

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- **Memorial Meeting for Liu Shaoqi**
- **Successful Carrier Rocket Test**



U.S.A. US \$ 0.30
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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

The Late Liu Shaoqi Honoured

Eleven years after his death, the former Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of the People's Republic, is posthumously honoured. Damning charges against him have been proved false. The wrongs done to him have been redressed. His outstanding contributions to the Chinese revolution are now fully affirmed.

— State and Party leaders attend a memorial meeting at the Great Hall of the people (p. 3);

— Deng Xiaoping reviews the life of this great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and calls on the people to

emulate his fine qualities (p. 9);

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial explains why his rehabilitation demonstrates the C.P.C.'s determination to restore the true nature of Mao Zedong Thought (p. 13);

— Sidelights on Liu Shaoqi as a revolutionary (p. 20);

— A worker, a cadre and an intellectual tell what they thought and think of Liu Shaoqi (p. 24).

Tomorrow's Beijing

A four-point proposal by the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee to turn the capital into a modern city, clean and beautiful with a highly developed culture and science (p. 4).

Right on Target

The first Chinese carrier rocket test in the southern Pacific is a complete success. Vice-Premier Li Xiannian explains aims (p. 5).

After Afghanistan, Only One Option

Our news analyst examines Soviet words and deeds and concludes that the world community has only one option: stop the aggressor before it's too late (p. 29).



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POLITICAL**Memorial Meeting for Comrade Liu Shaoqi**

On May 17, a memorial meeting was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing for Comrade Liu Shaoqi (1898-1969), the late Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Party and state leaders and more than 10,000 representatives from all walks of life in the capital attended.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi died of illness in Kaifeng, Henan Province, on November 12, 1969, as the result of a frame-up and persecution by Lin Biao and the gang of four during the Cultural Revolution. Having found out the truth about this biggest frame-up in our Party's history, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee held last February decided to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

On May 17, the five-star national flag was flown at half-mast over Tian An Men Square and government buildings, military establishments, factories, schools and stores in Beijing and other cities throughout the country. Recreational activities were suspended that day.

At around 3 in the afternoon, the mourners began arriving at the Great Hall of the People, with black arm bands and white flowers on their chests. Hung across the entrance to the auditorium was a huge crepe streamer inscribed with the words: "Mourn with profound grief Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary!" At the centre over the rostrum of the hall hung a five-metre-high portrait of Liu Shaoqi, flanked by potted evergreens. Below the portrait was the casket con-

taining his ashes, over which was draped a flag of the Communist Party of China.

Placed on either side of the portrait were wreaths presented by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and leaders of the Party and the state. A wreath presented by Wang Guangmei, widow of Liu Shaoqi, and their children was placed before the portrait of the deceased.

Hua Guofeng, Chairman of C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, presided over the memorial meeting. Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, delivered a memorial speech. (See p. 9 for full text.)

Deng Xiaoping said in the



Party and state leaders at the meeting.



Comrade Hua Guofeng extending his sympathy to Wang Guangmei, widow of Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

memorial speech: "For decades, Comrade Liu Shaoqi waged unremitting struggles and made immortal contributions to the consolidation and development of the Party, to the victory of the new-democratic revolution, to the victory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to the expansion of the international communist movement, winning love and respect from the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities."

He added: "Comrade Liu Shaoqi, like Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, will always live in the hearts of the people of all our nationalities."

At the end of the memorial meeting, Party and state leaders extended their sympathy to Wang Guangmei and other

members of Liu Shaoqi's family.

Hundreds of millions of people all over the country listened to the radio broadcast or watched the ceremony on the TV that afternoon.

The ashes of Liu Shaoqi will be scattered in China's coastal



Planting trees at the Jianguomen area in Beijing.

waters in accordance with his wish.

Beijing in the Years To Come

A plan is being worked out to build Beijing into a first-rate modern city and a model for the whole country.

An outline for the plan was contained in a four-point proposal put forward by the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee, which recently held preliminary discussions on development policies for the capital.

The proposal was made public by Wang Renzhong, a Member of the Secretariat, in a recent speech.

Wang Renzhong said: "Beijing is the political centre of the whole nation. It is also China's centre for international exchanges, and a place on which people throughout the country and the world are focusing their attention. The building of the capital is an indication of the state of the Chinese nation and our socialist motherland, and it will have a great impact on the building of the whole country."

The four points proposed are as follows:

China's Successful Launching of Carrier Rocket

China achieved complete success in launching its first carrier rocket to the destined area on the morning of May 18 in the Pacific Ocean, with a radius of 70 nautical miles, centred at seven degrees zero minutes south latitude and 171 degrees 33 minutes east longitude.

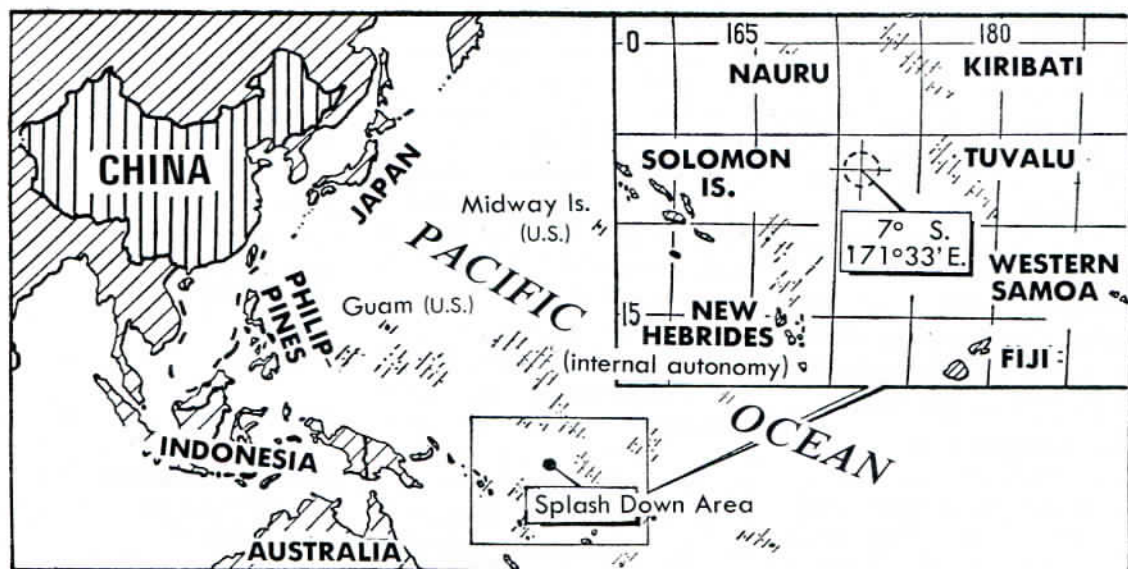
China's rocket test in the

Pacific is aimed at developing science and technology and accelerating the modernization of the country as well as strengthening its defence capabilities against the threat of the hegemonist powers. Vice-Premier Li Xiannian made this statement at a press conference in Welling-

ton on May 15 during his visit to New Zealand.

This test, the Vice-Premier added, will only involve the launching of a carrier rocket and there will be no question of pollution. "China has no intention to conduct any nuclear test in the Pacific," he declared.

He noted that China understands the concern of certain Pacific countries over the test.



Drawn by Xu Rushen

(1) Beijing should be a model in social security, social order and moral standards for the whole country and should be one of the best in the world;

(2) Transform the environment of Beijing, paying attention to public health and tree planting; make use of the hills, lakes and canals and cultural relics to build the capital into a beautiful, clean and first-rate modern city;

(3) The capital should become the most developed city

in culture, science, technology and education in the country;

(4) It should have a thriving economy, and the life of the people should be stable and convenient.

The municipal Party committee and the municipal people's government are drawing up a long-term plan for the city in line with the proposal. Efforts will be made to bring about a preliminary change in three years, a basic change in

five years and a great change in ten to fifteen years.

ECONOMIC

Rebuilding the Loess Plateau

In northwest China, there is a loess plateau covering an area of 530,000 square kilometres and extending across Qinghai, Gansu, Shaanxi, Shanxi and Henan Provinces and the Ning-

xia Hui and Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regions. With abundant natural resources and thick layers of rich soil, this place, known as "the cradle of the Chinese nation," was in the past covered with luxuriant forests and pastures where sheep and cattle grazed.

But, as a result of the damage done through long years of wanton felling of trees and destruction of the pastures to turn them into arable land, the plateau gradually became a poor and backward place. Even today, people in Beijing are often reminded of the existence of this barren plateau when a strong wind sweeps across the capital in spring, darkening the sky with sand and dust from the northwest. According to the estimates of specialists, about 1,600 million tons of sand and silt are washed down every year from this area into the middle reaches of the Huanghe River, causing much silting and serious floods in the lower reaches of the river.

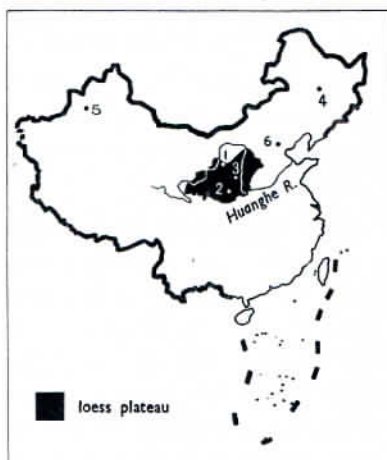
Over the past year, Chinese scientific workers have done much investigation and study and written more than 1,000 treatises and reports in their common effort to find ways to transform the loess plateau. Various proposals have been put forward, the pros and cons of which have been heatedly debated. At a symposium held recently in Xian, scientific workers and representatives from departments concerned finally concluded that it should be built into an animal husbandry and forestry base. They held that this was the correct way to transform the plateau and bring soil erosion under control.

The scientists pointed out that this plateau and northwest China as a whole have some of the richest energy resources in

China, including coal (about 70 per cent of the nation's total deposit), solar and wind energy and water-power. In addition, because of its thick layers of soil, long periods of sunshine, and great difference in temperature between day and night, it is conducive to the growth of grass, other forage crops, trees, especially corses and fruit trees. So it is an ideal centre for producing animal protein.

