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# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS



**Deng on Mao  
& Mao Zedong Thought**

# LETTERS

## Communist Morality

I am a Hongkong resident of Chinese nationality and have been living in Hongkong since my return from Jamaica in 1947.

I have been a subscriber to your English edition *Beijing Review* for many years, ever since its first publication here. Although I don't agree with all of your ideas regarding Karl Marx, I praise your government in handling the extreme Leftist forms of the "cultural revolution."

At the present moment, I see the country is instituting communist morality, discipline and the rule of law, which is of the utmost necessity for conquering the people's lust, greed, vanity and selfishness.

John W.Y. Chan  
Hongkong

## 'Chinese-Type Modernization' and 'Facts and Figures'

Your "Chinese-Type Modernization" series dwelt upon all aspects

of your modernization programme — your progress at present, the goals and the measures involved to guarantee your success. Apart from economic, scientific and technological topics, the series also discussed social problems such as population growth and the danger of "Westernization."

"Facts and Figures" is useful as reference material. Personally, I took interest in the Chinese criminal statistics ("Why the Crime Rate Is Declining?" issue No. 12).

I regard your magazine as a source of information about China. Your reports also cover world politics ranging from Afghanistan, the Middle East to Latin America. I think that you should detail your reports on the crises in capitalist countries.

As for language style, I advise you to use as few borrowed words as possible.

Generally speaking, I like cover pictures that depict the progress of your construction, issue No. 16 this year for instance. I didn't like cover pictures in as issue No. 14 which obscured the words. Woodcuts are also suitable for covers.

H.G. Foerster  
Bielefeld, FRG

I think the "Facts and Figures" column is very important. For one thing, statistics should generally be made known for public judgment since the masses are the masters of the country and the final examiners of state policy. For another, correct plans cannot be projected without statistics, to say nothing of implementation or summary of experiences.

One suggestion: I hope you will resume your book review column. Although our local bookshop has a list of new books, it does not have a comprehensive book list. Also, we have to go to the bookshop for its list or ask for it through the post office. I propose you change your practice of using a whole page for book ads. You can do it with small fillers. I hope you will make greater efforts in this regard.

Takenori Areura  
Kyoto, Japan

I would rate especially highly the "Facts and Figures" and other statistical compilations. Different cultures tend to be suspicious of each other's interpretations when not supported by figures. Both for my own purposes and to convince my friends I like to see the actual numbers.

I would rate the "Chinese-Type Modernization" series especially highly as dealing very specifically with questions that interested me.

Robert S. Alexander  
New York, N.Y., USA

I was glad to have read the articles about "Chinese-Type Modernization" and "Facts and Figures."

I am a freshman in Chinese language of the Oriental Linguistics University. I take an interest in almost everything Chinese and in international affairs, too. Your magazine is a useful medium through which I have learnt about China quite differently than from the French press. I have been infatuated with China for many years and your magazine informs me of much about it.

Gaudin Bernandette  
Tours, France.

I think that the modernization drive is very good for China. And your progress is all fruits of your own efforts.

I like articles in your magazine. Those about sports, culture and science are my favourites.

R. Mahmadou Diaba  
Moaby, Gabon

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## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### *Deng Xiaoping on Drafting the Resolution*

In the course of drafting the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China (see our issue No. 27, 1981), Deng Xiaoping in many of his talks put forward three main ideas. The most essential one was to affirm the historical role of Mao Zedong and adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought (p. 14).

### *Support Key Projects and Solve Existing Problems*

In response to Premier Zhao's call issued last spring, the departments concerned have worked to accelerate the construction of key projects. But problems have arisen in the process: 1. Overextended capital construction. 2. Unauthorized price hikes on building materials and extra fees from construction units. Effective measures have been taken to solve these two problems (pp. 4 and 6).

### *Hoang's "Letter to the Vietnamese Compatriots"*

With the consent of Comrade Hoang Van Hoan, we reprint his important "Letter to the Vietnamese Compatriots" which denounces the Le Duan clique's crimes in forfeiting the fruits of the Vietnamese people's 30-odd years' struggle and plunging the country into profound crisis; it calls for building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam as expected by the late President Ho Chi Minh (p. 24).

### *Wang Meng, a Stylish Writer*

Called a writer of "stream of consciousness" and "black humour," Wang Meng often perplexes critics who try to use stale literary clichés to classify his ever-changing styles and techniques. He uses whatever style or technique he thinks will best tell his story (p. 28).



Deng Xiaoping on an inspection tour of a Sichuan rural area.

Photo by Yang Shaoming

## NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

### Supporting key projects

Recently, the Chinese Government adopted several effective measures to strictly control extra-budgetary capital construction and stop arbitrary price hikes on building materials so as to ensure the smooth progress of key state projects. This is a matter of great importance in the current economic construction as well as a hot issue in China's news media.

"Key construction projects" refer to the 93 projects listed in the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85), which are now under construction and which involve an investment of 500 million yuan (about US\$250 million) each. Most of them are projects in the energy industry, transport and communications, or industries producing much needed raw materials.

They also include the preparatory construction of 279 major-projects listed in the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90) and the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1991-95).

Completion of these projects on schedule is essential to vigorous economic development in the 1990s and to realizing the strategic goal of quadrupling the gross annual output value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century.

The departments concerned have actively supported these projects and have accelerated their construction since Premier Zhao Ziyang's call that "the whole country should support key construction pro-

ject" was issued last spring. But two problems remain.

The first is that the scale of capital construction is overextended. Last year, the total investment for capital construction in China reached 55,500 million yuan, thus making 1982 the fourth year since the founding of the People's Republic of China in which the investment increased by more than 10,000 million yuan over the previous year.

This growth rate exceeded what the national financial and material resources could bear and, as usual, resulted in a strained situation in the supply of materials.

The above-plan projects were undertaken by the various localities and departments with self-pooled funds or bank loans. Moreover, most of these projects are in the processing industry which consumes a lot of energy. The total investment for capital construction for 1983 was settled at 50,700 million yuan, 4,800 million yuan less than in 1982. But actual implementation in the first half of this year shows that the number of construction projects is still on the rise.

In order to alter this situation, the State Council has urged the related central departments and leading members of the various provinces to exercise strict control over the scale of this year's capital construction.

At the same time, it has stipulated that the power to give ap-

proval to capital construction projects must be confined to the central and provincial levels. No project should be undertaken without approval. A check-up will be conducted for those projects already undertaken. Some will be cancelled and the construction of some others will be suspended in light of different conditions.

The funds that the localities and enterprises have retained in recent years since they have been given greater decision-making powers will be guided through proper methods to aid the technical transformation of existing enterprises as well as the construction of energy and transport enterprises. The banks also will exercise control over loans to enterprises and supervise the utilization of funds.

The other problem is that some localities, enterprises and institutions have taken advantage of the construction of key state projects to arbitrarily raise the prices of construction materials and extract excessive compensation from construction units, thus adversely affecting the smooth progress of the key projects (see "Halt the two evil economic trends" p. 6).

These localities and units have shown no regard for the interests of the state and the people, have abused their power and even have gone so far as to resort to blackmail to serve their own interests. This behaviour is diametrically opposed to socialist principles. Of course, the public has rejected and condemned it.

The State Council and the Central Commission for Disci-

### Industrial output value up 8.8 per cent

pline Inspection of the Communist Party of China recently issued a circular, asking all localities and government departments to quickly bring an end to the two evil trends. Those who violate the stipulations of the circular will be punished and serious offenders will be dismissed from their posts and punished by law. All illegitimate earnings from setting higher prices on building materials than are stipulated by the state will be confiscated.

Will these administrative measures lead to rescinding the decision-making powers already delegated to the enterprises and retreating to the old road of high centralization of power? No. We will stand by the principle of reforming the overly rigid economic system, including the gradual reform of the irrational price system. However, these reforms should be undertaken according to the possibilities and in a planned way. It will not do for every locality and unit to do whatever it likes in disregard of discipline. Activities to invigorate the economy should also be kept within the limits of the socialist planned economy. Otherwise, confusion will ensue and the fundamental interests of the state and the people will suffer. These should not be allowed to occur under any circumstances whatsoever.

— *Economic Editor Jin Qi*



China's industrial output value in the first half of 1983 reached 296,900 million yuan (about US\$148,500 million), an 8.8 per cent increase over the same period of 1982.

According to the 1983 plan for social and economic development approved at the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress last June, industrial production in 1983 is to increase by 4 per cent over 1982, while efforts will be made for a 5 per cent increase.

The annual quota was fulfilled by 51.5 per cent in the first six months.

Compared with the corresponding period of 1982, the output value of heavy industry rose by 12.2 per cent, far exceeding the planned annual increase rate of 3.9 per cent.

Increases ranging from 3.6 to 15.4 per cent were recorded in the output of such raw materials as sulphuric acid, soda ash, caustic soda, cement and plate glass.

The increases in chemical fertilizers and walking tractors were 6.3 per cent and 51 per cent respectively.

Production of light industry increased only 2.5 per cent in the first quarter of this year, lower than in the past few years. But light industrial production began to pick up in the second quarter. Its output value in the January-June period increased 5.4 per cent over that of the same period of last year, outpacing the targeted increase rate of 4.1 per cent.

Increases ranging from 18 to 76 per cent were chalked up in the production of durable consumer goods, such as bicycles, wrist watches, tape recorders as well as household washing machines and refrigerators.

The production and sales of beer, refined sugar, children's articles and seasonal commodities rose sharply. For instance, the country's retail sales in the first five months this year totalled 113,500 million yuan (about US\$55,700 million), an increase of 10.7 per cent over the same period of 1982.

Achievements in energy production and transport were fairly satisfactory in the first six months of the year. The output of energy production was equivalent to 339 million tons of standard coal, 5.3 per cent more than in the corresponding period of last year.

Because production was tailored to market demands, the income from product sales for industrial enterprises rose along with output value. The turnover of working fund accelerated, losses were reduced and productivity was improved.

However, many problems remain in industrial production. The two most acute ones are unsatisfactory economic results: The profit handed over to the state by industrial enterprises decreased 7.8 per cent compared with the same period of last year; and the supply of energy and raw materials and transport facilities were tight.

In response, the state will give priority to supplying energy, raw materials and transport facilities to the enterprises that have done well. It will reduce supplies to enterprises that produce poor-quality goods or ask them to cut down their production.

## Halt the two evil economic trends

On July 3, the State Council and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Chinese Communist Party issued an urgent circular, calling for a halt to unauthorized price hikes on building materials and to the extraction of unwarranted extra fees on the key construction projects.

In China, rolled steel, cement, glass, timber and other materials for capital construction are allocated to construction projects by the state and charged for according to fixed state prices. Only some of these materials are purchased by the localities or the enterprises themselves.\*

Since the latter half of last year, however, the supply of building materials has been strained as the country's capital construction scale has gone far beyond the state plan. Taking advantage of this, some localities and enterprises have withheld materials that should be allocated by the state and have sold them at higher prices.

