 1973-75 and one million medical workers' interviews with 850 million people between 1973 and 1978.

The survey embraced virtually the whole country with the exception of Taiwan Province. It enabled medical workers to reach an understanding on the laws governing the incidence of 14 kinds of cancer, including cancer of the esophagus, liver, nasopharynx, stomach and cervix, on the mortality and their geographic distributions. It also provided epidemiological data for studying the disease and its causes and for working out preventive measures.

Cancer is one of the main causes of death in this country, ranking immediately after diseases of the respiratory system and cardiovascular disorders.

Roughly one million cancer cases are diagnosed and approximately 700,000 (about one-ninth of the total mortality) die from cancer in China each year. Gastric cancer (160,000), esophageal cancer (158,000) and liver cancer (100,000) make up 60 per cent of all cancer deaths, while the percentage of cervical, lung, colon and rectum, nasopharyngeal and breast cancers and leukemia is also quite high. Cancer mortality is higher for men than for women, as in most countries.

The incidence and mortality of cancer vary among men and

women and different age groups. For men gastric cancer ranks highest, 20.93 per 100,000 and accounts for 26.1 per cent of the total, followed by cancer of the esophagus, lung, colon and rectum. For women, gastric cancer is also the commonest, followed by cancer of the cervix, esophagus, liver and lung.

For children under 14, leukemia is the most common, followed by brain tumours and tumours of the lymphoid tissue. Cancer deaths account for only 0.8 per cent of total child mortality, ranking 11th in death causes.

From 15 to 34, cancer rises to fourth place, accounting for 7.88 per cent of the total mortality and cancer of the liver, blood and nasopharynx are quite common in this age group.

Cancer is the prime killer for those over 35, accounting for 21.58 per cent of all mortality.

The survey showed that cancer mortality is higher in cities than in rural areas and the bigger the city, the higher the cancer mortality rate. In cities, stomach cancer comes first, followed by lung cancer. In the rural areas the prime killer is cancer of the esophagus, followed by gastric cancer. Liver cancer comes third in both cities and rural areas. This has led specialists to believe that environment and living habits could be the reason for this.

The survey also demonstrated a geographic pattern of cancer distribution. Lung cancer mortality is highest in Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin and in the three provinces of northeast China. Liver cancer is found mostly in the coastal areas in southeast China, especially in

Fusui County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and Qidong County in Jiangsu Province. The incidence of esophageal cancer is high in the area at the convergence of Henan, Hebei and Shanxi Provinces in north China, and in the northern parts of Sichuan and Jiangsu Provinces, as well as in the Kazakh community in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. High mortality areas for nasopharyngeal cancer are generally located in south China.

Two books based on this survey, *Cancer Mortality Survey in China* and *Maps of Cancer Distribution in the People's Republic of China*, will soon be published. The second book of approximately 200 pages, in both Chinese and English, shows the distribution of 14 kinds of cancer and their mortality rate in coloured maps, and charts and tables.

ARTS

Ancient Murals of Xinjiang Exhibited

Reproductions of ancient cave murals in Xinjiang are being exhibited for the first time in the Museum of Chinese Art in Beijing.

Art critic and head of the museum Cao Zhenfeng said that the murals are of a unique national style resulting from a blend of Chinese and foreign cultural influence.

The exhibits were prepared by artists from Beijing, Xinjiang and the Dunhuang Cultural Relics Institute, who spent years studying the murals in Xinjiang caves. Copies of 147 murals in three halls on the



Detail of a cave mural in Baicheng.

second floor include some larger ones, all about 15 square metres. The murals depict small and large images of Buddha, flying angels, stories from Buddhist scripture, fishes, flowers, birds and animals, buildings, ceiling designs and landscapes. They reflect the customs and culture of the people of Xinjiang in ancient times. One mural shows a musical performance in progress, in which 14 musical instruments are being played. On some murals are inscriptions in both Han and Uygur languages.

Cave temples are found in many places in Xinjiang, from the Turpan basin in the east to the ancient city of Hashi in the west, along the valleys of the Tianshan mountain range and more frequently in the cities of Kuqa and Baicheng. Kuqa is on the old "Silk Road." Along with the development of trade and cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries since the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.), Buddhism was introduced from India, and foreign art, including the arts of Central Asia, Rome and Greece, reached Xinjiang to merge with the local art to form the special style embodied in the cave murals. These magnificent mu-

rals vividly depict figures, plants and animals and their composition is terse and well organized.

These murals in Xinjiang dating back to the third and fourth centuries are invaluable materials for the study of the history, culture and customs of the Uygur and other nationalities in Xinjiang.

EDUCATION

Mongolian-Language Textbooks

Mathematics, physics and chemistry textbooks for college in the Han language are being translated in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region for the first time into the Mongolian language for the coming academic year.

As there are some 3 million people of Mongolian nationality in northeast, north and northwest China who speak and write in Mongolian, many colleges in Inner Mongolia, Beijing, Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang have departments and specialties

taught in Mongolian. Mongolian has always been taught in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region after the country's liberation.

The textbooks include *Magnetism*, *Space Analytic Geometry*, *Mathematic Analytics* and *Inorganic Chemistry*.

The textbooks were edited by the Inner Mongolia Education Publishing House with help from colleges of the autonomous region.