Typical examples cited at the symposium proved this point. For instance, Yanchi County¹ (see map) in Ningxia, situated on the edge of the Mu Us Desert, was in the past an excellent natural pasture and was basically self-sufficient in grain. After the mid-1960s, however, grass was destroyed to grow grain, and with the vegetation damaged, the area gradually became a sandy land, the number of cattle was greatly reduced, and grain was in short supply.

But in the past three years when the county switched back to engage mainly in animal husbandry and at the same time develop pastureland, forestry and crop cultivation, a quick change was effected in the area. Compared with 1976, the number of sheep and cattle increased by 70 and 20 per cent respectively, and grain upped 68 per cent in 1979.



Chunhua County² in Shaanxi Province has, through the efforts of the masses, afforested 90 per cent of the hills and slopes over the past six years, and brought about an all-round development of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry.

In the past four years, a perennial plant of the legume family has been aerially sown in the Yanan³ area on 800 hectares of land, most of which have now become rich pastureland. Departments concerned under the central government have through careful study concluded that this has provided valuable experience for transforming the loess plateau.

The symposium decided that, apart from the original six counties, another 14 counties (banners) will be turned into experimental centres, so as to gain more experience for overall planning in transforming the loess plateau.

Modernization March

New Oil Deposits. Six small and medium-sized oil deposits have been discovered around Daqing⁴, China's largest oilfield. They are expected to produce three million tons of oil a year. The new discoveries have increased the known oil reserves at Daqing by 13.3 per cent.

Oil and gas flows of industrial value have also been discovered at 20 locations.

First developed in 1959, the Daqing Oilfield, covering an area of 10,000 square kilometres, has been producing 50 million tons of oil a year since 1976, accounting for half of the country's yearly output. Over the past two decades, it has produced 490 million tons of oil and turned over to the state close to 50,000 million yuan of profits

and revenue, 17.8 times the state's total investment.

Buying Houses. Vice-Premier Gu Mu said that the experimental method used to sell state-built houses to citizens in Xian, Nanning and a few other cities will be introduced to 19 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The buyers can pay for the houses in a lump sum or by instalments over ten to 15 years. This will help solve the housing problem in the cities.

Natural Reserves. Swan Lake⁵ in the centre of the Bayanbulak grassland in Xinjiang is one of the five natural reserves recently approved by this autonomous region's people's government for special protection. After spending the winter in the south, tens of thousands of swans fly back from the Indian Peninsula to the lake in spring to rest and breed. The lake is 30 kilometres long and 10 kilometres wide.

Xinjiang is rich in natural resources. Rare animals of 35 species live there, including swans, double-hump wild camels which are world-famous and beavers of high economic value.

Hotels Built With Foreign Investment. The Foreign Investment Commission of China has ratified three contracts which Chinese departments concerned concluded with businessmen of Xianggang (Hongkong) and the United States for building two hotels and a catering service.

The Jianguo Hotel to be built in the eastern suburbs of Beijing⁶ will have 528 rooms, dining halls, a bar, banqueting halls, and a swimming pool. The hotel is scheduled to be completed before the end of 1981.

The 19-storey Changcheng Hotel with about 1,000 rooms will be equipped with computerized accounting and central air conditioning systems and other modern facilities. Work will start this year and is scheduled to be completed in 1983.

The Beijing Air Catering Service, Ltd., has already started business at the Beijing International Airport on May 1.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Distinguished Guests From Mauritania

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1965, China and Mauritania have been on friendly terms. Mutual understanding and friendly relations between the two countries have been deepened through the recent visit of Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla, Chairman of the

Military Committee for National Salvation, Head of State and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, and his party.

Chairman Haidalla arrived in Beijing on May 12. During his stay in the Chinese capital, he held talks with Premier Hua Guofeng and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. They exchanged views on a wide range of international issues, particularly the situation in the Middle East, Southwest Asia, Indochina and Africa. Both sides considered that the strengthening of unity between the third world countries and Arab nations and all other countries and peoples who cherish peace and uphold justice in a joint effort against hegemonist aggression and expansion is of great importance to putting off the outbreak of a new war and to safeguarding world peace.

The two sides discussed the furtherance of bilateral relations and co-operation with fruitful results. An agreement on economic and technical co-operation was signed by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries on May 14 in Beijing.

The West Sahara Problem. At a banquet given in his honour by Premier Hua, Chairman Haidalla said: "The Islamic Republic of Mauritania condemns all plots hatched against the peoples to perpetuate the spoliation of their territories or impose on them a mode of political, economic and social organization which has not been freely chosen."

"It is in this sense," he added, "that the Military Committee for National Salvation decided to disengage Mauritania, as of August 5, 1979, from the unjust



Prospecting for oil in the outlying areas of Daqing.

war of Sahara and to proclaim her strict neutrality in this fratricidal conflict."

Renmin Ribao in its May 12 editorial welcoming the distinguished Mauritanian guests expressed the hope that a rational solution to the West Sahara issue would be achieved through patient negotiations, mutual understanding and accommodation so as to frustrate hegemonist attempts to sow discord, foment dissension and fish in troubled waters.

Vice-Premier Li's Visit in South Pacific

Vice-Premier Li Xiannian recently paid a successful visit to Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand.

In Papua New Guinea. Relations between China and Papua New Guinea have developed satisfactorily since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1976. During his visit to Papua New Guinea from April 30 to May 3, Vice-Premier Li held talks with Prime Minister Julius Chan and other leaders. They exchanged views on international issues of mutual concern and on bilateral relations. They reviewed with satisfaction the development of these relations and explored the possibilities of further expanding friendly co-operation.

At the press conference he gave in Port Moresby on May 3, Vice-Premier Li said: "Having considered our proposal, the Government of Papua New Guinea has formally invited China to establish an embassy in Port Moresby. This is of positive significance to the further strengthening of ties between our two countries. China will send a survey team here to discuss matters concerning economic co-operation." He added

that his visit has confirmed his belief that the development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries has a bright future.

In Australia. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Australia in 1972, contacts between the two governments and peoples have steadily increased, cultural exchanges have expanded and scientific, technological and economic co-operation has made a good beginning. During his visit to Australia on May 3-12, Vice-Premier Li Xiannian had extensive exchanges of views with Prime Minister Fraser, Deputy Prime Minister Anthony and other cabinet ministers on the international situation and bilateral relations. They had identical or similar views on many major issues and emphasized that measures be taken against Soviet expansion.

During Vice-Premier Li's stay in Australia, the two sides signed an agreement on co-operation in science and technology. According to an agreement announced on May 9, the Guangzhou Export Commodities Fair will be held in Sydney from late October to early November this year.

In New Zealand. Vice-Premier Li visited New Zealand on May 13-18. He held talks with Prime Minister Robert Muldoon and other leaders. The two sides exchanged views on current international issues of common concern, particularly the situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

News in Brief

Disagreement Over the Clearing Off Methods Put Forward by the Former American Shanghai Power Company. After the governments of China and the United States decided to un-

freeze the individual assets and properties, the former American Shanghai Power Company asked the Court of Chancery of the State of Delaware to settle the question of the value of stocks and bonds the company had sold in China during the period from 1930 to 1933 to facilitate their clearing off. A notice on this issue was carried in Shanghai's *Wen Hui Bao* on March 22, 1980.

Holders of the stocks and bonds in China expressed their disagreements on many occasions over the method of clearing off put forward unilaterally by the company, under which they had to apply within a designated short time. They expressed the hope that departments concerned would take notice of this question and negotiate, in accordance with the demands of the holders, with the company for a reasonable settlement with a view to guaranteeing the Chinese people's legitimate rights and interests.

50,000 Million Yen Loan. An agreement under which Japan will provide a loan of 50,000 million yen to China in the fiscal year of 1979 was signed in Beijing on April 30 between the Foreign Investment Commission of China and the Oversea Economic Co-operation Fund of Japan.

The money will be used for six projects: (1) the construction of the Shijiusuo port, (2) the expansion of the Qinhuangdao port, (3) the building of the Wuqiangxi hydroelectric power station, (4) a railway line from Shijiusuo to Yanzhou, (5) a double-track electric railway line from Beijing to the port city of Qinhuangdao, and (6) a new railway line parallel to the Hengyang-Guangzhou line and its electrification. (See *Beijing Review* No. 3, p. 8.)

Eternal Glory to Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a Great Marxist and Proletarian Revolutionary!

Memorial Speech by Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping

WE are gathered here today to mourn with profound grief Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, who dedicated the whole of his militant life to the cause of communism. He was a long-tested and outstanding Party and state leader loved and respected by the whole Party and the people of all our nationalities.

Actuated by their counter-revolutionary motives of usurping the supreme leadership of the Party and the state during the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company, taking advantage of our Party's shortcomings and mistakes, deliberately framed Comrade Liu Shaoqi and persecuted him cruelly. He died of illness in Kaifeng, Henan Province, on November 12, 1969. His death was a great loss to our Party and our people. On the basis of a wealth of conclusive evidence accumulated in the course of meticulous investigation and review, the 11th Party Central Committee, at its Fifth Plenary Session, thoroughly repudiated the accusations made against Comrade Liu Shaoqi, and solemnly redressed the wrongs done to him and rehabilitated his reputation. This principled stand of our Party, that is, seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered, won hearty support from the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one of the earliest members of the Communist Party of China. Born in 1898 in Ningxiang County, Hunan Province, he took part in the 1919 May 4th Movement in his youth, joined the Socialist Youth



League in 1920 and became a member of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, shortly after its founding. From 1922 to 1932, he was engaged mainly in the workers movement and underground Party work. He participated in leading, one after another, the general strike of coal miners and railway workers in Anyuan, the May 30th general strike in Shanghai, the general strike of Guangzhou and Xianggang (Hongkong) workers and the heroic struggle of the Wuhan workers to seize back the British concession there. He was elected a Member of the Central Committee at the Fifth National Congress of the C.P.C. held in April 1927. After the failure of the great revolution [the First Revolutionary Civil War], he did underground Party work in Shanghai, Tianjin, northeast China and north China under ferocious white terror, being one of the leaders of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee at one time and Secretary of the Manchuria Provincial Party Committee at another. In January 1931, he was

lected a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party. In the autumn of that year, he became director of the Workers Department of the Party Central Committee and Secretary of the Party group in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

In the winter of 1932, Comrade Liu Shaoqi arrived at the Central Revolutionary Base Area in Jiangxi and served as Chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and later as Secretary of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee. He took part in the 25,000-li Long March, serving as the representative of the Party Central Committee in the Eighth and then the Fifth Army Corps of the Red Army and director of the Political Department of the Third Army Corps. At the Zunyi Meeting held in January 1935, which was vital to the Chinese revolution, Comrade Liu Shaoqi gave firm support to the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong.