For instance, the Baotou Iron and Steel Company in Inner Mongolia sold each ton of steel billets at 30 per cent more than the state price. In some places, the price of cement is 35 per cent higher and that of timber 200 per cent higher than the

state prices. As a result, the state cannot ensure the supply of materials to the key construction projects.

In other cases, units or individuals have obstructed the construction of key projects by charging extra fees or hindering the supply and transport of materials. Some have continually demanded more money ostensibly as compensation for rehousing residents, for the occupied land and other items. As a result, the expenditures on many key construction projects have exceeded the state budget, and more funds have been requested.

The circular urged that responsible members of different departments and localities move quickly to halt the two evil trends. It stated that all illegal earnings from such price rises or imposition of exorbitant fees gained since January 1 this year must be turned over to the state treasury or the local financial departments. Disciplinary measures or legal sanctions will be taken against offenders, depending upon the seriousness of their cases. Those who refuse to mend their ways and persist in these practices will be punished severely.

After receiving the circular, local governments and departments promptly made all-round investigations. Shanghai industrial departments already have corrected many wrongdoings. Beijing has exposed 200 cases of unauthorized price rises and 47 cases of unwarranted charges. These mistakes have been basically corrected.

In mid-July, departments under the State Council sent 30 work groups to different places to supervise the implementation of the circular.

## Rains flood Wuhan

Continuous torrential rains since late June have caused heavy floods in the central China city of Wuhan, injuring one person and destroying 27 homes.

The city's greatest fear, that the Changjiang River would damage the dikes or rise above them, was allayed when the river crested on July 11.

The flood peak, measured at 63,500 cubic metres per second, was second only to the one in 1954, when flood prevention measures protected the dikes and the city from disaster. Some Wuhan residents remember 1931 when the water rose 28 metres from the riverbed, breached the dikes and flooded the city for four months.

Owing to heavy silting in the Changjiang River, the local people have had to build higher and higher dikes over the years. In flood seasons, the water level is often above the streets.

This year water levels at Hankou, directly across the river from Wuhan rose above warning marks on July 5 and more than one million people were assigned to patrol the dikes along the middle reach of the river day and night.

Drainage pipes, pumps and other equipment were insufficient to completely offset the rains. One third of Wuhan was under as much as one metre of water. The area includes 70,000 residences and 800 enterprises. The water inundated 4,000 hectares of vegetable fields and destroyed 3,300 hectares of fish ponds.

Leading provincial and municipal officials rushed to the scene to help evacuate residents and organize distribution of emergency food and lodging,

as well as other prevention efforts.

According to the latest news, a third flood peak has appeared on the upper and middle reaches of the Changjiang River as have heavy floods on the upstream of the Huanghe River. Vast areas of Anhui Province are hit by waterlogging. Local PLA soldiers joined the people in the fight against the floods.

## Sino-Italian satellite phone link

President Li Xiannian telephoned Italian President Sandro Pertini via "Sirio" on July 16 to congratulate Sino-Italian scientific and technological personnel on their joint experiments and encourage their continued success.

Joint Sino-Italian scientific experiments using "Sirio," an Italian communications satellite, began formally on June 15.

During their 15-minute conversation, President Pertini said: "First of all, I extend my congratulations to the Chinese people. I will never forget my visit to China in 1980."

Pertini wished the Chinese people continued success and expressed the belief that China would play a greater role in world affairs. He said he hoped the Chinese people would make greater contributions to safeguarding world peace.

Li Xiannian thanked Pertini for his kind words, and added: "You are an old and respected friend of the Chinese people. Your visit in September 1980 was very fruitful and contributed greatly to the develop-

ment of relations between our two countries and to the friendship between our two peoples. All this left a very deep impression on the Chinese people. The Chinese Government attaches great importance to developing relations with Italy in every field."

"I am anxious to continue, together with President Pertini, further development in the political, economic, cultural and scientific and technical fields," Li said.

Li asked President Pertini to convey to the Italian people the sincere greetings of the Chinese people as well as his own. He also conveyed warm greetings from Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, to President Pertini and invited the Italian leader to visit China again.

## Vanuatu Prime Minister in China

Premier Zhao Ziyang said that the Chinese Government resolutely supports the South Pacific countries in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence, strengthening regional co-operation and opposing big powers' interference in the South Pacific affairs.

Zhao said this on July 14 at a banquet he gave in honour of Walter Hadye Lini, Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vanuatu, the youngest island country in the South Pacific, which proclaimed independence from the colonialist

rule of Britain and France on July 30, 1980. "Vanuatu" means "the land is ours for ever."

At the banquet Zhao also said: "At present, South Pacific countries, like other third world countries, are still hampered by the inequitable and unjust old international economic order, which has caused numerous difficulties in the economic development of third world countries and directly affected the consolidation of their political independence."

"The Chinese Government and people are ready to strengthen unity and develop co-operation with Vanuatu and other South Pacific countries and work with them to change the old international economic order," he said.

"During the past year or more since the establishment of diplomatic relations," Zhao said, "the relations between China and Vanuatu have made satisfactory progress. The Chinese Government will continue to make efforts to maintain and develop this relationship."

He said he believed that Prime Minister Lini's visit will further promote the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Prime Minister Lini said: "My Government highly values the relations established between China and Vanuatu. Vanuatu is grateful for the commencement of an economic and technological co-operation programme since May 1983." He said it is a mutual desire to further promote and develop this relationship.

Premier Zhao and Prime Minister Lini held talks on



Prime Minister Lini, accompanied by Premier Zhao Ziyang, reviews the guard of honour.

bilateral relations and international issues of common concern, particularly the Kampuchean issue and the situation in the South Pacific region in a sincere and friendly atmosphere.

Li Xiannian, President of the People's Republic of China, met with Prime Minister Lini on July 16.

## US 'transit visas' statement refuted

Li Juqing, Deputy Director of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry, on July 19 answered the United States' statement that it was withdrawing the privilege for Chinese citizens to cross the United States without transit visas. No such privilege has existed, he said.

Speaking at the weekly press briefing in Beijing, he said that on July 13, the chief spokesman of the US State Department, John Hughes, announced that

as of June 30 the United States had withdrawn the so-called Chinese citizens' privilege of crossing the United States without transit visas and put the blame on the Chinese side for certain problems relative to visa matters in their bilateral relations. "We cannot but express regret over such a statement as it is completely at variance with the facts," Li said.

Li noted that, since 1981, China has proposed to the United States on many occasions that travellers, who have already obtained visas of a third country as well as connecting plane tickets and bookings for through seats and whose stop-over does not exceed 24 hours, be exempted from transit visas. This has been rejected repeatedly by the US side.

Therefore, he continued, there is simply no such privilege of transit for Chinese citizens through the United States without visas as alleged by the US Government. Furthermore, in

1981, the US side made things very difficult for Chinese officials crossing the US without transit visas, and fined each of them US\$1,000.

It should be pointed out, Li said, that it was only after the US side started fining Chinese travellers and had rejected time and again the Chinese proposal of mutual exemption of transit visas that China was compelled to take reciprocal measures. "Obviously, the responsibility for all this rests entirely with the US side," Li said.

He said that China wishes to reiterate that, although the US side has done things which it should not have done, China still hopes that the US will handle such matters in accordance with the principles of equality and reciprocity, taking into consideration the convenience of the exchange of visits between people of the two countries.

## Sino-British talks on Xianggang

The first meeting of the second phase of the Sino-British talks on the question of Xianggang (Hongkong) ended on July 13 after two days' discussion.

At the end of the meeting, Yao Guang, Chairman of the Chinese Government Delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, told Chinese and foreign reporters that "the talks are useful and constructive."

Yao Guang said that the Chinese and British delegations have agreed that the contents of the talks will be confidential. He added that both sides will resume their talks on July 25 and 26 in Beijing.

In response to reporters' questions, Yao Guang said that Sir



Edward Youde, the British Governor of Xianggang, will continue to take part in the coming talks as a member of the British Government Delegation.

On July 8, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman answered a question by reporters:

Question: "Any comment on AFP and AP dispatches from Xianggang that Governor Edward Youde told reporters on July 7 he would represent the people of Xianggang in the Sino-British talks."

Answer: "The Sino-British talks on the Xianggang issue are bilateral, between the Government of China and the Government of Britain. Mr. Youde will take part in the talks as a member of the British Government Delegation. Therefore, he can only represent the British Government in the talks."

Qi Huaiyuan, Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at his weekly news briefing on July 12 refuted a report in the Xianggang magazine, *Asiaweek*, that China would revise its constitution so that Xianggang would maintain its capitalist system and enjoy a status different from that of the mainland after the question of sovereignty over Xianggang is solved.

Qi noted that in his Report on the Work of the Government delivered at the First Session of the 6th National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that China will, at an opportune moment, recover Chinese sovereignty over Xianggang and take appropriate measures to maintain its prosperity. "The Chinese Govern-

ment will act in accordance with this principle," Qi stressed.

Members of the Chinese Government Delegation to the second phase of the Sino-British talks on the question of Xianggang are:

Yao Guang, Chairman of the Chinese Government Delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Li Jusheng, second director of the Xianggang (Hongkong) Bureau of the Xinhua News Agency;

Shao Tianren, legal adviser to the Foreign Ministry;

Lu Ping, adviser to the Western Europe Department of the Foreign Ministry;

Ke Zhaishuo, counsellor of the Western Europe Department of the Foreign Ministry; and

Luo Jiahuan, counsellor of the Western Europe Department of the Foreign Ministry.

## China hopes to see peace in Chad

The Chinese Government has always held that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country should be respected, said Premier Zhao Ziyang on July 17 while meeting with Idriss Miskine, Chad Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.

Zhao said that the Chinese Government is deeply concerned about the situation in Chad.

The Premier said, "It is our consistent principle to oppose armed occupation of a country by any other. We hope that

Chad will achieve internal peace soon."

Zhao expressed the sympathy of the Chinese Government and people with the Chad people for their sufferings caused by war. He expressed his appreciation for the Chad Government's efforts to realize peace and heal the wounds of war in the country.

Zhao also expressed his appreciation for the efforts made by the Organization of African Unity to bring about peace in Chad.

During his stay in Beijing, Miskine held talks with Wu Xueqian, Chinese State Councillor and Foreign Minister.

Wu said that the Chinese Government has always stood for peaceful settlement of differences and disputes among third world countries through friendly consultation in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

He said he hoped that the two parties in dispute would seek a fair and reasonable solution through friendly consultation and negotiation within the OAU on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, so as to prevent superpower meddling and sabotage.

Miskine said his country is willing to settle all questions with neighbouring countries.

He reiterated Chad's determination to defend its territorial sovereignty.

Miskine stressed that the Chad Government will strengthen co-operation with China in the economic, trade and other fields.

*Madrid Conference***Marathon meeting grinds  
to an end**

**A**FTER dragging on for nearly three years, the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the second follow-up of the 1975 Helsinki conference, has finally decided to close.

