

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- The C.P.C. Is Capable of Correcting Its Mistakes
- Moscow's Crude Interference in Poland's Affairs
- "Balanced Selling of Arms" Unacceptable



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Maturing Through Correcting Mistakes

The Chinese Communist Party, which has traversed a road full of twists and turns over the past 60 years, has overcome enormous difficulties and led the nation from victory to victory. What accounts for its vitality and success? A research worker attributes this, in part, to its ability to expose and correct its own mistakes and forge ahead with renewed vigour (p. 17).

Nature of Chinese Society

The 2nd instalment of an article by Feng Wenbin, vice-president of the Party School of the C.P.C. Central Committee. The 1st instalment, which appeared in issue No. 23, explains the basic features of socialist society, and the 2nd instalment, which deals with the historical lessons, points to the fact that though there have been many ups and downs in the course of building the country, the social-

ist nature of Chinese society has not changed (p. 20).

Soviet Global Strategy

The new tsars in the Kremlin are out for world domination. What are their stratagems for realizing this wild ambition? A special article analyses the evolution and aims of the Soviet Union's global strategy since it became a social-imperialist country (p. 22).

No Arms Sales to Taiwan

Whatever the subterfuge, "balanced" sales or recourse to other "flexible" strategy, the selling of arms to the Chinese province of Taiwan by any country constitutes an act of interfering in China's internal affairs and will therefore draw strong reactions from China (p. 11).

Moscow's Crude Interference

The C.P.S.U.'s letter to the Polish United Workers' Party,

which was aimed at intimidating the people of Poland and hampering the progress of reform, is denounced by *Renmin Ribao* Commentator as a crude interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country (p. 10).

Israel's Dangerous Game

Israel's unprovoked bombing of a nuclear reactor near Baghdad has evoked worldwide condemnation. Israel is playing a dangerous game which will eventually backfire (p. 12).



Yuan Longping (second from left) and other agronomists succeeded in cultivating a high-yield hybrid rice strain, which won them a special class award, the first ever given by the State Council since the founding of New China.

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On Energy

Is there an energy crisis in China? What is its energy policy?

Supply of energy has been short for some years, but there is no crisis as such.

The shortage is mainly due to the fact that exploitation of energy resources falls short of the demand and the utilization rate is low. In the light of this situation, the present policy is to lay equal stress on exploitation and practice of economy, with priority given to saving energy for the immediate future.

The reason for this is because there is a big potential for saving energy in China. At present, waste of energy is rather high and the utilization rate is only about 30 per cent. Not only is this rate far behind some developed countries, it is also below the high level once achieved in the country. The value created from every 10,000 tons of energy consumed today is only half of that during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) and 20 per cent less than in 1965.

Saving energy means first and foremost economizing on the consumption of oil. It was during the 10 chaotic years that China's oil output went up from 10 million to 90 million tons. During that period, however, oil consumption was unrestrained, and many enterprises which used to consume coal were converted to consuming oil instead. If these enterprises were reconverted to use coal again, a great quantity of oil could be saved.

Certain measures need to be taken to save energy. Among other things, the level of man-

agement should be raised, new technology popularized and backward equipment and techniques renovated or improved. In addition, the economic structure should be readjusted and the proportion of heavy industry in the national economy reduced.

China does not lack energy resources, and it is capable of relying on its own resources to carry on economic construction.

Nevertheless, the work of exploitation will be speeded up. An overall arrangement will be made for the development of such energy resources as coal, petroleum, gas and electricity, with the emphasis on developing what is most beneficial. Since China has rich water resources and coal deposits, particular attention will be attached to building hydropower stations and coal bases, notably the rich coalfields in north China's Shanxi Province. The prospect of oil exploitation is encouraging. A high-yield oil well was recently drilled in the Bohai Sea, and another in the Beibu Gulf region in the South China Sea.

Of course, other energy resources will also be developed. They include geothermal energy resources which are widely distributed in various parts of the country; wind power along the southeastern coast and the adjacent islands, and in Inner Mongolia, Gansu and parts of north-east China; solar energy in Qinghai, Tibet and Gansu; tidal energy in Fujian and Zhejiang; and marsh gas in many of the rural areas.

During the period of readjusting the national economy, continued efforts will be made to exploit the energy resources.

There are broad vistas for co-operation with foreign countries in this field. Foreign loans will be used mainly to develop energy resources. Joint exploration of oil resources with foreign countries are being conducted. While contracts for joint exploitation of some offshore areas have already been signed, other areas will be open for public bidding this year.

—Economic Editor
Wang Dacheng

Sino-Indian Relations

Foreign Minister Huang Hua will visit India soon. What are the prospects of Sino-Indian relations?

China and India are two big Asian countries and are close neighbours. They should be friendly with each other. Foreign Minister Huang Hua's coming visit to India will be conducive to the promotion of mutual understanding and development of bilateral relations. There are some boundary questions, but they can be solved in an earnest spirit of mutual accommodation and friendly consultation.

—International Editor
Mu Youlin

Division of Work Between Party And Government

China used to stress that the Party exercises leadership over everything. Why then should there be a division of work between the Party and the government?

A division of work between the Party and the government does not mean that the Party will

LETTERS

Condolences on Soong Ching Ling's Death

We received the news of the death of Comrade Soong Ching Ling with great sadness in our hearts. Although we did not have the privilege of knowing her personally, we were deeply moved by the great contributions she had made to the cause of the Chinese revolution.