In the spring of 1936, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as Secretary of the Northern Bureau of the Party Central Committee, correctly implemented in north China the Party's policy of a national united front against Japanese aggression, consolidating and extending the victories of the December 9th Movement led by the Party in 1935. During the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he went behind enemy lines, boldly arousing the masses to carry out the national salvation movement against Japanese aggression in accordance with the strategic policy put forward by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong for independent guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear areas, and effectively led the work of founding the new anti-Japanese armed forces in Shanxi and establishing anti-Japanese base areas in north China. In the winter of 1938, Comrade Liu Shaoqi went south, serving as Secretary of the Central Plains Bureau of the Party Central Committee and helping organize and establish anti-Japanese base areas in central China. Receiving an assignment at a critical moment following the South Anhui Incident in 1941, he became Political Commissar of the New Fourth Army and, in May of the same year, Secretary of the Central China Bureau of the Party Central Committee. He worked alongside Chen Yi and other comrades and quickly ended the difficult situation of the New Fourth Army and revived and expanded the revolutionary forces in central China.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one of the principal leaders of our Party for a long time. He returned to Yanan in 1943 and then became a Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission. At the Seventh National Party Congress in 1945, he was elected a Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and a Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. When the enemy attacked Yanan in the spring of 1947, Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrades Zhóu Enlai, Ren Bishi and Peng Dehuai remained in north Shaanxi to direct the nationwide liberation war and the campaign to defend the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. In these circumstances, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, entrusted by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, moved to north China as Secretary of the Working Committee of the C.P.C. Central Committee and joined Comrade Zhu De in taking charge of the Party Central Committee's day-to-day work.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949. He was elected Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at the First Session of the First National People's Congress in 1954. At the Eighth National Party Congress in 1956, he was elected a Member of the Party Central Committee, a Member of the Political Bureau and Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau, of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee. At the First Session of the Second National People's Congress in April 1959, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was elected Chairman of the People's Republic of China. He held the post until his death.

For decades, Comrade Liu Shaoqi waged unremitting struggles and made immortal contributions to the consolidation and development of the Party, to the victory of the new-democratic revolution, to the victory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to the expansion of the international communist movement, winning love and respect from the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a Marxist theoretician of our Party. He consistently attached importance to uniting theory with practice, was



At the memorial meeting.

diligent in investigation and study and in summing up experience, and was good at raising practical experience to the height of theory. He made important contributions in both practice and theory to the building of our Party, to the workers movement in our country and to Party work in the white areas. The theoretical viewpoints and ideological principles he advanced in these respects crystallized the experience accumulated by the Party and the people in their heroic struggle over the decades, and were a component of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi dedicated all his life to making our Party a Marxist-Leninist Party, to defending the Party's ideological and organizational purity, to consolidating and expanding its ranks, to safeguarding its solidarity and unity, to establishing fundamental guiding principles for inner-Party life and to strengthening the Party's ties with the masses. Being the first to advance the concept of Mao Zedong Thought, he publicized it energetically at the Seventh National Congress of the Party. *How to Be a Good Communist* and his other works on Party building, which have educated vast numbers of our Party members, have become our Party's invaluable spiritual wealth.

One of the principal leaders and organizers of China's workers movement over a long period, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was good at combining the Party's political tasks with the workers' vital interests and organizing them in fruitful struggles. The ideas of emphasizing the trade unions' organizational role, of raising the workers' political consciousness and of paying attention to their vital interests, which he advocated tirelessly in the early stage of China's labour

movement, continue to be of guiding significance.

China was plunged into white terror after the failure of the great revolution in 1927. Confronted with the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary suppression, some cadres in the Party developed a tendency towards rash resistance. Comrade Liu Shaoqi advocated the need to make use of public and legal means as far as possible in the work among the masses, exploit the contradictions in the enemy's ranks, win over allies and pay attention to waging appropriate struggles in the light of the political awareness of the masses so as to preserve and expand the Party's revolutionary forces in the white areas. Although his correct position was repressed and vilified at the time, the experience he summed up concerning work in the white areas on the eve of the War of Resistance Against Japan won attention in the whole Party and played an important role in the work in the white areas during that war and in the subsequent War of Liberation.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi upheld a correct stand in the major struggles over the political line of the Party during the new-democratic revolution. He waged firm struggles against the "Left" adventurism of Li Lisan, the "Left" opportunism of Wang Ming, the criminal activities of Zhang Guotao to split the Party during the Long March and the Right opportunism of Wang Ming in the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan. History shows that Comrade Liu Shaoqi deserved to be called a staunch and mature proletarian revolutionary.

After the founding of the People's Republic, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as one of the principal leaders of the Party and state, took an active part in formulating and implementing the polit-

ical lines, principles and policies for the socialist revolution and socialist construction. He upheld the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In the report he made on behalf of the Central Committee to the Party's Eighth National Congress, which was convened after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in China had been completed in the main, he proposed shifting the focus of the Party's work to economic construction and making every effort to raise the social productive forces. During the period of economic difficulties in the early 60s, he made a deep-going study of the actual situation, heeded the views of the masses, showed deep concern for the security of the country and the well-being of the people, and firmly supported the correct policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards, and made fruitful efforts.

Like all other proletarian revolutionaries who could hardly avoid flaws and errors of one kind or another, Comrade Liu Shaoqi had his shortcomings and mistakes in work. However, he always faithfully implemented the Party Central Committee's political line and domestic and foreign policies and unswervingly adhered to the Party's mass line and democratic centralism.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a Communist with a lofty moral character.

He always paid great attention to studying Marxist-Leninist theory. He was good at using theoretical principles and combining them with the actual conditions to make thorough investigations and make concrete analyses of problems. He was a person with political foresight and wisdom. We should learn from his scientific attitude of combining theory with practice.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi shared joy and sorrow with the people. He stressed that the Chairman of the state was a servant of the people, that in revolutionary work, there is no distinction between high and low, and that one should serve the people wholeheartedly at every post. Proceeding from the interests of the people, he always had the courage to correct shortcomings and mistakes in work and to bear responsibility for them. He maintained his revolutionary faith as a Communist even in the bitterly hard time when he was cruelly persecuted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company. We should learn from his revolutionary attitude of boundless faith in the Party and the people.

He matched his words with his deeds. He set an example in fulfilling what he required in *How to Be a Good Communist* of all Party members in cultivating the Party spirit. He was fearless in upholding truth and resisting erroneous ideas, never concealing his own views. He respected collective leadership and obeyed Party decisions, always placing himself in the midst of the organization. We should learn from his revolutionary style of firmly adhering to principles and strictly observing discipline.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was calm, resourceful and staunch in struggle against the enemy. He remained faithful and unyielding during his two arrests by the reactionary ruling class. He never evaded hardship or danger at the critical moment of the revolution but, instead, always chose to go to the most difficult place and shoulder the heaviest task. We should learn from his valiant and indomitable revolutionary spirit.

Respected and beloved Comrade Liu Shaoqi left us more than ten years ago. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company fabricated evidence, concealed the truth and made false charges against him, trying to erase his name from the history of the Chinese revolution. But, as Comrade Liu Shaoqi said in his hardest time: "After all, it is the people who make history." History has now declared the complete bankruptcy of the plot of Lin Biao, the gang of four and company. History is just towards every founding member and leader of New China, and will not forget the merits of any one. Comrade Liu Shaoqi, like Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, will always live in the hearts of the people of all our nationalities.

In this new period of historical development, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities face the arduous task of the four modernizations. The fundamental guarantee for accomplishing this historical task is upholding and improving leadership by the Party and strengthening its fighting power. Commemorating Comrade Liu Shaoqi means first and foremost carrying out his behests and building our Party into a fine Party, restoring and developing our Party's good traditions and style of work in every respect, so that our Party will truly be the force at the core of China's socialist cause, leading the people of all our nationalities, with one heart and one mind, in working for the great goal of socialist modernization.

Eternal glory to Comrade Liu Shaoqi!

Restore True Qualities of Mao Zedong Thought

— On the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi

THE Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, after serious and earnest discussion, unanimously adopted a resolution on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and decided to remove the designations "renegade, traitor and scab" wrongly imposed on him by the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, to cancel the erroneous resolution expelling him "from the Party once and for all and dismissing him from all posts both inside and outside the Party," and to clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the Party and the state.

This rehabilitation, which overturned a grievous frame-up and upheld justice, has been supported and acclaimed by the whole Party and people of the whole country. It demonstrates once again that the Communist Party of China is not only a serious Marxist revolutionary Party that has the courage to hold firmly to the truth and correct its mistakes, but also a Party which has firm unity within its ranks and firm unity with the people.

The Fifth Plenary Session solemnly proclaimed to the whole Party and to the people throughout the country that the action to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi "demonstrates that the Party's determination to restore the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought is not an empty slogan, but an unswerving principled position that pervades all the activities of the Party." But how is this statement by the Fifth Plenary Session to be understood? And why is it that the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi demonstrates the Party's determination to restore the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought? These are questions which must be

made clear in our study of the communique of the Fifth Plenary Session, and these are also questions to which many comrades within and outside the Party and some friends abroad pay close attention.

(1)

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was one of the founding members of our Party and state. He was loyal to the Party and the people at all times over the past decades; he devoted all his energy to China's proletarian revolution and construction and made indelible contributions to the building of the Chinese Communist Party, to China's democratic revolution and to China's socialist revolution and construction. In the early period of the Cultural Revolution Comrade Liu Shaoqi was erroneously criticized and struggled against as "the ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique within the Party" and "the biggest capitalist roader in power in the country."

The 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party — during which inner-Party life was abnormal in the extreme so that no serious discussion was possible — made a completely erroneous decision on Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company used the "investigation material" that they had concocted by base means to deceive the other members of the Central Committee, including its principal leaders, and thus subjected to unprecedented injustice Comrade Liu Shaoqi who could not attend the meeting. In November 1969 Comrade Liu Shaoqi died of illness with that injustice still hanging over his head. This is the biggest frame-up in our Party's history.

To rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi is the common aspiration of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people. When the criticism of



(From left to right) Comrades Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun, Liu Shaoqi, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen at an enlarged working conference convened by the Central Committee of the Party in 1962.

him became public, quite a number of upright Communist Party members and people outside the Party stood up to speak in his defence. The downfall of the gang of four, and especially the solution at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party of a number of important questions left over from history and questions of merits and demerits or right versus wrong concerning some important leaders, prompted a growing number of Party members and non-Party people to suggest that the case of Comrade Liu Shaoqi be re-examined.

The Party Central Committee decided in February 1979 to put the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline and the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee in charge of rechecking the case. All the questions involved in the case were reinvestigated and checked: What was described as Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "betrayal after being arrested" in Changsha in 1925, his "activities as a hidden traitor" in Wuhan and Lushan in 1927, and another "betrayal after being arrested" in Shenyang in 1929, in fact turned out to be slanders and libels; what was called Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "persistence in taking the capitalist road" after nationwide liberation and "scheming to subvert the dictatorship of the prole-

ariat" were distortions and fabrications of history.

It was on this basis that the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee adopted the resolution to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This is an attitude of showing responsibility towards the Party and the people and an attitude of showing responsibility to history and to future generations.

Redressing the case of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is rehabilitating the reputation of one of the principal leaders of the Party and state as well as rehabilitating the reputation of large numbers of cadres, Party members, workers, peasants and young people and students, who were implicated in this case of injustice; it also means restoring historical truth and returning to the fine traditions of the political life of the Party and the country.

The branding of Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a "renegade, traitor and scab," "China's biggest capitalist roader," "ringleader of the inner-Party revisionist clique" and "chief representative of the force of capitalist restoration" not only wronged Comrade Liu Shaoqi, but distorted the history of our Party and country, and subjected many Party members and other people in various social strata to persecution.

Countless loyal and devoted revolutionary cadres, heroes and model workers were smeared as "Liu Shaoqi's agents," "right-hand men," "henchmen," and "phoney models"; countless diligent and industrious Party members of worker and peasant origin were smeared as "Liu Shaoqi's revisionist Party members," "Party members who care about only production," and "filial heirs of Liu Shaoqi"; many specialists, professors and democrats who had long cooperated with the Communist Party were vilified as the "social basis of Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line"; and even millions of students and other young people then studying assiduously were libelled as "bad young successors nurtured by Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line." Work in all fields throughout the country was slandered as the "dictatorship of Liu Shaoqi's sinister line."

Right and wrong were reversed in that period and black and white juggled, throwing the political life of the whole Party and the whole country as well as economic and cultural life into great chaos, confusing a generation of people ideologically and bringing to the Chinese people losses and difficulties which are still being felt everywhere.

The resolution on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party pointed out that in the first 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, our Party had upheld the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. As one of the principal leaders of the Party, Comrade Liu Shaoqi participated throughout in the leadership of the Party Central Committee; he, too, upheld the four basic principles, and made important contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction of the country. During this period, although the Party did make some mistakes, as did Comrade Liu Shaoqi, yet these mistakes were by and large corrected by the Party Central Committee through criticism and self-criticism, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, and there never was a "counter-revolutionary revisionist line" represented by Comrade Liu Shaoqi, nor a "counter-revolutionary revisionist clique" with Comrade Liu Shaoqi as the "ringleader," nor a "bourgeois headquarters" headed by him, nor a group of "inner-Party capitalist roaders in power" with Comrade Liu Shaoqi as the "biggest capitalist roader." This is historical truth. Acknowledging and explaining history and the

present state of affairs truthfully and solving problems in an orderly manner on the basis of the Party's and state's democratic principle is a fine tradition in the political life of the Party and the country.

(2)

The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is a major event in the history of our Party and in the life of our country. The unjust judgment and abnormal treatment of Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a grave mistake committed by our Party. Lenin said: "The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it *in practice* fulfils its obligations towards its *class* and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party." (*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder.*)

Our Party, in summarizing Stalin's contributions and mistakes, offered a fine exposition of how a political party of the working class should deal with its own mistakes. It did so in the two essays, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." But when the question arose of the public redressing of the major frame-up of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, it still was a difficult matter to take a decision on and was a serious test.

In the first place, it was not easy for any one person to judge whether the case against Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a frame-up. The process from having doubts about whether the case was valid to judging that it was a complete frame-up had to be based on serious investigation and repeated verification of the material. As to whether there was a "bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi" or a "Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line," judgment was not so difficult. With the gang of four smashed and the Cultural Revolution ended, it is not difficult for the vast numbers of cadres and the masses who have worked for the past three decades in various fields, especially those who were implicated by these accusations and persecuted and who have now had their names cleared, to come forward and speak up for Comrade Liu Shaoqi, bearing witness to the falseness of these accusations. The case,

however, also involved such historical issues of over half a century ago as the designations of "renegade, traitor and scab," and a resolution on this was adopted at the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party on the basis of "investigations," making this an issue not easy to resolve.

Although many comrades within and outside the Party, including some leading comrades on the Central Committee, early on had doubts about the case, it was impossible to ask to have the case redressed without sufficient and substantiated evidence. Even if only a fraction of what was included in that resolution were true, it would not be easy to redress the case.

In correcting the many frame-ups following the downfall of the gang of four, the Party Central Committee first handled those cases easier to investigate and judge. The illegal practice of torture to extort confessions and the fabrication of evidence by Lin Biao, the gang of four and company uncovered in the course of redressing many frame-ups, as well as the abnormal situation of incorrect treatment of witnesses directly involved in the case of Comrade Liu Shaoqi even after the overthrow of the gang, gave leading comrades on the Central Committee grounds for doubting the credibility of the material on which that resolution had been based.

Only then was the re-examination of the case of Comrade Liu Shaoqi placed on the

Comrade Liu Shaoqi making a report at the meeting of labour heroes in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region in 1943.



agenda. And it was not until all the material on which that resolution had been based was proved false as a consequence of serious and careful reinvestigation and verification by a large number of comrades over a long period of time that the judgment was made that the case had been a frame-up. This shows that the Party Central Committee took a very serious attitude in rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi and that it had proceeded entirely from facts, drawing the conclusion only after thorough investigation and detailed analysis and repeated verification of the testimony and evidence in the case.

Secondly, it was not easy to decide whether to redress the case publicly. The case related to the overall situation of the Cultural Revolution, and the Central Committee had to think over the consequences in considering rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Criticism of Comrade Liu Shaoqi had been extensive and prolonged during the Cultural Revolution. Many people, young people in particular, were not acquainted with Comrade Liu Shaoqi's history or knew little about it, and it was difficult for them to get to know all the facts about the Cultural Revolution.

In these circumstances, the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi was naturally bound to have repercussions, giving rise to various distortions, rumour-mongering by enemies at home and abroad, and even conjectures among com-

Comrade Liu Shaoqi (1st from right) at the founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.





At the First Plenary Session of the Second National People's Congress held in April 1959, Comrade Liu Shaoqi cast his vote to elect state leaders. He was elected Chairman of the People's Republic of China at this session.

rades inside and outside the Party who were not familiar with the facts. But Party policy is based on principle and a minor principle must be subordinated to the guiding principle. Our guiding principle is one of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever they are found, a principle Comrade Mao Zedong formulated for our Party; it is Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific system.

Since the case against Comrade Liu Shaoqi was false, it had to be declared false. If the Central Committee knew the case to be false and kept this secret without redressing it or without doing so publicly for reasons of expediency, then it would betray the very principle it had proclaimed of seeking truth from facts, would deviate from Mao Zedong Thought and would lose the faith placed in it by the whole Party, the entire Chinese people and the whole world. Therefore, the Central Committee was determined to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi, regardless of the possible consequences. This was the only possible choice for a revolutionary Party loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is why the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee declared that the decision to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi demonstrated the Party's determination to restore the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought.

For a long time in his life, Comrade Mao Zedong persisted in seeking truth from facts, correcting mistakes whenever discovered and waging a protracted struggle to right wrongs. When he was in the Central Soviet Area, he himself suffered from wrongs and erroneous treatment. On arrival at northern Shaanxi Province after the Long March, he and other comrades speedily rehabilitated Liu Zhidan* and many other comrades who had been wronged and imprisoned. During the "salvage" movement**, he laid down such important principles as "kill none and arrest few," "avoid the practice of extorting confessions by compulsion and giving them credence," and "lay stress on evidence and not on depositions." While rectifying the grave mistakes in this movement, he personally apologized to comrades who had been wronged.

In his speech *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the correct policy that "counter-revolutionaries must be eliminated wherever found, mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered." He said: "Wherever mistakes have been discovered in the work of eliminating counter-revolutionaries, steps have been or are being taken to correct them. Those not yet discovered will be corrected as soon as they come to light. Exoneration or rehabilitation should be made known as widely as were the original wrong decisions." "This must be the attitude of all the public security organs, the procurators' offices and the judicial departments, prisons and agencies charged with the reform of criminals through labour." Comrade

* Liu Zhidan was a political activist of the Chinese Communist Party and the founder of the Shaanxi-Gansu Revolutionary Base Area and the 26th Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. In the autumn of 1935 some comrades pushing a "Left" opportunist line mistakenly arrested him and put him in prison in the movement to eliminate counter-revolutionaries. Later, the Party Central Committee arrived in north Shaanxi after the Long March and corrected the "Left" mistakes and released him, thus saving the North Shaanxi Revolutionary Base Area from a dangerous situation.

** At the later stage of the Yanan rectification campaign in 1942, some comrades were wrongly charged as enemy agents and urgent methods of "saving those who were led astray" were adopted towards them; they were brutally forced to "confess" their past political questions. The movement produced serious consequences. Comrade Mao Zedong timely corrected this mistake.

Mao Zedong gave a more detailed explanation in his talk at an enlarged working conference convened by the Party Central Committee in 1962 on the correct handling of those wronged.