On July 15 all 35 nations to the conference, except Malta, approved the text and appendix of the closing document and agreed to hold the next CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna, Austria, in 1986. Malta refused to endorse the final document because its long-standing demand for a Mediterranean security conference was rejected by the other participants.

The conference's final document, among other things, provides for a European disarmament conference in Stockholm, Sweden, next January; a meeting of experts on human rights in Ottawa, Canada, in the spring of 1985; a cultural forum in Budapest, Hungary, in 1985; and an East-West European human contacts conference—covering marriage, travel and family reunification—in Bern, Switzerland, in April 1986.

**'Dialogue of the Deaf'**

The Madrid conference to review implementation of the final documents of the July 21, 1975 Helsinki accord began on November 11, 1980, and was originally scheduled to close in March 1981. However, from the very beginning it was beset

with sharp conflicts between East and West, particularly between the Soviet Union and the United States. Such issues as the Afghanistan problem, the situation in Poland and human rights problem have repeatedly stalled the meeting and turned it into a "dialogue of the deaf."

To break the deadlock, the neutral and non-aligned delegates to the conference made new proposals for a final document and called for an early conclusion of the conference to be followed by the convening of separate conferences for European arms reductions and human rights. However, some Western countries wanted to include in the final document references to human rights and contacts and proposed 20 amendments to the document. The Soviet Union had firmly rejected the West's amendments and the conference became deadlocked once again.

On June 17, a new proposal was submitted by Spain which had tried to reconcile the propositions of the neutral and non-aligned countries and the amendments demanded by the West. While retaining some references to human rights and providing for an experts meeting on human contacts in April 1986, it also included the Soviet demand for convening a European arms reduction conference.

The Western countries supported the Spanish initiative

and the Soviet Union, which rejected it at first, suddenly decided to accept the Spanish proposal at the end of last month's Warsaw Pact summit meeting.

Most participants had long ago become sick and tired of the Madrid conference. Some delegates said that the meeting had reached a "dead end," that it had become a platform for the Soviet Union and the United States to engage in political propaganda and exchange accusations, and that it had not helped make Europe any safer. Their demand to end this kind of meeting undoubtedly put some pressure on the United States and the Soviet Union to let the conference wind down. Through the efforts of Spain and the neutral countries, the United States and its West European allies made some concessions on the human rights issue which then made it difficult for the Soviet Union to maintain an uncompromising stand without harming its world image.

**Tactical Compromise**

The Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has shown that the basic differences between the United States and the Soviet Union have not been resolved, that compromise has been reached because neither Moscow nor Washington wants to be responsible for torpedoing the conference and obstructing the "channels of dialogue and co-ordination" between East and West. Neither wants to throw overboard the banner of detente which can cover up their global rivalry. In order to forestall the planned deployment of new US medium-range missiles in West-

ern Europe, Moscow wants all the more to turn its attention to the projected meeting on European disarmament and military confidence-building measures. A Madrid newspaper commented that it would be preposterous to think that the European and international situation has taken a favourable turn because of the compromise.

The truth of this is quite apparent if one takes a look at the little progress that has been made in the Soviet-US Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces in Central Europe. The United States has begun preparations for the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe while the Soviets have threatened that if new US missiles are deployed in Europe, they will deploy more missiles accordingly. A Western press report discloses that the Soviet Union has begun to deploy new missiles in Eastern Europe. All this offers little optimism for the prospects of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

— Duan Ping

## Middle East

### Shultz's abortive mission

**A**FTER finishing his Asian tour, US Secretary of State George Shultz paid a four-day (July 4-7) visit to the Middle Eastern countries — Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Jordan and Egypt. Shultz said that his second Middle East tour since he took office last summer was aimed at gathering information and assessing the prospects of securing

foreign troop withdrawal from Lebanon. Many believe that Shultz returned to the Mideast in a bid to save the Lebanese-Israeli agreement signed two months ago.

### Reagan's Mideast Plan

The signing of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement is an important step concerning the whole US Middle East strategy. If the plan for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon were implemented, it would not only open road for the normalization of relations between Lebanon and Israel, it would also force the PLO to accept Reagan's programme and bring Jordan into the Middle East peace negotiations, ending the stalemate in the US-sponsored Middle East peace process which began at Camp David in 1979.

However, the implementation of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement has been deadlocked since its signing on May 17 because of serious differences among the concerned parties. Thus, President Reagan sent Shultz on a short tour of the Middle East in an attempt to end the stalemate over foreign troop withdrawal and regain the US initiative in the Middle East.

But Shultz's tour achieved nothing substantial. As he ended his Middle East tour, Shultz said that he had failed to make any progress on promoting the pullout of foreign forces from Lebanon and there seemed to be no possibility of ending the stalemate in the near future.

It is acknowledged by US officials that Syria is a "key" to the Lebanese question, and Shultz paid much attention to Syria during his Middle East tour.

Relations between Damascus and Washington have been strained since Syria refused to receive US special envoy Philip Habib and other US demands for dialogue. According to Washington's point of view, the Syrian agreement to hold talks with Shultz was a hint of "encouragement." However, optimism was soon replaced by pessimism. At a meeting lasting more than 5 hours, Shultz and Syrian President Hafez Assad argued about the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. It was announced that Assad told Shultz that Syria's position on the agreement was final and irrevocable.

Shultz conceded that his talks with President Assad were very difficult sometimes, and that "we did not have very much to agree about in our analysis of the agreement." But he was encouraged by the fact that both sides agreed to set up a joint working group to stay in touch and to carry on the US-Syria dialogue.

### US Soft on Israel

In Israel, Shultz held talks with Israeli political leaders and army officers on Israel's troop redeployment in Lebanon. Israel's reports revealed that Shultz did not formally oppose Israel's troop redeployment plan, but simply conveyed Lebanon's worry about the Israeli plan. Shultz also indicated that Washington will not ask Israel to withdraw its troops from Lebanon unless Syria agrees to pull out its troops. Shultz's position was reassuring Israel.

Ending his Mideast tour in Egypt, Shultz said that he would come back to the Middle East to follow up his mission. He asked for patience and confidence in US diplomatic ef-

forts. Observers note that since the United States is beginning preparations for the 1984 presidential elections, Reagan's Middle East policy will be affected

by the election campaign. It will be very difficult for the US plan to move forward.

— *Chen Jichang, Zhou Guoming*

interference in others' internal affairs. It has given strong backing to the efforts by the Contadora Group to attain peace in Central America.

### *Caribbean Community*

## Advancing in unity and co-operation

**T**HE fourth summit of the Caribbean Community closed on July 8 with a unanimous agreement among members on many regional matters.

Formed by the Treaty of Chaguaramas in 1973 to promote regional co-operation and unity, the community grew from its original four participants to eight in 1974 and, at this latest summit which opened on July 4, the 10th anniversary of the community, formally admitted the Commonwealth of the Bahamas as its 13th member.

The growth of the community reflects the aspirations of the Caribbean countries and peoples to strengthen their unity. Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister George Chambers, who presided over the conference, said in his opening address that the West Indies has never before so yearned for unity. Other leaders of the community also stressed the regional integration as the only way for these countries to play an important role in international affairs.

During the past decade, the intensified global scramble be-

tween the two superpowers has affected the Caribbean area and the members of the community have suffered from the Western economic crisis. In spite of their political differences, however, members of the community have worked tirelessly to make visible achievements.

Politically, the community supports national movements for independence and is against the use of armed force and in-

terference in others' internal affairs. It has given strong backing to the efforts by the Contadora Group to attain peace in Central America.

The community has promoted trade among its members, which now amounts to US\$1,000 million annually as compared to \$230 million in 1973. Some of its more developed countries have given economic aid to its less developed members. For example, Trinidad and Tobago has granted US\$200 million in aid and loans to other community members since 1973.

Today, the community faces a number of problems, including obstacles to co-operation in trade and finance and a lack of co-ordination in foreign policies, but it is working to surmount these difficulties by emphasizing mutual assistance and understanding.

— *Lang Caiji*

### *Arab Countries*

## Strive for grain self-sufficiency

**A** SHORTAGE of agricultural produce caused by backward agriculture is a serious problem which the Arab world shares with many other third world countries.

With a total population of about 165 million, 198 million hectares of arable land and 252 million hectares of pastureland, the Arab countries till 46.3 million hectares, but fall far short of meeting their agricultural

needs, and have to import large quantities of agricultural products every year. In 1975 the Arab grain shortage was 11.2 million tons and this rose to 13.2 million tons in 1980.

### **Causes**

This serious situation has aroused the concern of Arab leaders and experts. They are very much aware of the fact

that agricultural backwardness not only affects the development of the whole economy, but also forces them to rely heavily on the major agricultural produce-exporting countries, thus endangering their political independence.

The Arab chambers of industry, agriculture and commerce held their 27th meeting in Khartoum, Sudan, in February of this year. The meeting focused on agriculture. After a comprehensive analysis of the Arab agricultural situation the participants unanimously agreed that the main reason for their agricultural backwardness lay in the fact that their countries did not pay much attention to and invested less money in agriculture, that their policies on ownership and use of farmland, on farm management, on agricultural products pricing and on transportation and sales were not all correct. These countries used little or no advanced agricultural technology to improve the soil, select fine seeds, irrigate, spread manure, to raise the level of field management or to harvest and store food. The countryside is backward and the level of education is low, so development there is rather slow. Since many people have gone from the countryside to the cities and a large number of agricultural technicians have emigrated abroad, many villages lack labourers and technicians.

The conference also felt that the Arab countries have plenty of tillable land and pasture, and since 56 per cent of their population lives in the countryside they also have enough labourers. In addition, because the financial and economic foundation of some countries is reliable, the problem of agricultural investment and credit can be easily



Kuwait farm workers spraying insecticides.

solved. At the same time these countries have accumulated some experience in farming. Therefore, the conference concluded that the Arab countries have considerable potential to be tapped for further agricultural development.

### Grand Plan

Recently the Arab agricultural development organization has worked out a master plan for agricultural development. Based on present Arab agricultural conditions and a policy of comprehensive development by using advanced agrotechniques, this plan stipulates the construction of 153 big agricultural projects. These projects are divided into six areas: grain, oil crops, sugar, animal husbandry, aquatic products and storage of the strategic grain. According to rough estimates, these projects will need US\$33,300 million, of which US\$26,600 million are for national projects and US\$6,700 million for transnational projects.

To implement this plan, the Arab world has set up a special commission consisting of the agricultural ministers of each

country. According to the importance of the projects, investment needs, size and geographical location, 53 projects will be built first, including 16 projects for grain and oil crops, 21 for animal husbandry, 10 for sugar, 5 for aquatic products and 1 project to finance the Palestinian agricultural department. After these projects are put into operation, the wheat output of the Arab countries is expected to rise 37 per cent, aquatic products 86 per cent, oil crops 36 per cent, sugar 24 per cent and animal husbandry will increase considerably. By then the gross agricultural and husbandry output value will increase US\$68,100 million. This will make it possible for the Arab countries to reduce the imports of some products greatly, and other products as aquatic products, barley and corn will be exported.