Therefore in this time of sadness, my family wishes to express our condolences to you and all the Chinese people for suffering this great loss of Comrade Soong Ching Ling.

Daniel J.W. Yee
Honolulu, U.S.A.

Strategic Focus

Orientalists always pay more attention to the situation in the Middle East and South Asia. However, the article "Focus of Soviet Strategy" in the column "Notes From the Editors" in your issue No. 20 pointed out that the focus of Soviet strategy is still in Western Europe, or the whole of Europe. I have the same feeling. The article is concise, to the point and well written. I know little about Soviet strategy for the whole world or its new trends. Therefore, I hope more articles like this will be published. I would greatly ap-

preciate your insights and information.

Jinji Kitamura
Takaoka, Japan

Hegemonism

In the "International" section, articles like "Afghanistan: Fantasy and Fact" (No. 13, 1981) and "Brezhnev's Diplomatic Offensive" (No. 12, 1981) explain China's opposition to "Soviet hegemonism." But why does the section lose sight of the empirical evidence that the ultimate motive of the United States, though disguised, is parallel to that of the U.S.S.R. and that almost all the developing, third world countries have fallen prey to the hidden U.S. imperialism?

A.B.M. Sadeque
Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Economic Readjustment

Much has been written in *Beijing Review* about China's concern over deficit spending and inflation. Speaking from the United States' experience I say you are right.

The United States people have one of the highest standards of living in the world, yet it is built on borrowed money. Our national debt is 950 billion dollars and some day soon our standard of living will considerably diminish due to inflation and economic disaster.

China is right in not spending more than it earns. It will take

you longer to realize your modernizations, but you will be building on a firm foundation. Every road, bridge, factory, school, built by the people of China becomes part of their children's inheritance. Their children in turn will maintain, improve on and add to their inheritance which in turn will be passed to their children. That is building on a firm foundation and will lead China to prosperity.

Thomas F. Ullinger
New York, U.S.A.

"Beijing Review" in Nepal

In my opinion *Beijing Review* has a great circulation. This magazine has a good reputation in Nepal. I like to read in this magazine regularly the few jokes and answers to readers' questions and correspondence with readers. There are too few cartoons about present political policies in the world's bigger countries.

Prakash Koirala
Mechi Zone, Nepal

Seeking Truth From Facts

I am very pleased that your new columns have provided readers with objective information. The Chinese press and magazines seek truth from facts. If it cannot be said that this has made your magazine full of vitality, it at the least makes the magazine valuable, in which my colleagues and I are very interested.

Dango Assani Nadey
Natitingou, Benin

abandon its leadership over all our work. Rather, the aim is to improve and strengthen Party leadership.

The Communist Party is the core of leadership in the whole nation. Party leadership should be leadership over the line, principles and policies, and its major task is to see that the socialist orientation is maintained, ensure the leading position of the working class and guarantee that all the labouring people enjoy the right to run state affairs.

For a long time, there has been among some people an in-

complete understanding of the role the Party in power should play in administering state affairs and the way the Party should exercise its leadership in state life. And this is why there have appeared such phenomena as making no distinction between the Party and the government and substituting the Party for the government.

Since the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in February 1980, efforts have been made to reform the system of leadership in the Party and the government. A division of work between

the Party and the government has been practised and the situation of an overconcentration of power in the hands of the Party committees has been changed. In this way, instead of being overburdened with day-to-day affairs, Party committees can concentrate their efforts on implementing the Party's line, principles and policies. The government, on its part, can give play to its initiative and creativeness in providing leadership for work in the political, economic, cultural, legal and other fields.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

POLITICAL**19th Meeting of N.P.C. Standing Committee**

The 19th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress ended in Beijing on June 10 after six days in session.

The meeting adopted five resolutions on improving socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. It accepted the resignation of Peng Zhen, who is Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, as director of the Commission for Legal Affairs, and appointed Xi Zhongxun, who is also Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, in his place. The meeting also decided on other appointments and removals.

The five resolutions adopted are:

— Decisions on Approving the Death Sentence. A resolution passed by the N.P.C. Standing Committee in 1979 stipulated that in 1980 the Supreme People's Court was to grant the right to approve the death sentences passed on active criminals committing murder, rape, robbery, arson and other crimes seriously endangering social security to the higher people's courts of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities. Practice has proved that this is effective in meting out timely punishment to active criminals and to safeguard social security. The new resolution stipulates that the relevant 1979 resolution will still be effective in the period 1981-83;

— Decisions on Handling Es-

capees and Recidivists Who Are Under Reform Through Labour or Re-education Through Labour. This was adopted in view of the fact that some of these criminals commit crimes again and again in spite of education and the people demand that they be severely punished;

— Regulations Governing the Elections of Deputies to the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses at Various Levels Among the Chinese People's Liberation Army;

— Provisional Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Punishing Armymen Who Commit Offences Against Their Duties; and

— Resolution on Strengthening the Work of Law Interpretation.

ECONOMIC**Improving Wage System**

The State Council has decided to introduce piece-rate wages in all possible industrial and mining enterprises. This was disclosed in an article by Kang Yonghe, Director of the State Bureau of Labour, carried in the national newspaper *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily).

This system has been practised since 1978 primarily in the handicraft industry and in jobs requiring intensive manual labour such as loading and unloading and construction work. It has proved effective in increasing the workers' productivity, the enterprises' profits and the workers' income.