In this famous talk, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Sima Qian said: 'When King Wen was detained, he produced the *Book of Changes*; When Confucius was in distress, he compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Qu Yuan was exiled and so composed the *Li Sao*. Zuoqiu Ming lost his sight and the *Guo Yu* followed. Sun Zi was mutilated before he wrote his book on military science. Lu Buwei was transferred to the Shu region and so the world inherited his *Lu Lan*. Han Fei was imprisoned in the Kingdom of Qin and he wrote "Shui Nan" and "Gu Fen," two chapters of his great work. Of the three hundred poems in the *Book of Odes* most were written by sages to vent their pent-up indignation.' In modern times, people have had doubts about whether in fact King Wen produced the *Book of Changes* or Confucius compiled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and we can leave these examples aside and let the specialists solve these problems. But Sima Qian believed these things to be true. And it is a fact that King Wen was detained and that Confucius was in distress. Except for the one about Zuoqiu Ming's going blind, the events related by Sima Qian all refer to the incorrect handling of people by their superiors in ancient times. There were cases where we too handled some cadres incorrectly, and no matter whether their handling was completely incorrect or only partially so, after re-examination they should be rehabilitated according to the merits of each case. . . . Here I must make it clear that I am not advocating indiscriminate, incorrect treatment of our cadres, our comrades, or anybody else, in the way the ancients detained King Wen, harassed Confucius, exiled Qu Yuan and removed Sun Zi's kneecaps. I am not advocating this way of doing things, I am opposed to it. What I mean is that at every stage of human history there have always been such cases of mishandling. In class societies such cases are numerous. In a socialist society such things cannot be entirely avoided either. They are unavoidable whether in periods of leadership with a correct or with an incorrect line. There is one distinction, however. Under a correct line, as soon as cases which have been mishandled are discovered, after re-examination the people concerned will be rehabilitated and apologies will be made to them, so that they will enjoy ease of mind and lift up their heads again. But

under an incorrect line, this becomes impossible, and the mistakes can be corrected at a suitable occasion only by those who represent the correct line through the method of democratic centralism."

In this passage, Comrade Mao Zedong reviewed history and studied the existing state of affairs. He differentiated between the attitude adopted under the leadership of a correct line and that under the leadership of an incorrect line. It should be said that he gave a scientific analysis of this historical phenomenon of wronged people. However, this passage lacks something. It deals only with the inevitability of the wrong handling of cases in a socialist society when the correct line is in force, but does not mention the fact that a socialist society guided by the correct line should keep wrongly handled cases and the resulting harm to the minimum and is fully able to do so by strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system and by strengthening democracy and discipline within the Party. Only thus can the superiority of the socialist system be shown fully and the validity of a correct line be demonstrated. Because we have been educated through a long period of practice, especially in the ten chaotic years of the Cultural Revolution, we should now be able to do better than what Comrade Mao Zedong said earlier.

Thus it is clear that the rehabilitation of all wrong cases, including the case of Comrade Liu Shaoqi which was endorsed by the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, is an important question of principle as to whether the banner of Mao Zedong Thought is genuinely raised or not. It should be correctly understood that here, by Mao Zedong Thought, we are referring to its scientific system which is the product of the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, a product of the collective wisdom pooled by Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms from the Party and the revolutionary people and a summing up of the more than half a century of experience gained in the Chinese revolutionary struggle and in the building of a new society, and not a particular sentence or action by any individual on this or that occasion.

Comrade Mao Zedong always held that it was inevitable that a person, no matter who,

would to a greater or lesser extent say or do something wrong, and this should be rectified after being examined in the light of practice. In fact, during the Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong himself righted many wrongs. For example, he rehabilitated the so-called "February adverse current"* and a whole number of comrades including He Long, Tan Zhenlin, Li Jingquan, Ulanhu, Luo Ruiqing, Yang Yong, Yang Chengwu, Lu Zhengcao, Kong Yuan, Yang Qiqing, Liu Jingfan, Liu Jianzhang, Zhou Yang, Jiang Nanxiang, He Cheng and Fu Lianzhang. The sentence "All vilifications and false charges should be negated" was said by Comrade Mao Zedong during the rehabilitation of Comrades He Cheng and Fu Lianzhang. More leading members of various central leading organs, departments and localities were "emancipated" because of his advocacy and insistence. It is known to all that he attended the memorial meeting for Comrade Chen Yi and the scene can be recalled. Although Comrade Mao Zedong nodded his approval in many cases, when he learnt that they were false, that the evidence had been extorted and that the wronged comrades were persecuted in prison, he showed great indignation, used his authority to break through the obstacles created by Lin Biao and the gang of four and resolutely corrected the wrong handling of these comrades.

Of course, since Lin Biao and the gang of four grabbed important power in the Party and the state and their ultra-Left line hampered things in that period, it was impossible to carry the work of rehabilitation through to the end. But the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong took a number of cases in hand and freed a group of leading cadres made it easier to deal with injustice towards other comrades later and to overthrow the gang of four. These are also historical facts. As to those injustices and false charges that were not settled or could not be settled during his lifetime, we, of course, should not maintain the original verdicts based on vilification and false charges, but should repu-

ciate them, according to the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting all wrongs. Only in this way can Mao Zedong Thought be upheld and the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought be restored.

Seeking truth from facts is a very ordinary phrase and can be uttered by anyone. In everyday affairs, out of consideration of the obvious and direct consequences, most people are usually able to seek truth from facts. But it is not very easy for a party to adhere to seeking truth from facts in complicated and tortuous political struggles. Comrade Mao Zedong waged a protracted struggle in this field. For this he was attacked, opposed and called an "opportunist," "empiricist" and other names. He endured the agony of seeing the revolution depart from the principle of seeking truth from facts and suffer great losses and pay heavily. Precisely because of this, he persisted during his long years of revolutionary activities in upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts and the principle of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

During the rectification campaign in 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong made seeking truth from facts a major slogan, gave it a Marxist definition and had the four huge characters in his calligraphy inscribed above the door of the auditorium of the then Central Party School. It is a fact that Comrade Mao Zedong made the greatest contributions to the victorious development of our Party in this aspect. It is reasonable to take seeking truth from facts as the quintessence and one of the fundamental principles of Mao Zedong Thought.

Since the downfall of the gang of four, especially after the holding of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have vigorously set things to rights in all fields, including the rehabilitation of large numbers of people falsely charged and the present rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. All this boils down to upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, a principle that Comrade Mao Zedong advocated throughout his life. All this is the natural and positive outcome of restoring the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought.

Let us hold even higher the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and march forward to win still greater victories!

(May 16)

*"February adverse current" refers to a frame-up charge concocted by Lin Biao and the gang of four. At the two working conferences of the Party, the government and the army called by the State Council in February 1967, Comrades Ye Jianying, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian, Li Xiannian and Tan Zhenlin questioned Lin Biao and Zhang Chunqiao as to why they wanted to overthrow all veteran cadres. Later, Lin Biao and company branded the face-to-face struggles in these meetings the "February adverse current."

In Remembrance of Comrade Liu Shaoqi

In the days when the mass media in our country was under the control of Lin Biao and the gang of four, the Chinese press carried numerous defamatory articles against Comrade Liu Shaoqi. They accused him of being a "renegade, traitor and scab." But these charges did not tally with the facts.

A thorough investigation conducted some time ago, however, has verified that all these accusations were nothing but fabrications. (See this year's issue No. 13.) Efforts have also been made to clarify the question of a so-called "revisionist line" for which Liu Shaoqi was held responsible. (See "Marxism Should Not Be Confused With Revisionism" in our issue No. 16.)

This special feature contains recent selections from articles in the Chinese press commemorating Comrade Liu Shaoqi. In addition, we have also asked a worker, a cadre and an intellectual to tell what they thought about Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the Cultural Revolution and what they think of him now that the facts have been clarified. — Ed.

In the 1920s

A Fearless Workers' Representative

TEN thousand miners and railway workers jointly staged a big strike in the autumn of 1922 at the Anyuan coal mine in Jiangxi Province, one of the earliest enterprises in China run by bureaucrat-capitalists. The workers, who led a miserable life just like beasts of burden, struck for workers' rights and better pay. This historically famous strike ended victoriously after five days.

Liu Shaoqi who was sent to Anyuan by Comrade Mao Zedong beforehand played a prominent role during the strike. On the fourth day he took a letter giving the

terms of the Workers' Club (which was leading the strike under the chairmanship of Li Lisan) to the "mediator," Li Hongcheng. The "curfew commander" of the local military, Li had invited the workers to

send a representative to the command headquarters for negotiations after he had held a secret meeting with the mine and railway owners. He intended to use the meeting to intimidate the representative and then suppress the strike by declaring martial law.

As Liu Shaoqi was walking towards the heavily guarded headquarters, the workers tried to stop him, worried that he might be killed.

"But if we refuse to negotiate," Liu explained, "these capitalists will charge that we are being unreasonable. We can't play into their hands." With the workers behind him, Liu Shaoqi walked straight into the conference room in the headquarters and, full of confidence, sat down.

Li Hongcheng, the "mediator," began to shout: "How dare you and your club instigate the workers to make trouble!"

Undaunted, Liu Shaoqi stated the reasons for the strike and asked: "Now what's all this? Are we holding negotiations or



Worker's Vest

As soon as Comrade Liu Shaoqi arrived in Anyuan in 1922 he took off his intellectual's gown and put on a worker's close-fitting cotton vest for his house-to-house visits to workers' homes to rally them to rise and fight. This vest is now kept at the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution in Beijing.



Liu Shaoqi (standing in the middle) and faculty members of the Workers' School run by the Railway and Coal Mine Trade Union of Anyuan, June 1924.

is this an interrogation? Do you want to settle the issue or make things worse?"

All the mine and railway chiefs in the conference room were nonplussed. It had not occurred to Li Hongcheng that this young fellow in his early twenties could be a tough negotiator. Still trying to threaten him, Li shouted: "If this trouble keeps up, the workers' representative will be the first to be shot." His words were punctuated by the guards raising their rifles and clicking to attention, ready to take action. Liu Shaoqi got to his feet in a leisurely manner and said: "There are more than 10,000 workers on strike. Even if you make mincemeat of me, you'll still have this problem to settle."

Li angrily blasted: "Ten thousand workers! My ten thousand troops can deal with them!"

Chairman of the State and Night Soil Collector

OCTOBER 26, 1959. All the lights were on in the Great Hall of the People in the heart of Beijing.

Chairman Liu Shaoqi of the People's Republic, Chairman Zhu De of the National People's Congress and Premier Zhou Enlai were meeting the presidium of the National Congress of Labour Heroes. One of the members was Shi Chuanxiang, a night soil collector.