Agricultural improvements in the Arab countries will have far-reaching effects on their trade position, will promote the comprehensive development of their national economies, and will consolidate their political independence.

— Shi Yanchun

# Suggestions on the Drafting of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China"

(March 1980-June 1981)

Deng Xiaoping

I

I HAVE gone over the outline prepared by the drafting group, and my impression is that it is overextended. We should avoid the narrative method and make the whole document more succinct. There should be conclusions of important questions, and a bit more language of the kind. We must, of course, take care that what we say is accurate.

The main idea, I think, should consist of the following three points:

First, to affirm the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the most essential point. We must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought not only today but in the future as well. The decision adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central



Deng Xiaoping at home.

The drafting of the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China was led by the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and presided over by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. The drafting group was mainly led by Comrade Hu Qiaomu. Comrade Deng Xiaoping made suggestions on the drafting of the resolution and revision of its draft on many occasions between March 1980 and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee of June 1981. Here is an unofficial translation of the excerpts from nine of his talks.

Committee on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi has caused much confusion among some people after it was relayed. Some people do not agree with the decision, thinking that it goes against Mao Zedong Thought. Others think that the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi shows that Mao Zedong Thought is wrong. Both views are incorrect, and all the confused ideas must be clarified. The appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and of Mao Zedong Thought is a matter of great concern both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad. Not only all our Party comrades but also our friends in various quarters are concerned about what we have to say on this question.

We should write into the document we are drafting the history of Mao Zedong Thought and how it came into being. One can say that Mao Zedong Thought took shape rather comprehensively during the Yanan period. Its theories on the new-democratic revolution, including the theories on Party building and the principles on the handling of inner-Party relations, all took shape rather comprehensively around the time of the Rectification Campaign in Yanan. The resolution adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee on certain questions in the history of our Party mainly criticized the three "Left" lines<sup>1</sup> in contrast to the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. But it did not systematically expound the entire content of Mao Zedong Thought. Now that we are going to give a correct evaluation of Mao Zedong Thought and scientifically establish its guiding role, it is necessary to expound its main components in fairly general terms, especially those which we should continue to implement in the future. Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes during the decade of the "cultural revolution." However, in our appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, it is necessary to analyse such mistakes in a truth-seeking manner.

Second, a truth-seeking analysis should be made of the rights and wrongs of the major events over the past 30 years or so since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and a fair evaluation be made of the merits and demerits of some leading comrades.

Third, this resolution shall be a basic summary of our work in the past. As I said before, it is better to write this summary in broad outline and not in great detail. The purpose of summing up our past work is to guide people to close ranks and look to the future. We strive to ensure that, with the adoption of the resolution, the Party members and non-Party people will have their ideas clarified, reach consensus of views and, by and large, call an end to discussions on the major historical questions. Of course, it will be difficult to completely avoid discussions of past events in the future. However, such discussions may be conducted in connection with discussions of the work of the day. We should now work with one mind for China's modernization and we should all unite as one and look forward. It is not so easy to do all this. We must try our best to work out a good resolution so that we can achieve a consensus and forestall differences on major issues.

Then in the future, even if the past events are mentioned, people will have no differing views. They will limit their talks to what they have learnt from the resolution and from our past experiences and lessons.

These three points constitute the general objective or the general principle and general guideline of this resolution. The first point is the most important, the most fundamental and the most crucial

In the past, we often talked about the 10 struggles between two opposing lines. How should we look at them now?

The struggle against Comrade Peng Dehuai<sup>2</sup> cannot be viewed as a struggle between two lines. Nor can the struggle against Comrade Liu Shaoqi<sup>3</sup>. Thus, the number is cut by two. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing formed counter-revolutionary cliques. Chen Duxiu<sup>4</sup>, and Comrades Qu Qiubai<sup>5</sup> and Li Lisan<sup>6</sup> did not engage in conspiracies. Luo Zhanglong<sup>7</sup> tried to split the Party by setting up another central committee. Zhang Guotao<sup>8</sup> engaged in conspiracies, and so did Gao Gang. This was true of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

It was correct to expose Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. As to whether this struggle can be regarded as a struggle between two lines, that can be discussed. I know the whole story inside out. After Comrade Mao Zedong proposed at the end of 1953 that the work of the Party Central Committee be divided into a front line and a second line, Gao Gang became very active. He first gained the support of Lin Biao, which emboldened him to go ahead with his plan. At that time, he was in charge of northeast China, Lin Biao was in charge of central-south China and Rao Shushi, east China. With regard to southwest China, he tried to win me over and had formal negotiations with me in which he said that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was immature. He wanted to draw me over to his effort to topple Comrade Liu Shaoqi. I made my attitude clear by saying that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's position in the Party was an outcome of historical development, that he was a good comrade on the whole, and that it was inappropriate to try to change his historical position. Gao Gang also approached Comrade Chen Yun and told him that a few more posts of vice-chairmanship should be instituted and that both he and Chen should be the new vice-chairmen. At this point, Comrade Chen Yun and I realized that it was something serious and we immediately brought the matter

to the attention of Comrade Mao Zedong. It was most abnormal for Gao Gang to engage in behind-the-scenes deals and conspiracies in an attempt to bring down Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Therefore, the struggle against Gao Gang should be reaffirmed. The Gao-Rao case was handled rather leniently. Hardly anyone was hurt. In fact, care was taken to protect a number of cadres. All in all, we could not but expose Gao Gang and Rao Shushi and deal with their case as we did. The way their case was handled is correct from today's point of view as well. However, as to what line Gao Gang pushed after all, really I do not see there was any. So it is hard to say whether we should call the struggle against him a struggle between two lines. You may discuss it further.

The anti-Rightist struggle in 1957<sup>9</sup> should be reaffirmed. After the completion of the socialist transformation<sup>10</sup>, there was indeed a force—a trend of thought—in the country that was bourgeois in nature and opposed to socialism. It was imperative to counter this trend. I said on many occasions that at that time there were indeed some people who were out for blood and tried to negate the leadership of the Communist Party and change the socialist orientation of our country. If we had failed to thwart their attempt, I said, we would not have been able to advance. Our mistake was broadening the scope of the struggle. The United Front Work Department wrote a report to the Central Committee, suggesting that all those who were wrongly labelled Rightists be repressed while rehabilitation is out of the question for those who were correctly labelled. However, in the cases of those former prominent figures of the democratic parties who were correctly labelled Rightists, it should be added to their verdicts that they performed good deeds before the anti-Rightist struggle, and especially during the period of the democratic revolution. Their family members should not be discriminated against, but should be properly looked after politically as well as in their daily life and work.

The several points on our experiences towards the end of your outline are well written, but I suggest adding one or two more.

To sum up, historical questions should be expounded only in rough and general outline, instead of in great detail. You should be able to withstand the pressure of some comrades' wrong opinions about a number of questions. There should be expositions of the major is-

sues. I suggest that the draft be worked out as soon as possible.

*(Talk with some leading comrades of the Party Central Committee on March 19, 1980)*

## II

GENERALLY speaking, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership was correct before 1957, but he made more and more mistakes after the anti-Rightist struggle of that year. *On the Ten Major Relationships* is a good speech. So is *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. In *The Situation in the Summer of 1957*, Comrade Mao Zedong said that we must build a modern industrial and modern agricultural base in China and only when this is achieved can our socialist economic and political system be regarded as having obtained a fairly adequate material base; that, to build socialism the working class must have its own army of technical cadres and of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists, and that this must be a vast army, as a small number of people will not suffice; that we should create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. The two Zhengzhou Meetings<sup>11</sup> were held at the right time. In the first half of 1959, we were busy correcting "Left" mistakes. The early stage of the Lushan Meeting<sup>12</sup> was devoted to economic work. With the relay of Comrade Peng Dehuai's letter, however, things began to change. Comrade Peng Dehuai's views were correct, and it was normal for him, as a Member of the Political Bureau, to write to the Chairman. Although Comrade Peng Dehuai had shortcomings, the way his case was handled was totally wrong. After that, came the period of economic difficulties. In 1961, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee presided over the drafting of the Seventy Articles on Industrial Work<sup>13</sup> and of a resolution on industrial questions. Comrade Mao Zedong was quite satisfied with these articles and spoke highly of them. He said that we had finally managed to work out some guiding rules for industrial work. Earlier, we had worked out the Twelve Articles on Agricultural Work<sup>14</sup> and the Sixty Articles on the Work of People's Communes<sup>15</sup>. It seems that at the time, Comrade Mao Zedong was conscientious in correcting the "Left" mistakes. His address at the conference



of early 1962, which was attended by 7,000 people<sup>16</sup>, was also good. At the Beidaihe Meeting<sup>17</sup> of July-August that year, however, he made another reversal, once again stressing class struggle, and with even greater emphasis at that. Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee that re-emphasis of class struggle should not interfere with the economic readjustment that was in progress. That speech had a positive effect. But after that session, he undertook to grasp class struggle himself by initiating the movement of the "four clean-ups"<sup>18</sup>. Then, he issued two written instructions on literary and art work<sup>19</sup>, and Jiang Qing's stuff began to surface. Towards the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965, when the discussion on the "four clean-ups" movement was under way, he said that there were capitalist roaders in power, and that there were two independent kingdoms in Beijing. Judging from the situation between 1961 and 1966, we can see that economic readjustment attained good results, that the economic and political situation was favourable, and that public order was good. In a word, in the 17 years following the founding of our People's Republic, our work was basically correct despite our setbacks and mistakes. We did well in the socialist revolution. After we focused our attention on socialist construction, Comrade Mao Zedong also wrote good articles and put forth good ideas. So when we talk about mistakes, we should not put the blame all on Comrade Mao Zedong, for many other leading comrades in the Central Committee also made mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong was overly enthusiastic at the time of the "great leap forward"<sup>20</sup>, but the rest of us were overly enthusiastic as well. Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai and I, too, did not object to it, and Comrade Chen Yun kept silent on the matter. We must be fair on these questions and must not give the impression that only one person made mistakes while everybody else was correct, because such an appraisal does not tally with facts. When the Central Committee makes a mistake, it is the collective rather than a particular individual that should bear the responsibility. In this respect, we should analyse things by combining Marxism-Leninism with our practice so that we can make new contributions and developments.

The several points in the outline concerning our experience are good. The question is where to place them.

July 25, 1983



Deng Xiaoping reviews troops during military exercises in north China in the autumn of 1981.

As far as the layout is concerned, perhaps we should have a foreword containing a brief history of the new-democratic revolution prior to the founding of the People's Republic, followed by a section covering the 17 years of New China, a section about the "cultural revolution," a section about Mao Zedong Thought and, finally, concluding remarks. These concluding remarks should make it clear that our Party is, after all, a great Party that is bold enough to face up to, and correct, its mistakes. The most essential and most fundamental point of the resolution remains the upholding and development of Mao Zedong Thought. People inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad all expect us to expound and elucidate this issue and make some generalization on it.