Among the several new wage and bonus methods recommended by Kang Yonghe is the "floating wage system" (under

which a worker's regular wages are divided into two parts: basic wage which accounts for the greater part of his original wage, and a portion which will vary according to the factory's profits and that proportion of the profits that the factory is allowed to retain for its own use). Another method is to set wages according to the work of small groups and issue bonuses to workers for excellence in all aspects of their work.

The socialist principle of distribution, namely, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," has not been fully carried out for a long time in our industrial and mining enterprises. Under the fixed wage system, the equalitarian thinking that "it makes no difference in remuneration whether one really works or not, or whether one does a good or a bad job" prevails. This system is metaphorically referred to as "everybody eating out of the same pot." The wage increases and the restoration of the bonus system on a nationwide scale in the last few years have played a positive role in mobilizing the initiative of the workers and staff members and promoting production. However, they have far from achieved the desired results due to the influence of equalitarian tendencies.

Recently, leading members of the State Council have repeatedly stressed that the road forward for our economy lies in enhancing economic results. This can only be achieved through mobilizing the masses' initiative and creativeness, tapping the potential in every field, reducing waste and using every means to raise beneficial results. To this end, efforts

should be made to combine political education with material encouragement and to carry out the principle of "those who do more should get more, those who do less should get less and those who don't work should get nothing," so that distribution and production can play the regulating role that they should have played.

At present, a multi-faceted job responsibility system is being instituted in the rural areas, under which peasants earn more when they produce more for the collective, and this has mobilized their initiative. In the industrial and mining enterprises, however, the question of linking remuneration with output is far from solved.

It is impossible to change the entire wage system right away since our national economy is being readjusted and there is a shortage of financial resources. But it is possible to partially transform the system in the industrial and mining enterprises by more closely linking the income of the workers and staff members to their work. Experiments of this nature are now being conducted in various localities. Regardless of what form is adopted, the characteristics of each unit should be kept in mind. In addition, stress should be put on fixing rational quotas and linking a worker's contribution to his rewards, thereby more closely linking the interests of the state, the collective and the individuals as well as making it possible for each party to gain more.

Mastering Agricultural Science

Can a man born and bred in the countryside and with years of experience as a cadre there

be a good leader in farm production? The answer was yes in the past, but not now.

Many competent cadres with practical experience and a good understanding of government policies for the rural areas have made mistakes in directing farm work because they lack the necessary professional knowledge and managing skill. In the present drive for the modernization of agriculture, they feel more than ever the necessity to master agricultural science and techniques.

The leadership in all parts of the country — from the central authorities to the provincial, county and commune levels — has taken measures to help leading cadres in charge of rural work become proficient in agro-techniques.

Beginning from this year, the State Agricultural Commission and the Organization Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee have made arrangements for leading officials in charge of agriculture to receive a two-month systematic training by rotation. The trainees include deputy governors and secretaries of Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, directors and deputy directors of agricultural commissions, and vice-ministers of departments concerned under the State Council. The courses offered include basic knowledge of agricultural science, fundamentals of specialized knowledge and the principles of expanded reproduction in agriculture. Those who have undergone such training agree that the knowledge they have acquired will help them give better guidance in farm production.

Agricultural departments have since 1979 entrusted seven

higher institutes of agronomy to run short-term courses for leading cadres above the county level who are in charge of farm work. About 16,000 persons or one-fourth of the total number of such cadres have been trained in the past two years. In some provinces, plans have been worked out for all the secretaries of county Party committees to go through such training by rotation within two years.

Popularization. Agricultural science is being energetically popularized among the cadres and technicians at the grassroots level with the purpose of pushing farm production to a new level. A notable example is Hubei Province, a major grain and cotton producer on the middle reaches of the Changjiang River. Over 350,000 cadres and farm technicians have attended short-term training classes where experts in planting paddy-rice, cotton and rapeseed were invited to give lectures. About 1,200 communes in Hubei have set up agrotechnique popularization centres for passing on advanced techniques in applying fertilizer, controlling pests, planting crops and selecting seeds.

Tourism Expands

In the first quarter of this year, 2,006,000 tourists from 134 countries and regions, including compatriots from Xianggang (Hongkong), Aomen (Macao) and Taiwan as well as overseas Chinese, visited China. This represents a 49.5 per cent increase over that of the same period in 1980.

Last year saw an expansion in China's tourist industry. Altogether, 529,000 tourists from 164 countries and regions visited China, an increase of 46 per cent



A pleasure boat for tourists on the Xuanwu Lake in Nanjing.

over 1979. In addition, there were more than 5 million compatriots from Xianggang, Aomen and Taiwan as well as overseas Chinese who visited their home towns or toured the country. Earnings from tourism amounted to 920 million yuan, 32 per cent more than in 1979.

Domestic tourism, which has also developed, holds great promise as the people's livelihood continues to improve.

In China's major tourist centres, many new hotels were built and existing ones expanded last year, thereby adding 4,300 beds. New tourist attractions, such as "trip to the Three Gorges" and "travel on the Suzhou and Wuxi sections of the 1,400-year-old Grand Canal" are a delight to Chinese and foreign tourists alike.

China began expanding the tourist industry only a few years ago. Efforts are being made to open more and more famous scenic spots and places of historical interest, improve transportation and hotel facilities, and train competent people for this industry. To date, six universities and colleges have opened special courses on tourism. In addition, it is planned to build bamboo

bungalows in subtropical Yunnan Province's Xishuangbanna where the Dai people live and put up special yurts on the Inner Mongolian grassland in north China for tourists spending a few days there.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

China and the Third World

Distinguished guests from the third world countries in Asia and Africa visited Beijing in the first half of June. It is China's unswerving policy to promote mutual understanding, friendship and co-operation with the other third world countries.