Liu Shaoqi answered back in a stern voice: "Do as you please."

By that time, the cries of the workers outside had grown quite loud. The throng started moving up to the staircase in the headquarters, refusing to be thwarted by either the guards' rifles or the actions of the mine and railway chiefs.

Liu Shaoqi slowly walked down the corridor and waved his hand at the crowd, urging them to keep calm. At this moment a worker cried out: "We want our representative Liu to come out every ten minutes for us to see." Others shouted their agreement. Li Hongcheng was forced to guarantee the personal safety of the workers' representative. In the end, the capitalists were forced to hold the negotiations on the basis of the workers' terms.

When Comrade Liu Shaoqi finally went back to the workers, they cheered again and again: "Our representative has guts." Comrade Liu Shaoqi chuckled and said: "When 10,000 of us band together, we are a tremendously formidable force!"

Chairman Liu held Shi's hands and asked how he made his living.

After Shi replied, Chairman Liu exclaimed: "So your team of sanitation workers really works hard! But you must also make an effort to get other night soil collectors in the city to emulate you."

Chairman Liu then asked whether the cleaners studied well. Shi responded that he



Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De receiving the presidium of the National Congress of Labour Heroes, October 1959. Photo shows Liu shaking hands with Shi Chuanxiang.

only knew 200-odd Chinese characters and could not sign his own name properly. The chairman became very serious: "You know, Old Shi, an advanced worker ought to be advanced in every way. Our country is just developing and we need literate people. I'm much older than you, but I still study. You're only 45, young enough to learn to read and write. I'd like to get a letter from you this New Year."

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Liu Shaoqi once again held Old Shi's hand and said: "We all should do our best to serve the people under Party leadership. We are both public servants—you, as a night soil collector, and me as the chairman of the state. There is merely a division of labour between the two of us."

As the chairman walked away, Old Shi, looked at his rough, callous hands, and his thoughts returned to events of thirty years earlier.

In the old society, Shi Chuanxiang and his mother roamed the streets begging. At 15, he began using his pair of hands to work as a night soil collector. One hot summer day, when he was collecting night soil at a rich man's house, he asked for some water to quench his thirst. A maid was about to hand him a ladle when the rich man's wife snatched it away and said sharply to Shi Chuanxiang: "Your hands stink!" On another occasion he was beaten up

by a police constable for no reason at all and his hands became stained with blood as he tried to stop his wound from bleeding. But today, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, the chairman of the state, actually held these hands.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi's friendship with Shi Chuanxiang at that time became known throughout the country. It also helped change people's minds which were dominated by traditional views towards night soil collectors. Under the age-old influences of the feudal society, they were looked down upon even though workers were badly needed to do this job as modern sanitary facilities were still inadequate at that time.

Old Shi received a *Hero* fountain pen from Comrade Liu Shaoqi. He earnestly undertook what Comrade Shaoqi had urged him to do, getting up every morning at around four to learn reading and writing. Two months later, on New Year's Day, he used the pen to write a letter to Comrade Liu Shaoqi about his progress. That was the first letter he had ever written in his entire life.

Because of this, Shi Chuanxiang, a national labour hero, was cruelly persecuted. He died during the Cultural Revolution.

Plain Living

AS Comrade Shaoqi's personal bodyguards, we knew him quite well. He was both a great proletarian revolutionary and a rank-and-file Party member.

Comrade Shaoqi was a busy man. His daily schedule was always tight—reading documents, attending meetings and talking to cadres. When he started working, he would neglect his meals and sleep.

Once, to work on a report which he was to deliver at a meeting, he did not sleep for 48 hours. He went to bed only several hours before the meeting but then was immediately aroused by a call from Chairman Mao who wanted to go over the draft with him and Premier Zhou. Things like this happened very often. We would have to wake him up

because of some urgent business even though he had taken a sleeping pill.

He led an incredibly simple life. He was used to working late into the night and would get up after midday. For breakfast his everyday fare was porridge and some pickles; only once in a while would he have an egg. He had his "lunch" at five or six in the afternoon, together with his family. His "supper" taken at one o'clock in the morning consisted of leftovers from the previous meal warmed by his wife, Comrade Wang Guangmei, or

his bodyguard as the cook by then had already retired.

On inspection tours, he always lived like the common people. Once he stayed at a production brigade in Hunan for three weeks, making investigations during the day and working at night. He stayed in a local peasant's house which was quite damp, he dressed the same as the local people and at each meal ate a bowl of rice with some vegetables. As we were afraid that Comrade Shaoqi might get sick after drinking pond water which the local inhabitants used, we look-

ed elsewhere for his drinking water. When he learnt of our plan, he remarked, "You comrades are really funny. So many people here drink the pond water, why shouldn't I?"

In the winter of 1959 he went to Guangdong for medical treatment. On his birthday we managed to make a birthday cake for him decorated with the Chinese character for longevity. We did not even tell his wife beforehand. When he sat down at the dinner table, he kept silent for some time and then spoke in a depressed tone: "The Party Central Committee long ago made it a rule not to celebrate

Father and Children

Dried Sweet Potato Chips. China was in serious economic straits in the early 1960s. Food in the schools was very bad. So that his own children should share the weal and woe of the common people, Comrade Shaoqi insisted that they should all live in the school dormitory and eat in the mess hall.

One Saturday afternoon his youngest son, Yuan Yuan, went back to his own room after lunch and threw a few dried sweet potato chips into a corner when no one was around. The teacher found out, Yuan Yuan was criticized and the incident was recorded on his "report sheet to parents." That evening when Yuan Yuan brought the sheet home, Comrade Liu Shaoqi as usual looked it over. Together with Comrade Wang Guangmei, Yuan Yuan's mother, he helped Yuan Yuan see the teacher's point. Yuan Yuan was told that only when he had experienced the hardships of the country during the difficult years could he stand by the people and work for them when he grew up.

Take Care of Your Own Laundry. One day Yuan Yuan left some dirty shirts and socks on his bed at home and told the housemaid to wash them. When Comrade Liu Shaoqi found out about this, he patiently explained to Yuan Yuan why this was bad. Afterwards he also sent a message to Yuan Yuan's teacher: "Let the children learn to labour

when they are young, let them do their own chores. To labour is a glorious thing; not to do it is a shame. . . ."

On receiving this message, the teachers tried to help students learn to acquire good work habits. Yuan Yuan slowly began to take care of himself. By and by, someone who visited Yuan Yuan at his home found his room very tidy and his clothing clean—all done by Yuan Yuan himself.



Liu Shaoqi and his youngest daughter Xiaoxiao, 1964.



Liu Shaoqi doing carpenter's work when taking part in renovating the buildings in Zhongnanhai in Beijing, 1951.

leaders' birthdays. Besides, our country is now experiencing difficulties, the people at large are hard up. And yet we. . . ." He stopped in the middle of his sentence. The cake was not touched and he finished his meal absent-mindedly. Since then, we knew better than to do things like this.

Because Comrade Shaoqi was a simple, strict man of great prudence, we do not want to lavish praise on him which would only make him turn over in his grave. It is our belief that the simplicity of his personality will for ever be remembered by the people.

— by Shi Guorui and others

I Was Once a "Rebel"

by Ren Jinquan, a worker at the Foreign Languages Printing House in Beijing

AT the beginning of the Cultural Revolution I was a "rebel" who wholeheartedly supported toppling Liu Shaoqi.

I lost my father when I was a child and at 13 I became an apprentice in a printing shop owned by a capitalist. I did not have proper clothing nor enough to eat. I slept on the cement floor in the workshop at night after long hours of work during the day. Then came the Communist Party. We workers became the masters and I too was able to enjoy a decent life. So when I heard Liu Shaoqi was trying to restore

capitalism, I naturally could not put up with that. I joined the rebels' ranks. We were full of pep at that time: we worked in the daytime, and in the evenings we wrote big-character posters and slogans on banners, held meetings and criticized the "capitalist roaders."

Then the campaign to clean up the class ranks came along. When I heard there were "enemy agents, renegades and counter-revolutionaries" hidden among us workers, I was really alarmed and became more zealous than ever in these "revolutionary activities."

Every day and everywhere, "counter-revolutionaries" and "renegades" were "unearthed." Later on, both at the local and central levels, their numbers multiplied and more important people were implicated. Finally, many generals, marshals and vice-premiers became "renegades" or "capitalist roaders." I began to ask myself: "If all these people who helped found New China were just after high positions and money, if they wanted to restore capitalism, why did they bother to join the Communist Party in the first place? They should have become bureaucrats in the Kuomintang government instead of joining the 25,000-li Long March and suffering countless hardships."

At the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee in 1968, all kinds of charges were raised against Liu Shaoqi and it was announced that he was going to be expelled from the Party for good. I told myself since this was a decision of the Central Committee, it could not be wrong.

But over the course of the next few years, certain events raised more questions in my mind. In 1971 Lin Biao was killed in a plane crash when he tried to leave the country and defect. One of those opposing Liu Shaoqi turned out to be a rotten egg! In 1974 Comrade Deng Xiaoping reappeared to work in the government but before long for no clear reason Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others were again active in "repulsing the Right deviationist wind of reversing the correct verdicts." By then I was no longer as naive as I had been before. I said to myself: "Things in the country (in 1975) are quite all right, the national economy has made a turn for the better, railway traffic is running on schedule — what has all this to do with capitalism? If produc-

tion does not go up, what is there for the people to eat?" In my own case, by 1976 I had not had a wage raise in 20 years (I was a worker of the fifth grade in 1956 and it was not until 1977 after the downfall of the gang of four that I was promoted to the sixth grade). There was no improvement in the living standards because production had gone down the drain, the economy had failed to make progress and the state was hard up for money. I was at that time very much irritated by the criticism of "the theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" in the press.

What puzzled people more was the "Tian An Men incident" in 1976 when the whole nation was grief-stricken by the loss of Premier Zhou Enlai. Why were many people who went to Tian An Men Square to offer wreaths in his memory branded "counter-revolutionary," suppressed and hunted down?

After the downfall of the gang of four, many of my doubts were gradually dispelled. With the wronged cases like the Tian An Men incident redressed, I began to think about the case of Liu Shaoqi. Before the Cultural Revolution we always had thought he was one of the worthy leaders of the Chinese working class, a person who had gone through all kinds of tribulations before liberation and after that continued to work diligently for the Party and the people. Could he be a bad fellow? He must have been framed by Lin Biao and the gang of four. Yes, definitely.