*(Talk with some leading comrades of the Party Central Committee on April 1, 1980)*

### III

I HAVE gone over the draft of the resolution. It is no good and needs rewriting. We stressed at the very beginning that the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong must be affirmed

and Mao Zedong Thought adhered to and developed. This draft fails to reflect this idea adequately. The passages dealing with events before 1957 are all right as far as the facts are concerned, but the way they are presented, the order, and especially the tone of presentation should be reconsidered and altered. It is necessary to give a clear account of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to socialist revolution and socialist construction. Mao Zedong Thought is still in the process of development. We should restore, persist in and even further develop Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong laid a foundation for us in all these respects, and the resolution should fully reflect these ideas of his. Some of his important articles and speeches of this period, such as *On the Ten Major Relationships*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *The Situation in the Summer of 1957* should be referred to. The ideas contained in these articles and speeches are what we must continue to adhere to and develop at this time. We must clarify for the people what we mean by saying we must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and adhere to Mao Zedong Thought.

The tone of the draft as a whole is too depressing — not like a resolution. It seems necessary to revise it, which means a heavy job. The emphasis should be on what Mao Zedong Thought is and what were the correct ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong. Criticism of mistakes is necessary but it must be appropriate. The mentioning of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes alone will not solve all the problems. What is most important is the question of systems. Comrade Mao Zedong made many correct statements, but the faulty systems of the past pushed him to the opposite direction. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in both theory and practice in his later years should be mentioned, but they should be dealt with properly and only in general outline. The main thing is for the resolution to concentrate on the correct aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong's career, for this conforms to historical reality. I suggest that you consider whether in the concluding section there should be a passage about our determination to continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought. Also in this passage, the view of "two whatever<sup>21</sup>" must be criticized. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes lie in the fact that he went against the correct ideas of his own. Those who ascribed to the "two-whatever" view wished to uphold, without any change whatsoever, the erroneous views of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. So-called "act according to the prin-

ciples laid down"<sup>22</sup> meant acting according to the erroneous principles Comrade Mao Zedong laid down in the evening of his life. The influence of the vestiges of feudalism should also be mentioned in the resolution, but again in a proper way. Comrade Mao Zedong said on numerous occasions that he was against singing the praises of anyone, and he proposed that no places and enterprises should be named after leaders, that no birthday parties be held for them and that no gifts be presented to them. What the present Central Committee persists in is precisely Mao Zedong Thought, for which we naturally have specific content in mind.

*(Talk with some leading comrades of the Party Central Committee on June 27, 1980)*

#### IV

THE discussions in which 4,000 Party comrades are participating are still going on. I have read some summaries. The comrades are airing their views freely and putting forward different views, some of which are very good. I think the draft of the resolution for discussion is still too long and needs to be condensed. Delete what is dispensable so as to bring the essentials into sharp focus. Many groups demand that there be a section in the draft devoted to the period following the smashing of the gang of four. It seems that we will have to.

It is, indeed, a very important question whether the resolution includes an appraisal of the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao Zedong, and Mao Zedong Thought. And if so, just how should they be appraised? I have talked to some comrades from the Central Security Bureau. They told me that they had read the transcript of my interview with the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci to the soldiers and held some discussions on it. The officers and men found what I had said appropriate and acceptable. If we do not mention Mao Zedong Thought and make an appropriate evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, the old workers will not feel satisfied, nor will the poor and lower-middle peasants of the period of land reform, nor will a good number of cadres who have close ties with them. On no account can we discard the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Otherwise, we would be negating the glorious history of our Party. Our Party's history as a whole is a glorious one. Although our Party committed some big mis-

takes in the past, including the three decades after the founding of New China, even with such big mistakes as the "cultural revolution," our Party has succeeded, after all, in making revolution. It is since the founding of the People's Republic that China's status in the world has greatly enhanced. Only with the founding of the People's Republic of China has our great country with nearly a quarter of the world's population stood up and consolidated its position in the community of nations. As Comrade Mao Zedong put it, "the Chinese people have now stood up." Our people at home and Chinese nationals residing abroad all felt very strongly about this change. It is also after the founding of the People's Republic that national reunification (except Taiwan) has been truly realized. Under the rule of the Kuomintang, let alone in those years of the old China when the warlords were fighting among themselves, there was no national reunification in the true sense. Places like Shanxi, Guangdong, Guangxi and Sichuan could not be considered as having been really unified with the rest of the country. Our country would remain what it was in the old days were it not for the Communist Party of China, the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution and the establishment of the socialist system. We owe what we have achieved to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. It is precisely on this question that many of our young people lack an adequate understanding.

The appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and the exposition of Mao Zedong Thought relate not only to Comrade Mao Zedong himself but also the entire history of our Party and our country. We must have this overall point of view, and this is what we have repeatedly emphasized ever since we started drafting this resolution. It must contain a section that expound Mao Zedong Thought, because what is involved here is not merely a theoretical question but, in particular, a political question of great domestic and international significance. It would be better not to draft this resolution at all if it did not include such a section or if this section was not well written. As to how to write this section, we must certainly study in real earnest the suggestions put forward by the comrades.

It is right not to say that Mao Zedong Thought developed Marxism-Leninism in a comprehensive way or that it represents a new stage of Marxism. But we must recognize that Mao Zedong Thought is the application and develop-

ment of Marxism-Leninism in China. Our Party has indeed applied Marxism-Leninism in a creative way in solving specific problems in China. This is the objective reality and a historical fact. Anyway, in the draft, the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao Zedong, the content of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding role in our work both at present and in the future must be expounded. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have been restoring the correct policies advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and we have been studying and applying Mao Zedong Thought in an accurate and comprehensive way. The basic points remain those we have discussed. In many respects, what we are doing is what Comrade Mao Zedong suggested we should do but have failed to do, to set right what he mistakenly opposed and to do a good job in what he failed to do properly. We will continue to do so for a long time to come. Of course, we have developed and will continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought was defined as the guiding thought for our whole Party at the Seventh Party Congress<sup>21</sup>. Our Party educated a whole generation with Mao Zedong Thought, and this enabled us to win victory in the revolutionary war and found the People's Republic of China. The "cultural revolution" was indeed a big error. Even so, our Party has been able to smash the two counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four and put an end to the "cultural revolution." It has continued to advance to this day. All this may be attributed to the generation educated with Mao Zedong Thought. We have been talking about setting things right. By that we mean that we should undo the damage wrought by Lin Biao and the gang of four, criticize the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years and bring things back on to the correct track of Mao Zedong Thought. In short, if we fail to include a section in the resolution concerning Mao Zedong Thought which, since it has been proved correct in practice, should serve as our guiding thought for our future work, then the importance and historical significance of the revolution and construction we have carried out and will continue to carry out will be reduced. We will make a grave historic mistake if we do not include Mao Zedong Thought in the resolution or if we cease to adhere to it.

Today some comrades attribute many problems to the personal qualities of Comrade Mao Zedong. The crux of many problems, as a mat-

ter of fact, does not lie in personal qualities. Even for people of fine qualities, mistakes are unavoidable under some circumstances. During the period of the Red Army, a campaign to rout out the A-B group was mounted in the central revolutionary base area. Can it be said that all those who participated in the campaign were people of bad qualities? At first, Comrade Mao Zedong also took part, but he came to see what was wrong with it earlier than others and drew important lessons from it. Later in Yanan, he put forth the principle of "killing none and not arresting most"<sup>24</sup>. It was necessary to heighten our vigilance against bad elements within our ranks during the exceptionally tense wartime. However, if we did not act soberly, failed to make clear analysis and easily believed in confessions of the accused, it would have been difficult for us to avoid making mistakes. Objectively, the situation was indeed tense at that time. But subjectively speaking, there was also a question of lack of experience.

As a matter of fact, Comrade Mao Zedong did not mean to overthrow all the veteran cadres in the "cultural revolution." For instance, from the very beginning Lin Biao was bent on persecuting Comrade He Long<sup>25</sup> but Comrade Mao Zedong really wanted to protect him. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong didn't let anyone who failed to obey his orders off lightly, he had consideration as to how far disciplinary measures should go. We shouldn't put all the blame on him for the persecution which later increased in magnitude, although to a certain extent, it was his responsibility. Some cases of perpetration were faits accomplis engineered solely by Lin Biao and the gang of four while others were made behind his back. Anyway, the overthrow of a large number of cadres is the biggest tragedy of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years.

In his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong was indeed not as consistent a thinker as he had been previously; some of his remarks were plainly contradictory. For instance, in appraising the "cultural revolution," he said that the revolution was 30 per cent erroneous while 70 per cent positive. He said that it was 30 per cent erroneous, because it was "overthrowing everything and waging full-scale civil war." Can anyone find any rational harmony between this statement and his remark stating it was 70 per cent positive?

We should make a clear-cut criticism of our mistakes, including those made by Comrade Mao Zedong. In doing so, we must be practical

and realistic. We should analyse the different situations and must not attribute all our problems to the personal qualities of some individuals. Comrade Mao Zedong was not an individual in isolation: until his death he was the leader of our Party. We must not exaggerate his mistakes. If we do, we will be slandering Comrade Mao Zedong as well as our Party and state. Exaggeration does not tally with historical facts.

*(Talk with some leading comrades of the Party Central Committee on October 25, 1980)*

*(To be continued.)*

### Notes

1. **The three "Left" lines.** These refer to the mistakes of "Left" putschism represented by Qu Qiubai during the period from November 1927 to April 1928, the mistakes of "Left" adventurism represented by Li Lisan in June-September 1930 and the mistakes of "Left" adventurism represented by Wang Ming during the period between January 1931 and January 1935, prior to the Zunyi Meeting.

2. This refers to the struggle launched in 1959 against the so-called Right opportunist line of Peng Dehuai. See 17 of the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, (*Beijing Review*, No. 27, 1981).

3. This refers to the struggle launched during the "cultural revolution" against the so-called counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. See 20 of the resolution mentioned in note 2.

4. **Chen Duxiu** (1879-1942), a native of Huaining, Anhui Province. Beginning in September 1915, he was chief editor of the journal *Qingnian* (Youth) which was later renamed *Xin Qingnian* (New Youth). He founded *Meizhou Pinglun* (Weekly Review) together with Li Dazhao in 1918, advocated new culture and was one of the main leaders of the new cultural movement in the period of the May 4th Movement. After the May 4th Movement, he accepted and spread Marxism and became one of the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party. He was the main leader of the Party for its first six years. He committed serious Right capitulationist mistakes during the later period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27). Thereafter, he became pessimistic about and lost faith in the future of the revolution, accepted Trotskyist views and set up an inner-Party faction to engage in anti-Party activities. He was expelled from the Party in November 1929, and openly organized Trotskyist activities. He was arrested by the Kuomintang in October 1932 and was released in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, in 1942.