Delegation From Algeria. An Algerian National People's Assembly delegation led by Vice-President Abderrahmane Belayat met with Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian and other Chinese leaders. They exchanged views on many current international questions and agreed that the people of all countries should have the right to decide their own destinies and the right to self-determination. They agreed that peaceful and non-antagonistic international relations must be established, and a new

international order, economic order in particular, should be established.

Vice-Chairman Li gave an account of the experience and lessons in China's socialist revolution and construction and China's economic policies today.

Vice-President Belayat said that China's experience is of great importance to Algeria and the other third world countries. He added that the two countries should co-operate with each other in education, science and technology, agriculture, water conservancy and other fields.

Guests From Nigeria. Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping on June 12 met with a delegation of the Nigerian National Party led by Chairman A. Akinloye and reiterated China's consistent policy towards Africa. He said that China will adhere to the foreign policy laid down by the late Chairman Mao Zedong and the late Premier Zhou Enlai. In the past China supported the African people's struggle for independence, and today it supports their struggle to uphold state sovereignty and develop their economy. In particular, China supports the African people's just struggle against the racist regime of South Africa. In addition, China will do its best to develop economic co-operation with the African countries.

Vice-Premier and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee Ji Pengfei held talks with the delegation.

Referring to China's economic policy, Ji Pengfei said that while mainly relying on its own efforts, China will, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, develop economic co-operation

with other countries, including obtaining funds and advanced technology from the developed countries, as well as promoting trade and economic co-operation with other third world countries.

From Cyprus. Foreign Minister Nicos Rolandis of Cyprus paid a friendly visit to China on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Foreign Minister Rolandis held talks.

Huang Hua reiterated the Chinese Government's consistent position, saying: "We hold that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected. We hope that the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus will hold peaceful negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual understanding and accommodation so as to find a fair and reasonable settlement."

Rolandis expressed his understanding and appreciation of China's position.

In meeting with the Cypriot Foreign Minister, Premier Zhao Ziyang reiterated that China stands for resolving disputes among the third world countries through peaceful consultation.

From Egypt. Vice-Premier Gu Mu met with members of an Egyptian Government Economic and Trade Delegation led by Abdul Razzak Abdei Mageed, Deputy Premier for Economic Affairs.

Gu Mu said that the Chinese people have great respect for the great tradition of the Egyptian people in combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people will always stand by the Egyptian, Palestinian and other Arab people in the struggle against

hegemonism and in safeguarding world peace.

The Egyptian Deputy Premier said that Egypt and China have for years struggled together against imperialism and hegemonism. "This struggle is still going on," he said, "and the people of the third world countries will surely triumph over hegemonism."

A protocol on a long-term trade agreement between China and Egypt for 1981 was signed in Beijing on June 11.

U.N. Secretary-General In Beijing

United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim paid an official visit to China from June 10 to 15. Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping met him, and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with him in Beijing.

Soviet and Vietnamese Aggression. During his meeting with the U.N. Secretary-General, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping said: "No matter what new problems emerge on the international scene, the Kampuchea and Afghanistan issues must not be put aside." He noted that the two issues are characterized by the fact that one country has invaded and occupied another by force of arms. The United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions on both questions. To tolerate Soviet and Vietnamese troops to continue to occupy these two countries is a negation of the U.N. Charter.

Deng Xiaoping added that the present international situation is even more turbulent and unstable than before, with an increasing number of danger spots. He called on all forces opposing hegemonism and cherishing peace to unite, so as to deal with the difficult situa-

tion and defer the outbreak of a major war. If such a war can be averted, he said, so much the better.

Waldheim also was of the opinion that the present world situation is becoming more and more complex. He said that he will work for a solution of the Kampuchea and Afghanistan issues in the spirit of relevant U.N. resolutions and the principles of the U.N. Charter. He disclosed that as a result of his consultations with all parties concerned, the international conference on Kampuchea is scheduled to take place on July 13 in New York.

Three Principles. At the banquet welcoming the U.N. Secretary-General on June 10, Huang Hua reiterated the Chinese Government's three principles on the settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean questions. They are: (1) the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor troops, which is the prerequisite and the key to the settlement of these questions; (2) the people of the two countries should decide their own destiny free from any foreign interference; (3) the independence and non-aligned status of the two countries should be unconditionally restored and respected. These principles are in complete consonance with the relevant resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the U.N. Charter.

Huang Hua said: "We support the international conference on the Kampuchea question soon to be held in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly resolution, and we will work together with all the other participating countries for positive results in making the aggressors withdraw their troops and bringing about the right to self-determination for the Kampuchean people."

Secretary-General Waldheim paid tribute to the increasingly active role China is playing in the manifold activities of the world organization. He added: "The positions China takes on various issues command great respect and attention and are indeed of major importance in any assessment of the international situation."

Haig Visits China

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and his party paid a visit to China from June 14 to 17. This is the first visit to China by a high official of the Reagan administration.

A direct result of this visit is that the U.S. President and the Chinese Premier will visit each other's country at a time convenient to them.