I have come to see bit by bit that there is no such thing as the so-called Liu Shaoqi's "revisionist line." How can we say developing production to make the socialist motherland rich and strong and make us work-

ing people live better is "revisionism," is the "restoration of capitalism"?

Today, the truth has come out; history has been restored to its true form. I feel fine. Our

Party has called on us to "unite and look forward." I, as a Party member, am determined to work for the modernization of our socialist motherland to the best of my ability.

Years of Doubts Dispersed

by Lu Zulian, Director of the Steel Plant, Shoudu Iron & Steel Company, Beijing

IN the summer of 1958 when ground was being broken for our plant—the first steel plant of oxygen converters in our country—Party Vice-Chairman Liu Shaoqi came to the company to acquaint himself with what was going on. He lived at the site for a week and helped dig out the foundation pit like everybody else. When I came to work at the plant in 1959, people were still talking about Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a man who was easy to get along with.

At the start of the Cultural

Revolution, suddenly, Liu Shaoqi was to be toppled. I wondered why, for he was a veteran revolutionary with many meritorious deeds to his credit.

Meanwhile, practically all the leading personnel in our company, from the secretary of the Party committee, the general manager down to some workshop chiefs, were toppled. I went down too and was barred from Party activities until 1970. I was charged as being a "follower of Liu Shaoqi's counter-



Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai inspecting the Kailuan Coal Mine.

revolutionary revisionist line" and a "faithful pawn serving Liu Shaoqi's sinister headquarters." In fact, I had no idea where that headquarters was. As to what the revisionist line consisted of, there was never a proper definition.

Those days I was sad, pained and worried. I felt sad because I was called a "capitalist roader" after having worked so hard for socialist construction. I was pained to see so many veteran revolutionaries like Liu Shaoqi step down for no valid reason at all and even die in oblivion. I became worried about the fate of our country with so many leaders of the Party and state, from the highest echelons down, being toppled one by one.

In 1968, the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee decided to expel Liu Shaoqi from the Party for good. At that time, I was still being humiliated with illegal questioning and "labour reform." I could only ask myself questions: Why was it that Liu Shaoqi, who for many years before the Cultural Revolution had been confirmed as an exponent of the correct line in the work of the "white area" (places under the rule of the reactionaries), turned out to be a "renegade, traitor and scab" all of a sudden? Why was it that no one had ever raised this problem before and that the "evidence" had not come out until now? In those days, "evidence" against a person was often based on unsubstantiated information contained in big-character posters or on "confessions" exacted under torture and presented in kangaroo courts. Was the "evidence" against Liu Shaoqi reliable? I doubted it.

When I was admitted to the Party in the 1950s, I had studied *How to Be a Good Communist* and *On the Party* by Comrade Liu Shaoqi as classic readers of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. So I wondered how such a veteran revolutionary with a strong Party spirit could become a bad fellow. But then Lin Biao and the gang of four were in high places, the tradition of voicing differing opinions inside the Party had been suppressed and the people's democratic rights had been trampled on. I was not in a position to state my views.

When the decision to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi was announced, all my doubts over the years were dispelled. Nat-

urally I was very happy about it.

Today, the Party Central Committee, having drawn profound lessons, has decided to put the socialist legal system on a sound basis and strengthen democratic life inside the Party. I don't think a wronged case like that of Comrade Liu Shaoqi will ever happen again.

People working in our steel plant still remember how Comrade Liu Shaoqi urged them to make a march on modern science and technology in 1958. Now they are following his advice. They are racing against time and solving difficult problems, working and studying hard to catch up with the world's advanced level.

An "About-Face" in Twelve Years

by Wang Weiyu, Associate Professor of the Department of Architecture, Qinghua University, Beijing

IN 1968 I believed the various charges against Liu Shaoqi and in 1980 I wholeheartedly supported the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. A foreign friend found this difficult to understand, describing it as "mental acrobatics, a somersault." In fact I myself, as well as many others whom I know, did not change our attitude overnight. This "180-degree turn" was a 12-year process.

In June 1966 our university campus was flooded with big-character posters, some accusing the university authority of having followed a "revisionist line in education," others asserting that certain people in the university leadership were "counter-revolutionary revisionists" backed by someone behind the scene. I was puzzled.

Since liberation in 1949, Qinghua University, including the

architecture department, had made considerable progress and trained many useful people for the country. Especially notable was the participation by our department's faculty members and students in the designing of some grand projects like the Great Hall of the People, the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Art in Beijing. These achievements seemed even more outstanding when I compared them to the role of architecture departments before 1949. I studied architecture at Beijing University before liberation and after graduation I became an assistant in architecture there for four years. Both my studies and my teaching were confined to book knowledge. One of my tutors was a man of some prestige, yet he had only designed two bank buildings during his career. Thus, I felt there was no com-

parison between universities in old and new China. So when the Cultural Revolution first started, I asked myself why it was said that everything in Qinghua had gone wrong.

Big-character posters kept coming out and their contents became increasingly bombastic. I tried to explain it to myself by saying: All right, this is a revolutionary movement. Every great revolution in world history has its extremely radical aspects. This is simply unavoidable. And this is after all not the mainstream. Besides, most of the rebels are young people who are bound to see things in a radical way. So I told myself I should wait till the final stage of the movement when there would be a proper assessment.

I also was surprised by the statements in *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*, organs of the Party Central Committee, that there was a counter-revolutionary revisionist line inside the Party in opposition to the line of the Central Committee and also a bourgeois headquarters. As an ordinary university teacher, I knew nothing about what was going on inside the Central Committee, but one thing I was quite sure about—I had faith in the Party. It never occurred to me that Lin Biao, the gang of four and their cohorts were making trouble for their own ends.

Why did I have such confidence in the Party? In the old society I had had no interest in politics, although the backwardness of our poverty-stricken country, internal disorder and external intervention, and the whole population living in distress had cast a shadow over my mind. Then came the liberation of Beijing and the birth of New China. In a few years the wounds of war were healed and large-scale construction was well

afoot. Without the Communist Party, there would not have been a new China—this was obvious even to someone with little political experience like myself. So I thought our Party could never make mistakes.

In addition, as an intellectual from the old society, I was well aware of my own shortcomings and weaknesses. For instance, in the early days after liberation, I thought highly of myself, disdained doing manual labour and looked down on workers and peasants. The idea of mixing with workers, peasants and soldiers and serving them came only gradually with the help of the Party. I knew it took a long process of tempering to change one's stand entirely. So every time I found something not to my liking and was sceptical, I always wondered if it was because of my old ideas. Thus, in the end I decided not to question things that were taking place in the Cultural Revolution, including the overthrow of Liu Shaoqi.

A great revolution will certainly have positive results as a

matter of course. But things did not come out that way. Qinghua very soon split into two factions. People with differing viewpoints at first crossed swords by writing big-character posters and entering into debates, and later on they started having fist fights and even armed conflicts. Enrolment of new students stopped, classes were suspended, research work came to a standstill. Chairman Mao called on students to "resume classes while making revolution," but chaos continued.

Under such super-revolutionary slogans like eliminating the difference between manual and mental labour now and immediately, our architecture department was moved to construction sites. A number of experienced workers became our students. They were quite anxious to learn and I too was ready to help. They wanted me to give lectures on the principles of design but I knew I would be accused of "spreading poison" again since these principles and theories had already been criticized and dismissed as feudal, bourgeois and revisionist stuff. No, I



Liu Shaoqi inspecting Qinghua University, May 1955.

didn't dare. The workers expressed the desire to learn to read blueprints. But I had to first teach them how to use a dictionary because their educational level was too low. Although I knew it was a good thing to serve the workers and peasants, still I was sceptical about running a university in such a way. But some hangers-on of the gang of four pontificated: This is linking theory with practice! This is revolution in education! They kept criticizing the faculty members for their thinking of "going back to the old order" and many an intellectual felt like they were

walking on a tight rope. I myself was in a half-convicted, half-doubtful state of mind.

After the downfall of the gang of four, many things became increasingly clear. Notwithstanding the mistakes and setbacks in the 17 years from the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 to the eve of the Cultural Revolution, great achievements had been made. This was so everywhere in the country, in the field of education as well. It is a fact that people who received their college education before the Cultural Revolution are now playing a very important role

on the various fronts in our country. When I look into things as they are now, I have come to see there never was such a thing as Liu Shaoqi's "counter-revolutionary revisionist line," nor a "bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi."

In nearly 60 years of revolutionary struggles, the Chinese Communist Party has made mistakes of one kind or another and rectified its mistakes on its own strength. The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is another demonstration of the fact that our Party is open and aboveboard and dares to rectify its mistakes.

A Brave Young Worker

AT dusk on October 26, 1974 in Changchun, northeast China, a young man stopped his bike at a street corner and dropped 14 letters into a mailbox. Addressed to a number of Party and government offices, they contained 25 handbills. This young man later had these handbills posted in Shengli Park and other places.

He was Shi Yunfeng, a member of the Communist Youth League and a worker of the No. 1 Optical Instrument Factory. These handbills said: "Chairman Liu was illegally removed by a wave of ultra-Leftism! This is a great wrong!" "How to Be a Good Communist (a book by Liu Shaoqi) is a good book!". . . In these handbills he showed his support for Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation while denouncing Jiang Qing and company. One of the handbills said: "Jiang Qing! We 800 million want our cultural life back. National and traditional culture must be restored!"

Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan—the four in the gang—on learning about this ordered to have the man

tracked down. The person in charge of the Jilin provincial Party committee acted immediately; Shi Yunfeng was arrested and put into jail as an "active counter-revolutionary."

On December 17, 1976, two months after the gang of four was smashed, the responsible member of the provincial Party committee who had had a hand in the gang's scheme to usurp Party leadership disregarded the opinions of some other leading cadres and decided that steps be taken quickly to execute Shi Yunfeng. Shi was only given two days to appeal.

At that time, the socialist legal system in our country was defunct: There were no longer procedures for arrests, public trials or the right to a defence, etc. Many decent people felt indignant but dared not to speak out as the gang of four and their cohorts had wielded power for so long.