5. **Qu Qiubai** (1899-1935), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1922 and was one of the leaders

of the Party in its early years. In 1927, at the crucial junction after the failure of the great revolution, he presided over the "August 7" meeting after which he took charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee as a Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Provisional Party Central Committee. He committed mistakes of "Left" putschism during the period from November 1927 to April 1928. In September 1930 he presided over the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee at which Li Lisan's "Left" adventurist mistakes were corrected. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee held in 1931, he was attacked and expelled from the leading organs of the Party Central Committee by Wang Ming's "Left" dogmatists and factionalists. He was arrested by the Kuomintang in February 1935 on his way from Jiangxi to Fujian and died a martyr's death in Changding, Fujian, on June 18. During the "cultural revolution" he was falsely charged as a "traitor." The Party Central Committee redressed this charge in October 1980.

6. **Li Lisan** (1899-1967), a native of Liling, Hunan Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1921 and was one of the main leaders of the Chinese workers' movement. In June-September 1930, when he was leading the work of the Party Central Committee, he committed "Left" adventurist mistakes. Later he admitted his mistakes and corrected them, so he was elected member of the Party Central Committee at the Seventh and Eighth Party Congresses.

7. **Luo Zhanglong** (1896- ), a native of Liuyang, Hunan Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1921 and was elected a member and alternate member of the Party Central Committee. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee in January 1931, he organized an "extraordinary central committee" in an attempt to split the Party and was expelled from the Party.

8. **Zhang Guotao** (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province. One of the participants of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, he was elected a member of the Party Central Committee, a member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. In 1931 he was secretary of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Sub-Bureau of the Party Central Committee and concurrently vice-chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China. In June 1935, when the Red Army's First and Fourth Front Armies joined forces in Maogong, Sichuan Province, he became General Political Commissar of the Red Army. He opposed the Party Central Committee's decision that the Red Army should advance northward, engaged in activities to split the Party and the Red Army, and set up another central committee. In June 1936 he was forced to abolish the second central committee and joined the Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army on the way north, arriving in north Shaanxi in December of that year. Beginning in September 1937, he was vice-chairman and acting chairman of the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Taking advantage of the occasion to offer

sacrifices to the tomb of the Yellow Emperor in April 1938, he fled the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Arriving in Wuhan via Xian, he joined the Kuomintang special agency clique and became a traitor to the Chinese revolution. For this he was expelled from the Party. He died in Canada in 1979.

9. **The anti-Rightist struggle of 1957** refers to the campaign against bourgeois Rightists in that year. In April 1957, the Party Central Committee decided to launch a rectification movement aimed at opposing bureaucratism, factionalism and subjectivism throughout the Party. Taking advantage of this, a tiny number of bourgeois Rightists attacked the Party and the newborn socialist system in a vain attempt to supersede the leadership of the Communist Party. In June that year, the Party Central Committee issued a directive to repel the attacks by the Rightists. Such an action against a tiny number of bourgeois Rightists was entirely necessary. However, the mistake of enlarging the scope of the struggle was committed. In 1978, the Party Central Committee decided to re-examine the cases of those who were designated as Rightists and corrected the conclusions regarding those who were wrongly designated as such.

10. **The completion of the socialist transformations.** This refers to the socialist transformation by the state of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. The task was basically accomplished in 1956.

11. **The two Zhengzhou Meetings** refer to the meeting called by Mao Zedong in Zhengzhou on November 2-10, 1958 which was attended by some of the central and local leaders, and the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee convened in Zhengzhou from February 27 to March 5, 1959. The first Zhengzhou Meeting discussed theoretical questions concerning socialism and communism and the question of the people's communes, and set about correcting the mistakes that had already been discovered. At the meeting Mao Zedong criticized the erroneous concepts that the people's communes could undergo a quick transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people and from socialism to communism, and that commodity production could be abolished. At the second Zhengzhou Meeting, the major topic was to solve the question of ownership of the people's communes and curb the tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism. Based on suggestions of Mao Zedong, the meeting formulated the principles for consolidating and building the people's communes: Instituting in the people's communes the system of decentralization, and management and independent accounting at three levels (people's commune, production brigade and production team) with the production team (in some places this referred to a production brigade approximately the size of an advanced agricultural producers' co-operative) as the basic unit. Within a commune recognizing the differences between production teams and between commune members, and carrying out the principles of "to each according to his work" and exchange at equal values. The meeting worked out Some Regulations Concerning the Management System of the People's Communes (Draft).

12. **Lushan Mountain** in Jiangxi Province was the place for an enlarged meeting of the Political

Bureau of the Party Central Committee on July 2-August 1, 1959 and for Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee on August 2-16, 1959. Both meetings were known as the Lushan Meeting.

13. **Seventy Articles on Industrial Work** refers to the 70-article Regulations Concerning Work in State Industrial Enterprises (Draft) formulated by the Party Central Committee in September 1961. After the "great leap forward" of 1958, many enterprises failed to institute a strict responsibility system and paid inadequate attention to business accounting, their wage and award systems practised egalitarianism and their Party committees handled the day-to-day administrative work. As a result, there existed the common phenomena of confused production order, blind direction and arbitrary operation, serious damages to equipment and very poor economic results. In view of this, the draft **Seventy Articles on Industrial Work** defined clearly the nature of state industrial enterprises and their fundamental tasks, reaffirmed the system of factory directors assuming the responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees, required the establishment and improvement of the necessary responsibility systems and rules and regulations, emphasized the principles of carrying out planned management, following distribution according to work, enhancing enterprises' economic results and providing material benefits for workers and staff members. The discussion on this document and its trial implementation played a positive role in summing up the experiences in the management work of the state industrial enterprises, carrying out the principle of readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards, and accelerating the restoration and development of China's industry.

14. **Twelve Articles on Agricultural Work** refers to the 12-article Urgent Letter of Directives Concerning the Current Policies for Rural People's Communes issued by the Party Central Committee on November 3, 1960. This document pointed out that the tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism—a tendency characterized by requisition for the property of collective economic units without compensation—was seriously damaging the agricultural productive forces and should therefore be resolutely opposed and thoroughly corrected. Among other things, the document stipulated: The rural people's communes should institute the three-level ownership with the production contingents as the basic units (at that time this referred to the existing production contingents which were renamed production brigades in 1961 and their subdivided production groups renamed production teams; on February 13, 1962, the Party Central Committee issued a directive making the production teams, instead of the production brigades, the basic accounting units of the rural people's communes);

commune members should be allowed to farm small private plots and engage in small-scale household sideline production; the principle of "to each according to his work" should be resolutely upheld and work should be combined with adequate rest. The letter of directives played a positive role in correcting the "tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism" and changing the undesirable situation in the countryside at that time.

15. **Sixty Articles on the Work of People's Communes** refers to the Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Draft) formulated by the Party Central Committee in March 1961. Aimed at correcting the egalitarianism of that time between production brigades and between members of people's communes, the document laid down fairly systematic stipulations for reducing the relatively large sizes of the communes and production brigades, correcting the tendency of people's communes to exercise rigid control over too many things of their subordinate units, and improving the democratic system and management. In May and June of the same year, the Party Central Committee revised this draft and formulated the Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft) for discussion and adoption on a trial basis, in which further stipulations were made to abolish the free supply system regarding distribution and to close public canteens. On September 27, 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee formally adopted the Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft). The implementation of the **Sixty Articles on the Work of People's Communes** played an important role in restoring rural economy.

16. **The conference of early 1962, attended by 7,000 people**, refers to the enlarged working conference held in Beijing by the Party Central Committee on January 11-February 7, 1962. Attending the meeting were more than 7,000 responsible members of the Party Central Committee, the sub-bureaus of the Party Central Committee, Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, prefectural and county Party committees, Party committees of important factories, mines and enterprises as well as the army. At the meeting, Liu Shaoqi delivered a report on behalf of the Party Central Committee, in which he made an initial summary of the experiences gained and lessons learnt in the work since the "great leap forward" of 1958, analysed the major shortcomings and mistakes in the work in the previous several years and pointed out that the major task for the entire Party was to conduct readjustment effectively. Mao Zedong also delivered an important speech, in which he emphatically pointed out the necessity of improving democratic centralism and giving fully play to democracy within and outside the Party. He also

pointed out the need of deepening the understanding of the law of socialist construction on the basis of summing up both the positive and negative experiences. He also said that he should be held responsible for the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the previous few years and made a self-criticism.

17. **The Beidaihe Meeting** refers to a work meeting in Beidaihe called by the Party Central Committee from late July to late August, 1962. It made preparations for the convocation of the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee. During the meeting, Mao Zedong talked about class, the situation and contradictions on several occasions and stressed repeatedly that classes still existed in our country. He held that the bourgeoisie would exist in the whole historical period of socialism and expounded the class struggle, which does exist to a certain extent in socialist society, in broad and absolute terms.

18. **The "four clean-ups"** is also called the socialist education movement. It was a movement carried out in some rural areas and a small number of urban factories, mines and enterprises and schools from 1963 to May 1966 to clean up in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology. Although the movement played somewhat of a role in solving the problems in the style of work of the cadres and the economic management, these problems with different nature were all regarded as class struggle or reflections of class struggle in the Party. In the latter half of 1964, many cadres at the grass-roots level suffered from undeserved attack. In January 1965, the Party Central Committee formulated the 23-article *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas*. The document corrected some "Left" deviations in the socialist education movement, but it erroneously stipulated that the main target of the movement was the so-called "Party persons in power taking the capitalist road."

19. **Two written instructions on literary and art work** refer to Mao Zedong's written instruction to Peng Zhen and Liu Ren on the existing problems in the art work on December 12, 1963, and his written instruction on June 27, 1964 on the Report Concerning the Rectification Campaign of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Its Various Associations (Draft) by the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee. The instructions said: "The 'dead' still dominate in many departments" of literature and art; in the last 15 years the literary and art associations and most of their publications have basically not carried out the policies of the Party and "in recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism." After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee formally declared that the censure on literary and art work in the two written in-

structions did not tally with the actual conditions and that it was later used by the Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces to produce serious consequences.

20. **The 1958 setbacks** refer to the mistakes during the "great leap forward" and the people's commune movement in 1958. In August that year, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held its enlarged meeting in Beidaihe which put forward the proposal that the steel output in 1958 should double that of 1957, reaching 10.7 million tons, and decided that people's communes should be established universally in the rural areas. After the meeting, an upsurge of making steel by all the people and the people's commune movement took shape in the country, and the "Left" mistakes widely spread in the nation which were characterized by setting excessively high targets, giving arbitrary directives, exaggerating accomplishments and the tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism. These confused the normal order in economic construction, wasted enormous labour power and resources, and led to serious disproportions in the national economy.

21. **The "two whatevers" view** refers to a statement in the editorial entitled "Study the Document Well and Grasp the Key Link" by *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*: "We must resolutely support whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and consistently follow whatever directives Chairman Mao issued."