During Secretary of State Haig's stay in Beijing, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with him. Both sides frankly expounded their views on the world situation and major international issues. Although they did not entirely share the same views, they were deeply aware of the great responsibility of the two countries in defending world peace and security in the current turbulent international situation. Both sides stressed the need to strengthen consultations and co-ordination between themselves as well as with other countries while taking actions, with each proceeding from its own position. They reviewed the progress of bilateral relations and explored ways to further promote their amicable co-operation in various fields.

Huang Hua said that China attaches importance to its strategic relationship with the

United States. He added that difficulties in bilateral relations can be surmounted so long as both sides proceed from the overall strategic interests, remain firm in the conviction that their co-operation is conducive to world peace and stability and conforms to the interests of the people of the two countries, and at the same time handle their differences in a cautious and appropriate manner.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua said that despite the twists and turns in the relations between the two countries in the past, "our two peoples have always been friendly to each other. It is the requirement of our era and the ardent desire of our two peoples that the relations between our two countries continue to move forward on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence as well as on the basis of the principles of the Sino-U.S. joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations. We should fulfil this desire of our two peoples."

He also pointed out: "The Sino-U.S. joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are the cornerstone of our bilateral relations. Not only must we protect this cornerstone with great care, we must also prove with our own actions that it can stand tests. This point can never be overemphasized."

Secretary of State Haig declared that the United States

under President Reagan's leadership is resolved to further expand co-operation between the two countries in accordance with the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations. He expressed the conviction that the prospects for bilateral relations are bright. He conveyed the President's intent to treat the People's Republic of China as a friendly nation with which the United States is not allied but with which it shares many interests.

During his stay in China, the Secretary of State met with Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping. They had an in-depth discussion on bilateral relations and international issues of mutual concern. Premier Zhao Ziyang also met the distinguished American guests and gave them an account of the present political and economic situation in China. Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence Geng Biao discussed defence matters with Haig, while Vice-Premier Bo Yibo discussed with him the possibilities of expanding economic co-operation between the two countries.

At the press conference he gave in Beijing on June 16, Haig said that his visit to China was unusually productive, unusually significant and unusually successful. He listed a number of specific results from his visit: China and the U.S. have agreed to hold the second joint economic committee meeting which will be headed by Secretary of the Treasury Regan and Vice-Premier Bo Yibo; a separate U.S.-P.R.C. commission on commerce and trade will be established; the two countries have agreed that exchanges between their defence establishments will continue to expand.

Brazen Soviet Intervention In Polish Affairs

THE 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party which was held on June 9-10 adopted a resolution confirming the Party line of renewal and the process of democratization of social life and economic restructure. It reaffirmed the Party line for solving social conflicts by political means. The resolution has the support of wide sections of the Polish people.

One major point of discussion was a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Polish Party. The letter voiced strong dissatisfaction with the Polish situation by the Soviet Party, sharply criticized the Polish Party and called on "healthy forces" in it "to beat back the class enemy and struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces." When the full text of the letter was released by the Press Agency of Poland, it aroused nationwide indignation. Such crude interference in the internal affairs of another country is truly outrageous.

It is well known that since the Polish United Workers' Party decided on its line of reform and consultation and dialogue at its Sixth Plenary Session, the Polish Party and people have been convinced that, in spite of all difficulties ahead, they can solve all problems by adhering to the principle mentioned above. But

the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. expressed "anxiety" in its letter regarding the reform "tendency" in the Polish political and economic affairs, and severely criticized the Polish Party for "ignoring" the Soviet warnings. At the same time the letter made it plain that the Soviet Union regards the principle of consultation and dialogue adopted by the Polish Party as "unending concessions to anti-socialist forces and their demands." It attacked the Polish leaders by name, saying they were carrying out "a policy of concession and compromise" with "the enemy." Poland is an independent sovereign country. Can't the Polish authorities determine their own internal and foreign policies? Must they only do everything in compliance with the wish of the Soviet leading clique? If this isn't outright hegemonist logic, what is?

Moreover, in this letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. arbitrarily intervened in the internal affairs of the Polish Party, and attacked the election of Party deputies now under way as a demonstration of the increasingly obvious "influence" of "force hostile to socialism." The Brezhnev clique's behaviour once again belies its propaganda that there is an equal partnership between the members of the "socialist community."

Especially overbearing is that the letter asserted that the current Polish situation already

imposes a threat on the "interests" of "our entire community" and that without safeguards by the Soviet Union, Poland's independence, sovereignty and borders would be unassured. But it is evident to people throughout the world that the threat facing Poland comes from nowhere but Soviet military intervention. Such noises by the Soviets can only be interpreted as preparing public opinion for intervention in Poland. The letter even reiterated in an intimidating tone that the Soviets would not ignore the "catastrophe in socialist and brotherly Poland." These words are similar to those of the Soviets 13 years ago on the eve of their military intervention in Czechoslovakia!

The threatening letter of the Soviet Party clearly is aimed at pressuring the Party and people of Poland, influencing the political situation and hampering the progress of reform there. But as international opinion has pointed out, the Kremlin's intervention in Polish internal affairs can only result in exposing further the true nature of its hegemonism.

The Chinese people always hold that the internal affairs of Poland should be solved by the Polish people themselves; any external interference is impermissible and will be opposed by people and countries all over the world who believe in justice. The Chinese people support the Polish people in their just struggle to safeguard their independence and sovereignty. The Polish people cannot be bullied. Whoever thinks he can tamper with their destiny is in for real hard times.

—*Renmin Ribao* Commentator, June 16.