Chia Xiuyun, Shi Yunfeng's mother and an old worker, knew quite well that her son was not a counter-revolutionary. She wanted to go to Beijing to voice her son's wrongs, but since she only had two days to make an appeal, she had to

file it with the Jilin provincial Party committee.

The appeal was quickly rejected without any serious discussion according to legal procedure. On the early morning of December 19 before Shi Yunfeng was sent to the execution ground, he shouted "I'm innocent!" The man in charge immediately reported the matter to an elderly secretary of the Changchun city Party committee who reported to the provincial Party committee and objected the execution. But that responsible member of the provincial Party committee insisted on an immediate execution.

On that day, December 19, 1976, when the whole nation was still jubilantly celebrating the downfall of the gang of four, Shi Yunfeng, a young man who was fully entitled to share the joy of the people's victory, was murdered. He was only 28 when he died.

Comrade Shi Yunfeng was recently admitted to the Chinese Communist Party posthumously and honoured as a revolutionary martyr. At a meeting to rehabilitate him, people angrily condemned the gang of four and demanded that the man formerly in charge of the provincial Party committee be punished.

Afghan Situation

Threat and Options

SOME recent developments in Afghanistan are worth noting.

On the part of the Afghan people, the struggles against Soviet occupation have intensified on two fronts. On one front, Moslem guerrillas in their tens of thousands have launched attacks from all directions, inflicting heavy losses on the Soviet aggressors. On the other, urban people from all walks of life, youths in particular, have waged various forms of mass struggles which give the occupation troops and the Kabul quisling authorities no respite. Ignoring Soviet tanks and helicopter gunships sent to suppress them, student demonstrators

shouted such slogans as "Death to the Russians!" and "Russian Bears, Go Home!" The Afghan people have made their choice. Refusing to yield, they have risen up to defend their national independence.

To control the situation, Moscow is stepping up its suppression of the Afghan people and, at the same time, playing the "political settlement" trick. Recently, Soviet officials and the Soviet mass media made one statement after another to the effect that the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan had its reasons. This is aimed more at preparing for further ex-

expansion than at justifying its gangster actions. If in the past one had to watch developments in Afghanistan in order to fathom Moscow's intention, now he has only to pay heed to the Kremlin's own propaganda to know what is in the offing.

Will It Pull Its Troops Out? The answer is "No."

On April 25, Gromyko said explicitly at a press conference in Paris: To ask the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops and then consider and start discussions of other questions — this of course is sheer illusion. Talking about this proposal means nothing but a waste of time.

Will Moscow Abide by the Norms of International Relations? The answer is also "No."

Moscow News on April 20 said in a commentary that "non-interference is a good thing, but the principles of international law do not exist in a vacuum." "History and politics cannot always be fit in legal formulas."

"Strive to turn the non-use of armed force into an international norm" — a Soviet slogan used for years — was deleted by the Soviet authorities from its 1980 May Day slogans.

The Soviet army paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* on April 15 said: "The duties of the Soviet armed forces at home have diminished, but their external duties have expanded."

Will Moscow Stop Its Drive South? All signs point to the conclusion that it will not.

Izvestia recently wrote that the Soviet dispatching of troops into Afghanistan has not only "reduced the real U.S. threat to Iran" but has also "helped Iran's revolution." This makes people ask: If it should dispatch its troops into Iran, would Moscow then claim that it was helping Iraq?

Senior Soviet official spokesman Leonid Zamyatin has said: "The U.S.S.R.'s vital interests in Afghanistan are certainly higher than America's, because this country lies on our southern borders, but is thousands of kilometres away from the U.S.A." Does this mean that, if a particular country is geographically closer to the Soviet Union



An Afghan guerrilla atop a helicopter gunship.

than to the United States, Moscow then will have more right than Washington to occupy it? This leaves people wondering whether the Soviet Union will use this argument to place the Middle East and Western Asia within the sphere of its "interests." In fact, this is what Moscow has in mind because it claims that this region is vital to the security and the interests of the Soviet Union as it extends south of the Soviet frontier across the territories of countries contiguous to the Soviet Union such as Afghanistan (from the Soviet journal *The U.S.A.* No. 4, 1980).

Necessary Option Should Be Made. When the Soviet Union has already invaded Afghanistan and a new crisis is looming large in the Middle East and Persian Gulf, such unusual statements warrant attention. In the face of the unceasing Soviet thrust south, many countries which have felt the weight of the threat have to make their choice.

Recently, many far-sighted personages have pointed out that forceful measures must be taken without delay to slow down the tempo of Soviet aggression and expansion. They hold that:

- It is imperative to uphold the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Extraordinary Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers calling for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, give energetic support to the Afghan people's resistance to Soviet aggression and enforce more effective sanctions against the Soviet Union.

- Countries facing the Soviet threat must substantially beef

up their military strength and support each other.

- Countries involved should close their ranks and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against Soviet moves of aggression and expansion, frustrate every Soviet attempt to seize strategic points and routes and sources of strategic materials and upset Soviet strategic dispositions for world domination.

Such an option is highly necessary. If, instead, one follows a policy of appeasement or waits for the Soviet Union to call a halt, Moscow will move ahead to realize its strategic goals when it has strengthened its hand in Afghanistan. It will

certainly exploit the turmoil and conflicts plaguing the Middle East and Western Asia to further divide, dismember, penetrate or control countries such as Pakistan and Iran. By then, there will be a second, a third or more Afghanistans. The independence and sovereignty of many countries will be trampled underfoot. The United States and Western Europe will also find themselves at a greater disadvantage strategically. They will then have to choose between submission or a full-scale war. Obviously, to decide then will be much more difficult than it is now.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang

African Common Market Planned

AT the first economic summit of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) held in Lagos recently, African leaders approved resolutions to set up an African common market by the year 2000 and an economic plan of action, termed the "Lagos Action Plan," for the African continent. These decisions marked a new starting point for the continent to change its backward features by speeding up its economic, social and cultural development.

Since gaining political independence, the various African countries have come to realize the importance of winning economic independence by strengthening their economies. Nigerian President Ahaji Shehu Shagari pointed out: "Without political independence, it is impossible to achieve economic independence, and without economic power, political

independence is meaningless, incomplete and insecure."

In recent years, African countries have emphasized the need to develop their economies on the basis of collective self-reliance. In addition, they have strengthened economic cooperation between neighbours and at regional levels. They have also improved economic relations with some developed countries. All these measures are achieving good results.

The Lagos conference was of far-reaching importance. It has set African economic development targets for the next two decades. The first stage for attaining the targets is to strengthen the existing economic organizations; to establish step by step other regional economic organizations in the central, eastern, southern and northern parts of Africa;

and to accelerate integration in the fields of agriculture, industry, manpower and energy resources as well as transportation and telecommunications so as to make preparations for the establishment of an African economic community and common market. The second stage is to co-ordinate strategy, policy and plan for economic development, increase co-operative projects, and harmonize the

policies in finance, currency and trade, so as to gradually realize economic integration of the continent.

All these targets will mobilize and inspire the African countries and people to more effectively concentrate their manpower, materials and finance to accelerate the development of the African economy.

— *Commentary by Xinhua Correspondent*

Regional Hegemonism in The Caribbean

THE sinking of a Bahamian patrol boat by Cuban MIG-21 fighters in the southern territorial waters of the Commonwealth of Bahamas has greatly angered the Bahamas and the people in the Caribbean region. The Bahamian Government has rejected Havana's account of the incident, which Prime Minister Lyndon O. Pindling described as "a dastardly and vicious attack, an act of aggression which we cannot take lightly."

The incident took place early in the morning of May 11. Two Cuban fishing vessels were intercepted and seized by Bahamian patrol boats for poaching in Bahamian territorial waters. The Cuban authorities sent MIG-21 fighters to attack the Bahamian boats, sinking one and killing and wounding a number of Bahamian sailors. When the Bahamian Government protested this incident, the Cuban authorities resorted to sophistry and claimed that

its planes were called out after one of the Cuban boats radioed that it was "being attacked by a pirate ship" and was "hijacked."

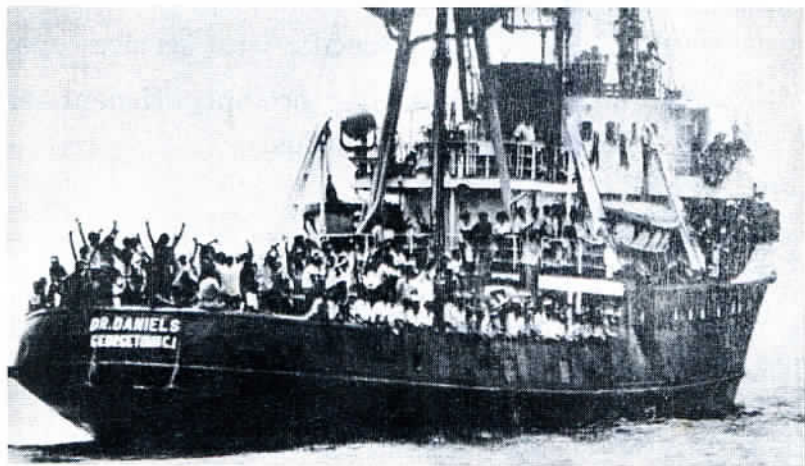
Cuban bellicosity is nothing new. Emboldened by Moscow's support, the Castro regime has for some time been throwing its weight around in Africa and the Caribbean region and engaging in aggression and expansion. The recent unwarranted use of armed force against its neighbour shows that Soviet

backing has made the wild ambitions of the Castro regime grow to outrageous proportions and that if it is not checked, there will be no peace or tranquillity in the region.

Havana's provocation against its neighbour fully reveals the Castro regime's craving for regional hegemonism. Its resort to armed force, however, does not prove that it is really powerful. Because it willingly provides mercenary troops for the Soviet Union's aggressive designs and serves as Moscow's hatchetman, Cuba has a very unsavoury reputation among the peoples of the world and its domestic situation is in a mess.

Recently, the fleeing of large numbers of Cubans from their homeland shows that the Castro regime is in great difficulties. Havana hopes that its senseless muscle-flexing will divert the attention of the people at home and abroad from its difficulties, but it only shows the world that the Castro regime is feeling very jittery and insecure.

— *Li Fu*



Cuban refugees arriving at Key West naval depot in Florida, U.S.A.

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