22. **Act according to the principles laid down** was the so-called Chairman Mao's deathbed testament fabricated by the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique. They wanted to act according to the principles laid down, that is, to act according to the erroneous principles Mao Zedong laid down in his later years.

23. **The Seventh Party Congress** refers to the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in Yanan from April 23 to June 11, 1945. Mao Zedong made a political report *On Coalition Government*, Zhu De made a military report "On the Battlefronts of the Liberated Areas," Liu Shaoqi made the "Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution" and Zhou Enlai made an important speech "On the United Front." The congress decided on the line of the Party, which was "boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China." The congress also adopted the new Party Constitution and elected the new Party Central Committee. The new Party Constitution defined that Mao Zedong Thought—the integration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution—as the guide for all work of the Chinese Communist Party. It was a congress of unity and victory.

24. In view of the mistakes in the work of examining cadres' personal histories being conducted at that time, this is an important policy put forward by Mao Zedong on October 9, 1943 in his written instructions on a piece of material.

25. **He Long** (1896-1969), a native of Sangzhi, Hunan Province, was then a Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Vice-

Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. He was persecuted to death by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "cultural revolution." The Party Central Committee decided to rehabilitate his reputation in September 1974 and completely exonerated him in October 1982.

## Letter to the Vietnamese Compatriots

Hoang Van Hoan



Hoang Van Hoan is speaking to overseas Vietnamese and refugees.

Dear Compatriots,

On the occasion of the Tet Festival of Quy Hoi (February 1983), I would like to extend to you my cordial greetings and best wishes for a happy new year!

The Vietnamese people, having waged a heroic and staunch struggle for more than three decades under the direct leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, smashed the feudal system and drove all the colonialists out of the motherland. The complete victory in the struggle for national liberation has opened up a new era of building a thriving and prosperous Viet Nam.

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*Comrade Hoang Van Hoan was Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Vietnamese National Assembly before he came to China in 1979. His "Letter to the Vietnamese Compatriots" was published in February this year, and the English and French editions appeared in June. In view of the fact that the Viet Nam issue is of wide interest and the article is significant, we reprint here, with Comrade Hoang's consent, the full text of the article. — Ed.*

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But to our regret, in the past seven years and more after the victory of Viet Nam, Le Duan and company have betrayed the revolution, served as pawns of a foreign power and are bent on leading the Vietnamese revolution away from the correct line formulated by President Ho.

President Ho stood for building a Viet Nam which would live in peace and friendship with all countries after the defeat of the US imperialists. But instead Le Duan has unleashed a war of aggression against Kampuchea and dispatched troops to control Laos, in an attempt to form a so-called Federation of Indo-China (now called "Special Alliance") and to act as the overlord in the region, thus creating tension in Southeast Asia.

President Ho stood for unity with the Soviet Union and China, but Le Duan has entered into "all-round co-operation" with the



Soviet Union and has gone all out to oppose China with all the manpower and material resources at his disposal.

President Ho stood for an independent Viet Nam, but Le Duan has turned Viet Nam into a country dependent on a foreign power economically, politically, militarily and diplomatically. He has even put Viet Nam's major sea ports and airfields at the foreign power's disposal, to be served as a springboard for threatening the security of the neighbouring countries.

President Ho stood for a democratic Viet Nam, but Le Duan has formed a secret service network in the country, completely abolishing all the rights of the people explicitly stipulated in the Constitution, and ruthlessly suppressing all those who have different views and those honest people who refuse to be docile and obedient, thus virtually turning the whole Viet Nam into a prison.

President Ho stood for unity among all nationalities, people of various religious beliefs, democratic parties and all patriots to build the country, but Le Duan has destroyed this unity, abolished the system of autonomous regions of nationalities and discriminated against people of various religious beliefs, democratic parties and patriots.

President Ho stood for showing concern for the livelihood of the people, but Le Duan has carried out ruthless exploitation of the people, leaving them short of food, clothing and medicine, and nowhere to appeal for redressing their wrongs and sufferings.

President Ho stood for educating and training the cadres to become loyal servants of the people, but Le Duan has corrupted the cadres and turned his henchmen into a gang of servile flunkies blindly carrying out policies and lines that are calamitous to the country and the people.

Le Duan has been boasting that Viet Nam is the third strongest military power in the world. However, the fact is that in present-day Viet Nam, a huge army of over two million regular and irregular troops is being forced against its own conscience to engage in such ignominious activities as invading Laos and Kampuchea and making provocations against China. Therefore, on the surface it looks mighty and powerful, but in reality it is an army of low morale, most of its soldiers being homesick and having a strong desire to be demobilized

and return home for family reunion and for building their own country.

Le Duan has been boasting that Viet Nam has extremely great economic potentialities. But in fact the Vietnamese economy has sunk into impoverishment. Many fields in the countryside have been left uncultivated for lack of labour power, fertilizer and farming implements. Industry has become stagnant for running short of raw materials, machines and technical personnel, and in particular, because the workers are physically weak for want of food.

Le Duan has been boasting that Viet Nam is a socialist country. But in fact under the rule of Le Duan and his ilk for many years, big changes have taken place in the society of Viet Nam that a stratum of new local despots has emerged in the countryside, a stratum of new foremen has appeared in the factories and work-sites, and a stratum of new bureaucrats has cropped up in the state organs. All those three kinds of persons are very few in number, they nevertheless constitute a privileged stratum in Viet Nam, forming factions and cliques everywhere and riding roughshod over the people. Therefore, the so-called "socialism" exists only in name to the people.

The heroic Viet Nam has been regarded as an aggressor country and completely discredited and increasingly isolated in the international community. The heroic people of Viet Nam are groaning with sufferings under the counter-revolutionary oppression, exploitation, bullying and humiliation by Le Duan and his like. Millions of them had to leave their homeland where their ancestors had lived for many generations and to flee, at the risk of their own lives, to various corners of the world by every possible means.

In spite of all this, Le Duan and his ilk continue to exploit the people without any restraint and pressganged young people into the army in successive batches. They have fiercely escalated their aggressive war in Kampuchea, strengthened their control over Laos and intensified their provocations against China.

All in all, the fruits of the Vietnamese people's hard struggle in the past 30 years and more have been thrown away. Le Duan and company have plunged Viet Nam into a profound crisis.

At present, the Vietnamese people are confronted with the task of making another revolution to overthrow the Le Duan clique's savage

and decadent rule, establish a revolutionary regime, restore President Ho's correct political line and build Viet Nam into a peaceful country living in friendship with neighbouring countries, a country with democracy and national unity, a country with plenty of food for the people and with high social mores and an independent, neutral and non-aligned country.

### **(I) A Peaceful Viet Nam Living in Friendship With Neighbouring Countries**

At present, the following measures should be taken to meet the Vietnamese people's basic demand for turning Viet Nam into a peaceful country living in friendship with the neighbouring countries.

1. Immediately publish peace decrees indicating a desire for peace, national construction and friendly coexistence with neighbouring countries, showing concern over peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world, and showing willingness to make contributions with all efforts to the cause of peace.

2. Announce an immediate end to the war of aggression against Kampuchea, withdraw all the Vietnamese troops from that country and let the Kampuchean people decide their own destiny.

3. Put an immediate end to the military control over Laos, withdraw all the Vietnamese troops from that country and let the Laotian people run their own affairs.

4. Immediately cancel the general mobilization order for war against China with all manpower and material resources; immediately stop hurling abuse on China and stop all provocations along the Vietnamese-Chinese border; and create conditions for consultations to restore the close relations between the two countries.

5. Demobilize most of the troops to enable the young men to return to their studies and working posts to heal the war wounds and build the country; reduce the military budget and simplify the national defence agencies to realize President Ho's idea that "troops are valued for quality rather than quantity."

### **(II) A Viet Nam of Democracy and National Unity**

Democracy and national unity should be the main and essential contents of Viet Nam's

internal policy today. For the realization of this policy, the following measures must be adopted:

1. Practically safeguard the rights of the people as masters of their own country, especially the right to have their say in national affairs, the right to criticize cadres and state organs for the errors they make and the right to enjoy personal freedom and appeal to any State organ.

2. Achieve genuine reunification of the North and the South and thoroughly correct all the mistakes committed by Le Duan and company, such as the imposition on the South of the Northern production pattern already proved to be inappropriate and the dispatch of Northern cadres — Le Duan's henchmen, to be more exact — to the South to take full control of power there.

3. Realize national unity by restoring national autonomy in those regions where the population of minority nationalities surpasses that of the Jing nationality, by guaranteeing freedom of belief, and by bringing into full play the role of various democratic parties and patriots in national construction.

4. Give equal treatment to the Chinese nationals. All those who have chosen Vietnamese nationality should enjoy equal rights with the Vietnamese. Those who maintain Chinese nationality should receive the same treatment as other foreign nationals but all of them must, of course, strictly abide by the laws of Viet Nam.

5. Establish power organs at all levels from above to below to be administered by patriotic, honest and genuinely capable people who care for the livelihood of the people wholeheartedly and who truly hold themselves responsible to the people.

### **(III) A Viet Nam With Plenty of Food for The People and With High Social Mores**

Abundance of food and high social mores are the pressing demand of everyone today. To achieve this goal, the following measures must be taken:

1. Swiftly turn the war-oriented economy into a peace-time economy, immediately stop imposing excessive burdens upon the people and stop compelling them to serve the war, and relocate the huge military expenditure for national construction.

2. Shift the focus of the country's work to economic construction and improvement of the people's living conditions. Relentlessly punish such crimes as embezzlement of public property, smuggling, tax evasion, backdoor practices and bribery.

3. Uphold the principle of economic independence mainly based on self-reliance supplemented with external assistance so that the national economy will be free from debts and dependence on foreign aid.

4. Build our national economy into one with developed industry, agriculture and commerce so that the people's living standards can be raised step by step. But the immediate task is to solve their problems of food, clothing and daily necessities so as to gradually achieve abundance of food and make the country strong and prosperous.

5. Develop our national culture while absorbing advanced cultures of the world, educate our younger generations to become people with culture, ideals and revolutionary qualities, and resolutely eradicate the decadent and indecent way of life that has been introduced quietly from abroad by Le Duan and his ilk over the past years.

#### **(IV) An Independent, Neutral and Non-Aligned Viet Nam**

Independence, neutrality and non-alignment should constitute the main and essential part of Viet Nam's present foreign policy. In order to implement this policy, the following measures must be adopted:

1. Declare Viet Nam a truly independent country; abolish all open or secret treaties and agreements that Le Duan and his ilk have signed with foreign countries to the detriment of the motherland's sovereignty and national rights and interests.

2. Declare that Viet Nam will from now on be a peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country, and to be specific, that Viet Nam will not enter into military alliance with any country and will not allow any country to use Viet Nam as a springboard to invade other countries.

3. Establish relations of equality and good-neighbourliness with China, Laos and Kampuchea, guarantee not to commit aggression against each other and not to use force in solving disputes, and abolish those treaties and

agreements that have violated the sovereignty of Laos and Kampuchea.