Beijing Review, No. 25

China Won't Accept U.S. "Balanced Arms Sale"

THERE are some Americans who hope to see an "upgrading" in U.S. relations with Taiwan and are engaged in the creation of "two China's." They are trying to sell through various channels the proposal to sell arms to China in exchange for China's consent to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. They describe such a "balancing" strategy as "flexible" and hope that this brilliant idea of theirs will resuscitate a hopeless case.

However, the move is doomed.

A Principled Issue

China has made it explicitly clear that it would rather refuse to buy U.S. arms than consent to a U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which is an interference in China's internal affairs, and that any arms sales to Taiwan by any country will certainly draw strong reactions from China. This is a principled issue and China does not barter on matters of principle.

Of late, some high-ranking U.S. government officials have repeatedly called attention to China's strategic position and role, and hope to further strategic relations with it through the opening-up of certain areas where the two countries have yet to establish links, and other steps. Public opinion in China has given this due attention and expressed appreciation of this good intention. However, the crux to further strategic relations between the two countries remains that the United States stop developing all contacts with Taiwan that go beyond non-governmental relations in keeping with the principles laid down in the China-U.S. Joint Communiqué

on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations. For the moment, the issue outstanding is the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

Actually it is not difficult to untie this knot, nor is it necessary to rack one's brain for a masterstroke. The only thing needed is adherence to the principles outlined in the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the two countries. According to the agreed principles outlined in the communiqué, the United States recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate government and Taiwan as a part of China's territory. The United States can maintain its non-governmental relations with Taiwan only with such qualifications. Therefore, it stands to reason for the United States to stop supplying weapons to the Taiwan authorities.

However, some Americans are trying to look for various "panaceas." At first, they resorted to the so-called "Taiwan Relations Act" adopted by U.S. Congress as a "legal defence." This "legal defence," however, has long been refuted by Chinese public opinion as totally gratuitous. Will the American people not deem it an interference in U.S. internal affairs should a foreign country pass a law legalizing its right to sell weapons to a U.S. state at loggerheads with the federal government?

Superpower Logic

They then tried to have recourse to "defence" as it is stipulated in the "Taiwan Relations Act" that the United States could "make available to Taiwan such defence articles

and defence services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defence capability." By underlining the "defence" nature of the weapons, they hope China would agree to their sales.

This is nothing but superpower logic. In the eyes of a superpower, it is to its interest if a country or a nation is split into two parts by outside intervention. And it is out to maintain such a split. In fact, the sale of weapons to the Taiwan authorities will inevitably aid and abet their splittist tendency whether the weapons are for "defence" or "offence." Besides, it is hard to say whether a certain weapon is defensive or offensive.

After the first trick failed they resorted to a second one — "balanced selling of arms."

Power Politics — Out of Date

They thought that on offer to sell China some sophisticated arms (in fact these arms are not at all sophisticated; they would never sell really sophisticated arms to others) would be so enticing that China might possibly forget its principles on the Taiwan issue. But they have miscalculated. As a country with a population of one billion, China has never thought of depending on foreign arms to build up its defence capabilities. Importing some foreign military knowhow is designed to help build up a modern defence system.

One thing is certain: China will modernize its defences even if it fails to get any foreign help. A case in point is that China has relied solely on itself to develop its nuclear arms and missile launching system when it was blockaded.

Several comparatively "frank" U.S. anti-communist fighters hold that the United States selling arms to Taiwan is in keeping with the "security interests" of the United States. They consider the Chinese territory of Taiwan as their own domain. This is, of course, the antiquated theory of power politics. This "U.S. security interests" argument is untenable even if they give serious consideration to the general interests of U.S. strategy. China has already put forward the policy of peaceful reunification of the motherland. Although the Taiwan authorities stubbornly reject peace negotiations, the Chinese people, including most noted Taiwan personalities and overseas Chinese, approve of this policy. Quite a number of Amer-

icans also hold that no tense situation exists in the Taiwan Straits. Under these circumstances, is the United States not purposely creating tension in the Taiwan Straits by selling arms to the Taiwan authorities? Is it not an attempt to offset the efforts to oppose hegemonism and safeguard peace in the Far East and west Pacific areas? Is it not a destructive factor in the development of Sino-U.S. strategic relations?

Those Americans who are racking their brains to sell arms to Taiwan would be well advised to stop deluding themselves. No matter what tricks they may play, they cannot rescue this hopeless situation.

— Hua Xiu, "Renmin Ribao" June 12

Another Example of Israeli Savagery

THE Israeli air attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor near Baghdad, which was nearing completion, is another demonstration of Israel's contempt for international norms of behaviour. The bombing makes the already tense Mideast situation created by the Lebanon missile crisis worse. It is Israel which is deliberately making trouble and upsetting peace and stability in this region.