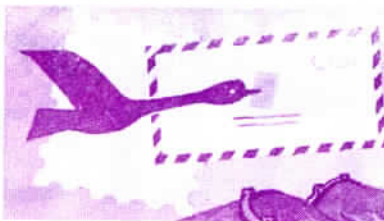
A teaching materials editing committee is being set up to edit and translate over 150 textbooks for teaching all basic college courses in Mongolian by 1985. Next year, all primary and middle school textbooks in the autonomous region will be available in the Mongolian language.

The publishing house has already put out *Students' Dictionary*, *Dictionary of Technical Terminology in Natural Sciences* and *Pictorial Handbook of Seed Plants* in the Mongolian language as well as a set of six Mongolian language records for learners.

The same publishing house is putting out some 400 textbooks and reference books this year, of which 300 will be in Mongolian.



Mongolian-language teachers of a school in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region preparing their lessons.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Seven Million People Employed

I was very impressed when I read the articles on employment in No. 6 of this year.

First of all, I was glad to see that you in China frankly admit that you have a problem of unemployment. Next, it was very enlivening to see that you, after realizing the problem, did something to solve it in a very short time, and as far as I can see, up till now you have solved it with great success.

However, the greatest impression on me was to see that you managed to employ people in the Liuzhuang Production Brigade and raise the living standard in that brigade at the same time.

Hans Chr. Petersen
Randers, Denmark

I gained much from reading the article "More Than 7 Million People Employed" by Wei Min in issue No. 6. I understand now what the consequences of an uneven development of agriculture and industry would be to employment. In this connection, I have come to see the necessity of implementing the policy of family planning.

Kurt Reiher
Oldenburg, West Germany

I wish to express my fraternal greetings to you for your views on the question of employment. Your presentation of a serious subject is helpful to the people of the world to do away with the fear of socialism spread by the reactionaries.

J.E.M.
Neiva, Colombia

The Xisha and Nansha Islands

"China's Indisputable Sovereignty Over the Xisha and Nansha

Islands," published in issue No. 7, is a very good article. It has helped me to have a better understanding of the related history, the truth of the issue and China's stand. It doesn't matter if an article is long, and the best thing is not to delete anything, for that makes it more convenient for us to look up or quote some passages from it when necessary.

Yasuo Watanabe
Kanegawa, Japan

Combat Hegemonism

I am happy to see that your weekly has recently carried more detailed and more vivid and highly principled articles on international issues. These articles have probed deeper and deeper into the essence of Russian hegemonism.

The article "Answer to Moscow's 'Detente' Drive" in No. 8 of this year clearly stated that the United States and Western Europe must unite against Soviet aggression and expansion.

All the countries and the people of the world, including the United States, should unite to oppose Russian hegemonism. This development in the international strategy is, I think, well-grounded. But this unity must be based on equality.

Hartmann Bernd
Vienna, Austria

I've carefully read the articles about China's foreign policies and the comments on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. I am glad that your country's attitude towards the Soviet invasion is so clear. We in the West appreciate your clear-cut anti-Moscow stand. Some Western leaders pursue a policy of appeasement towards Moscow; there is a lot they should learn from China.

Rolf Zeh
Giessen, West Germany

A Convincing Article

"Moscow Covets Baluchistan," a commentary you published in issue No. 10, is a convincing article. I'm afraid this is the first time that we Japanese have come to know the political situa-

tion in the Baluchistan area of Pakistan.

Kasaburo Yoshimura
Kanegawa, Japan

Who Is Zhang Guotao?

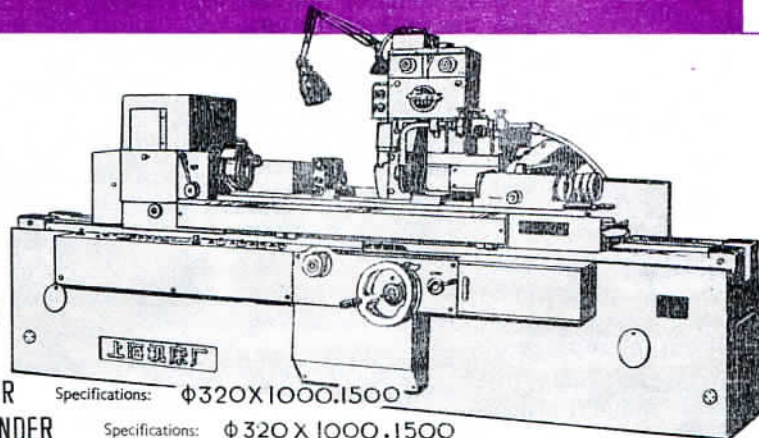
I would like to know more about a Chinese Communist Party co-founder named Zhang Guotao who died in December 1979 in Toronto, Canada. Who was he? What were his contributions, if any, to the revolution?

Benito Virgona
Montreal, Canada

Zhang Guotao (1897-1979) took part in the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China in July 1921. He was elected a director in charge of the organization department of the Central Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party. He was a Member of the Second, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Central Committees, and was elected Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee on several occasions.

At the Third National Congress of the Party, he opposed the policy of co-operation with the Kuomintang. During the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he implemented Chen Duxiu's Right opportunist line. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), he followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line and later carried out his own Right deviationist line of warlordism and flightism. During the Long March, he openly split the Party by setting up another "central committee."

In April 1938, he fled from the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region to Wuhan, threw in his lot with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and became a secret agent. On April 18 that year, the C.P.C. Central Committee adopted a decision to expel him from the Party. On the eve of the liberation of China's mainland, he escaped to Taiwan; later he went to Xianggang (Hongkong) and then to Canada. —Ed.



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