4. Establish diplomatic relations with various countries, first of all with the Southeast Asian countries, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and make contributions to safeguarding peace in the Southeast Asian region.

5. Welcome foreign economic, scientific and technological assistance on the principle that such assistance is mutually beneficial and has no political terms attached.

Dear compatriots,

Facts of the past seven years and more have proved eloquently that the internal and external policies of Le Duan and his like run diametrically against the interests of our motherland and the people. Should these policies be allowed to continue, then, Viet Nam will be reduced to the status of a new-type colony and the military base of a foreign power and the Vietnamese people will be turned into slaves again before long.

Now, Le Duan and his ilk are completely isolated in the world as they meet with strong opposition at home and encounter due resistance by the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. Particularly stupid are their anti-China manoeuvres. The hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese troops and people of various nationalities along the border are aware that Viet Nam must and also can live in peace with China, so they oppose the erroneous ideas held by Le Duan and his ilk and express their friendly feelings towards China in many ways. And all these facts have made Le Duan and company panic-stricken.

The situation both at home and abroad is extremely favourable to the struggle of our people. In order to save our country and ourselves, our compatriots must take action, surmount all difficulties, converge the sporadic struggles into a massive one to check in time the sanguinary crimes of Le Duan and his ilk.

Our people will surely triumph!

Le Duan and his ilk are doomed to failure!

A peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam expected by President Ho will surely come true!

The spring of Quy Hoi

February, 1983

## LITERATURE

*Writer Wang Meng  
confounds critics*

The 49-year-old Wang Meng is a brilliant story-teller, stylist and humorist. He is also a controversial figure—not because of what he writes but rather the way he writes.

He is a constant headache for some critics who try to use handy but stale literary terms to classify his ever-changing styles and techniques.

He has been called variously a writer of "stream of consciousness," "black humour," "realism," and "super-realism."

But above all he is himself.

He takes a style or technique, foreign or Chinese, ancient or modern, and adapts it to his story-telling when he feels that it best expresses his ideas.

Panda Books (a Beijing publishing house that issues Chinese literary works in English) has recently published a collection of his stories written in the last four years.

Included in the collection are some of his stories that set off strong repercussions when published.

"The style of his post 'cultural revolution' writing is a world away from his 1950s stories. The shift from socialism as only an ideal to socialism as a reality has produced a parallel development of technique. . . . One of the great strengths of Wang's fiction is that it is in

many ways a literature of questions . . .," a critic said.

His "Kite Streamer" which depicts two young people in love and trying to make sense of a China minus the slogans and banners of a turbulently politicized adolescence, makes the reader feel a lump in his throat and at the same time makes him laugh by its wit.

The technique is impressionistic, the language humorous,



the episodes symbolic—and all serve to paint a vivid picture of China's urban youth.

Wang's special skill is satire.

In "Kite Streamer," the young lovers, about to embrace and kiss each other, are wearing surgical gauze masks and the dust and winter wind in the city make it impossible to take them off. Sitting close together, they cannot do much talking since a loud-speaker in the park keeps warning visitors to behave according to "socialist moral standards" or they will be fined.

Wang delights in the debates and criticism; he says the challenges cause him to think more deeply.

Born in 1934, Wang had a good education; his father was a philosophy professor. Yet his childhood years were ones of wars and social disturbances. At the age of 14, he joined the revolution and embraced the founding of New China.

In his first novel, "Long Live Youth," he revealed his ideals as well as his simplicity of mind in his portrait of a group of students utterly devoted to a cause which they believe will make China a strong, idealistic and better country.

With this novel and some other stories, he rose to prominence in the mid-1950s. And like other writers of his generation in the 1950s, he began to examine the social contradictions of post liberation China in his writing.

His story, "The Young Newcomer in the Organization Department" written in 1956, describes how a young Party worker tackles the inert and apathetic bureaucracy of a district Party committee office. The hero, Lin Zhen, gradually grows disillusioned and frustrated. Though the inefficient factory director was eventually dismissed, Lin feels powerless in face of the cynicism of his superiors.

The story became one of the major literary targets of the anti-Rightist campaign in 1957 and was denounced as a destructive, anti-Party and anti-socialist work.

This led to 20 years of silence for Wang.

He first worked near Beijing as a labourer and then went to

Ili in Xinjiang which was then a poor and backward place.

Life was hard but his imagination was enriched by what he saw and experienced.

The local people treated him extremely well and, when recalling his past, he said: "The most important thing for me was my life at the grass-roots; that was a beautiful and resourceful fountain for me. I call it luck in misfortune."

His mute 20 years gave him a sharp and perceptive eye and a more powerful pen when he began to write about the post "cultural revolution" Chinese society in 1978.

"Wang Meng is still himself, a communist as ever. But he is more cool-headed after the ordeals he went through," one of his close friends commented.

In Wang's stories, he doesn't avoid attacking society's wrong but he deals with them in a subtle way.

Abuse of power and stupidity in officialdom are dealt with in "A Spate of Visitors" and "A Barber's Tale," but in his acerbic and biting remarks about human folly and moral corruption he never loses his strong sense of humour.

Wang is now an alternate member of the Party's Central Committee, and his writings are still frequently printed by local and national magazines. But he now writes more essays and reviews, discussing the pros and cons of different artistic styles and the question of how to raise the level of Chinese literature.

However, he seems more at home in story-telling than writing reviews. He was recently appointed chief editor

of the national magazine People's Literature.

—Jing Jun (From "China Daily," July 7.)

## THEATRE

### 'The Peony Pavilion'

Although the creation and performance of modern operas are encouraged and promoted in China, theatrical circles have done their best to retain good operas of traditional themes in their repertoires. In fact, some of the most popular operas are centuries old.

One of the "evergreen" performances is *The Peony Pavilion*, a *kunqu* opera, with actress Zhang Jiqing of the Jiangsu Provincial Kunqu Opera Theatre in the leading role.

The opera was recently staged in Beijing as part of the activities of the first Recommendation Festival sponsored by *Xiju Bao* (Theatrical Gazette) and *Xiju Luncong* (Tribune of Theatre). The festival's purpose was to promote talented young and middle-aged performers and significant works with modern themes, new historical plays or re-edited operas on traditional themes.

*The Peony Pavilion* occupies an important position in the history of Chinese literature. Its author, Tang Xianzu (1550-1616), is honoured as "China's Shakespeare" and died the same year as the Bard. He wrote numerous operas, poems and prose. Most of his works depict people's defiance of feudal lords and their yearning for personal liberation. *The Peony Pavilion* is one of his most influential and representative works.

*The Peony Pavilion* portrays Du Liniang, a young lady from a feudal official's family, who cannot find an ideal spouse because her parents insist that she marry someone whose family status is equal to or higher than theirs.

One spring day, Du Liniang falls asleep by the Peony Pavilion in her garden. She dreams that she meets and falls in love with a handsome young man, Liu Mengmei. When she awakens to find it is not true, she is heartbroken and eventually dies of despair.

Three years later, a youth named Liu Mengmei comes to visit the Du family. He greatly admires Du Liniang's self-portrait, and falls in love with the dead girl. His love brings her back to life. They are married and live happily ever after.

This romantic fantasy exposes in depth the theme of anti-feudalism and the demand for free-



Zhang Jiqing (left) in "The Peony Pavilion."

dom to marry whomever one pleases.

Many local operas have performed adaptations of the story, but the most successful one is the *kunqu* version, which has preserved the opera's original rules and forms of classical poetic composition music. Now *The Peony Pavilion* has become an exclusive legacy of *kunqu*.

*Kunqu* began 500 years ago in Kunshan, Jiangsu Province, and is now one of the oldest operas in China. It has especially attracted intellectuals of various dynasties and times because of its subtle and sophisticated musical and thematic approach. As *kunqu* opera created a rather complete performing system of China's traditional opera, it influenced other local operas including Beijing opera, Sichuan opera and Guangdong opera. Unfortunately it was on the brink of extinction before nationwide liberation. Only after the founding of the People's Republic was this old art form rejuvenated.

During the festival, the Jiangsu Provincial Kunqu Opera Theatre presented only five main episodes from the long opera. Both the singing and the acting were in line with the traditional performance style that has passed down from older generations.

Zhang Jiqing, 43, who plays Du Liniang, is an excellent performer whose voice and acting talents are ideal for expressing the innermost feeling of the emotional heroine.

Her performance skills are perfected in the scene called "Chasing a Dream." She vividly depicts the changes of Du Liniang's emotions: her rejoicing at the memory of the dream, her

melancholy at the hopeless reality. The singer expresses Du's pent-up feelings in an impassioned aria in front of a blossoming plum tree. The singing is so moving that many dramatists who have attended her performances have been spellbound by Zhang Jiqing's artistry.

Zhang Jiqing has sung *kunqu* for more than three decades. Under the guidance of veteran artists such as Yao Chuanxiang, she has performed many classical and modern operas and created numerous and varied characters.

The Recommendation Festival was designed to raise the audiences' taste, help drama and opera circles become familiar with each other's work and enforce the training of theatrical personnel. It is expected to play a positive role in bringing prosperity to the Chinese stage.

## ART

### *Clay inkslab*

Recently, Chinese calligraphers celebrated the successful replication of a long-lost form of clay inkslabs.

These inkslabs were made from a special kind of clay native only to the loess plateau in Jiangzhou (present-day Jiangxian County), Shanxi Province.

As long ago as the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), the Jiangzhou clay inkslabs were highly regarded by serious calligraphers. They even appeared on the list of the imperial tribute.

But unfortunately, the knowledge of how to manufacture these slabs was lost towards the end of the 16th century.

In 1980, however, things began to improve when calligrapher Xu Wenda offered the state his own long cherished Jiangzhou inkslab.

Scientific testing found that critical to the inkslab was the clay used and the methods of preparation. At the end of two years of assiduous efforts, Xu and some technicians succeeded in duplicating the Jiangzhou inkslab.

Today the duplicated inkslabs are as good as the originals in fineness, hardness, water absorption, ink generation and colour.

Stationers' shelves are now filled with the new inkslabs in a dazzling assortment of practical forms. Customers face a large choice in colour, appearance and size: cinnabar red, brown, pea green, frosty white, purple, black; plain inkslabs, inkslabs adorned with sculptured sleeping buffaloes or romping carps; large inkslabs of scores of centimetres in diameter or miniature ones of 5-6 centimetres in diameter.

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*Beijing Review*, No. 30

## He Zhenqiang's garden sketches



Born in Zhaoqing County in Guangdong Province in 1937, He Zhenqiang is now an associate professor at the Central Institute of Applied Arts. His sketches and line drawings often depict Chinese buildings and gardens. Last year, his Chinese garden pieces were exhibited in Munich, West Germany, where he joined efforts with a West German writer to publish the *Art of Chinese Traditional Gardens*. These sketches are of some ancient buildings from the mountain resort for the Qing emperors in Chengde.





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