Untenable Pretext

When news spread that Iraq had bought an experimental reactor from France and a radio-chemistry laboratory complex from Italy last August, Israel

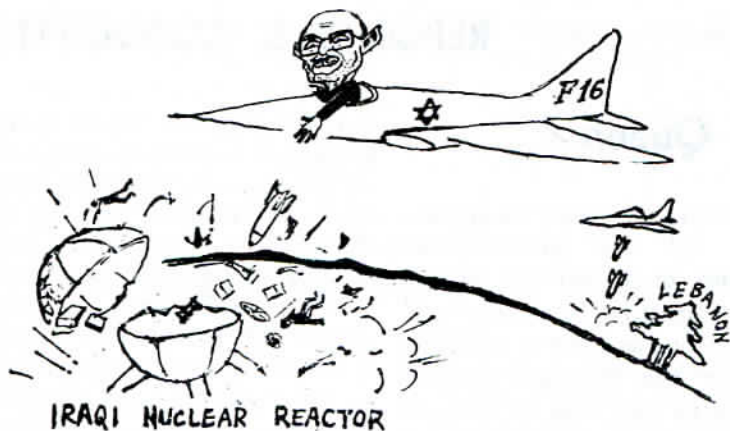
declared that it would use "all the means at its disposal" to prevent Iraq from attaining nuclear capability. After the recent Israeli raid, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council on June 8 in a statement attributed the September 27, 1980 bombing of the reactor to Israel. The statement said: "We said at that time in our war communique that two air strikes had hit Baghdad, but we did not mention the Zionist enemy by name for military, political and moral reasons."

On June 8, the day after the bombing, Menachem Begin admitted that this attack had been decided months earlier. He tried to justify this unjustifiable

attack. Israel decided to attack the nuclear reactor because the reactor would be operational soon and its function was to develop nuclear bombs to be used against Israel, he said. On June 9, Begin threatened to attack again "if Iraq tries to rebuild its nuclear reactor."

This pretext offered by the Begin regime was refuted by Iraq and other parties concerned. Iraqi Foreign Minister Saadoun Hammadi declared on June 9 that the Israeli raid cannot undermine Iraqi determination to press ahead with development plans and "there is no way of going back on this at all." He pointed out that the Iraqi nuclear installations were for peaceful purposes and subject to international inspection. Director-General Sigvard Eklund of the International Atomic Energy Agency headquartered in Vienna confirmed this. He said, last January experts from the agency had inspected the installations in Iraq and had found no activities violating the 1968 treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

On the pretext of guaranteeing its "security" Israel has attacked neighbouring Arab countries, occupied the Palestinian people's homeland and annexed other Arab countries' territory. The same pretext was trotted out to justify the attack on Iraq this time, although the nuclear reactor does not threaten Israel's security in the least. According to Israel's distorted logic, any nuclear power plant anywhere in the world which the Israeli authorities think "poses a threat to Israeli security" can expect to be attacked by Israeli bombers.



"This is a purely defensive act."

If everyone adopted the Israeli authorities' way of thinking, there would be utter chaos in the world. If this logic goes unopposed, other Arab countries will be attacked by Israel, after Lebanon and Iraq. The Begin regime's unprovoked attack fully unmasks its ambitions in the Middle East. It constitutes a challenge to all Arab countries and to the world at large.

Washington Shocked

This unprovoked bombing by the Israeli authorities has aroused strong Arab and worldwide indignation and condemnation. The U.S. Government has also expressed "grave concern," for the Israeli warplanes used in the bombing were supplied by the United States. Washington pointed out in a statement that U.S.-supplied equipment had been used for purposes other than defensive and that this violated the terms under which "the equipment" was delivered. The United States, therefore, has the authority to stop further military aid to those which violate this.

Shocked or not, Israel has been using U.S.-supplied weapons to carry out acts of aggression against Arab states for a long time. For example, U.S.-supplied military aircraft

have often been used to bomb and strafe Palestinian bases in southern Lebanon.

Why is the U.S. State Department now saying that it was shocked? The reasons apparently are:

- It happened while U.S. special envoy Philip Habib was back in the Middle East to resume his shuttle mission to settle the "missile crisis." Israel's attack undoubtedly has generated greater resistance to American efforts.

- Egyptian President Sadat had just met and talked with Begin on the 4th, and on the same day President Reagan had declared that he was inviting Sadat to visit Washington in August and Begin in September. After Israel's attack, Sadat charged that this was irresponsible and unjustified and in "sharp contradiction" to the spirit that dominated talks between him and Begin. The "Egypt-Israel reconciliation" brought about by the United States is now certain to run into difficulties.

- The Soviet Union, which has always exploited Mideast turbulence to infiltrate the area and has worked energetically to scuttle U.S. mediation efforts, will welcome this slide to

greater tension. The situation emerging now will give the Soviet Union more opportunities for further infiltration and to hurt U.S. strategic interests in the Middle East.

Why Israel Plays This Dangerous Game

The Begin regime probably believes that heating up the atmosphere in the Middle East will let the Soviet Union interfere more in the area's affairs, which will then bring the United States to stand more firmly on Israel's side. Israel thinks it can obtain maximum benefits from this superpower rivalry. This is why Israel is willing to play such a dangerous game.

That is not all. The Begin regime has plenty of troubles at home. It has been compelled to call for a general election ahead of schedule, at the end of June. By creating trouble with other countries, Begin hopes to divert public attention at home away from domestic political and economic woes, improve his image and help keep the Likud group in power.

However, Begin's adventurist acts have so alarmed the Arab countries that they are closing their ranks tighter, casting aside various differences to meet the graver danger of Israeli aggression. This is already evident. At the emergency meeting of the Arab League on June 11 in Baghdad, Foreign Ministers or representatives from its 21 member states unanimously adopted a resolution expressing firm support for Iraq's struggle against Israeli aggression and calling on the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against Israel. Israel's dangerous game will ultimately backfire and destroy its perpetrators.

— Ren Wenhui

A Pawn for a Queen

THE Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister Vo Dong Giang told Western correspondents on May 30 that Viet Nam would be willing to let a U.N. peace-keeping force replace some of its troops in Kampuchea if the U.N. General Assembly this year takes away Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat in the U.N.

Is this a softening of Viet Nam's position over its occupation of Kampuchea? Not at all. Viet Nam wants a queen for a pawn. It wants the U.N. Assembly to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate seat in the U.N. to open the way for Viet Nam's client, the Heng Samrin regime, to become accepted by the world community, which is Viet Nam's ultimate goal. Even if Viet Nam withdraws some of its troops, Kampuchea will still be effectively and permanently under Vietnamese armed occupation.

Chairman of the ASEAN Committee and Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo said, "The presence of 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea has been from the start a gross violation of sacrosanct international principles of self-determination and territorial integrity." Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila has pointed out that a Vietnamese troops withdrawal from Kampuchea and Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat in the U.N. were two unrelated issues.

Consistent. However different proposals Viet Nam offers may seem, the aim is the same: to turn Kampuchea into one of its

colonies and legalize its aggression. All the preconditions attached to Vietnamese proposals affirm this. Hanoi has said that so long as there is a "China menace" Viet Nam will not pull its troops out, and so long as China does not sign a "treaty of non-aggression" with the three Indochinese nations, then Viet Nam could not even consider the question of withdrawing its troops. In other words, it manufactures pretexts to reject the legitimate demand for its troops withdrawal from Kampuchea.

The reason why Viet Nam hangs on to Kampuchea has a further aim. This is what Vo Dong Giang has to say: At home these are difficult times for our economy and life. So why must we keep 200,000 of our troops in Kampuchea? We have to, because "we have more important considerations." What are these "important considerations"? He said that if Viet Nam withdrew its troops, Democratic Kampuchean troops would return. He knows their return would thwart Vietnamese regional hegemonist ambitions and deal a blow to the Soviet Union's southward strategy.

Naked Threats. Will Viet Nam be content with Kampuchea and not continue to push its expansionist policy? Again, the Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister's words are revealing.

Vo Dong Giang had two rounds of talks on the Kampuchean issue and the repatriation of Kampuchean refugees with his Thai counterpart Vice-

Foreign Minister Arun Panupong on June 3 and 4 in Rangoon. At his June 5 press conference in the Vietnamese Embassy in Bangkok, Vo Dong Giang said that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea was "required by Kampuchea itself," and warned Thailand not to try to send Kampuchean refugees back into Kampuchea. He also threatened that Viet Nam would do what it did on June 23 last year if Thailand did not first hold talks on this matter with Heng Samrin. To demonstrate Hanoi's "goodwill," he even made it plain that Viet Nam had not taken advantage of the unrest in Thailand last April to make trouble for Thailand. He told the Thai Vice-Minister that Vietnamese troops could strike into Thailand "in pursuit" if the order was given.

Vo Dong Giang's provocative reference to Viet Nam's incursion into Non Mak Moon of Thailand last June is of course a naked threat aimed at getting Thailand to be more amenable to Viet Nam's will. One remembers that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach had warned the Thais during his visit to Djakarta on June 21 last year, two days before Viet Nam's armed incursion into Thailand. He had said, if Viet Nam wanted to, it could easily send its troops over the border into Thailand.

But everyone knows that the incursion gained Hanoi only world condemnation and aroused further suspicions about Viet Nam's ambitions. Vo Dong Giang's recent threat does not scare the Thais at all. On the contrary, it demonstrates that

the Vietnamese regional hegemons are bent on pursuing their aggressive and expansionist policy and have no intention of giving up their ambition to

conquer Southeast Asia, including Thailand, by force.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst An Ding

Changing Mexican-U.S. Relations

MEXICAN President Jose Lopez Portillo returned to his country on June 9 after two days' talks with U.S. President Reagan in Washington. The two leaders found agreement on some issues they discussed.

The United States wants closer relations with Mexico to its south and Canada on the north and has asked them to take a stronger position over Soviet and Cuban intervention in Central America. Mexico, however, advocates non-intervention and is against U.S. aid to Central American governments fighting anti-government insurgents.

Differences

Trade between the two countries has been a controversial problem. Mexico, which has an unfavourable trade balance of several billion U.S. dollars, has asked the United States to open up its market and give most preferential nation treatment to Mexican manufactures and agricultural products. But the United States has erected a tariff wall which severely limits a hundred or so of Mexican exports.

The issue of Mexicans working in the United States without entry visas is another thorny one. Each year hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers leave the poorer side of the Rio Grande to cross over illegally into the United States to earn a

living. An estimated 6 million Mexican workers are in the United States. Mexico has repeatedly expressed indignation at the treatment meted out to these "illegal immigrant labourers" or "wetbacks." The United States on its part says that the large number of illegal immigrants is upsetting the labour market and is compounding social problems.

The two countries are also entangled in disputes over water, fishery and pollution.

Signs of Change

None of these disputes were specifically solved in their talks. However, there were signs of change in the U.S. attitude towards Mexico.

Speaking at the June 8 welcoming ceremony at the White House, the Mexican President stressed that some differences between Mexico and the United States would continue, for their relationship was not based on "submission or arrogance."

Mexico's standing in Latin America and in the world has risen with the development of its economy and its rising political prestige. It naturally will not tolerate any arrogance from the north, nor will it allow itself to fall into a lowly submissive position.

These circumstances have led the United States to change its

way of handling U.S.-Mexican relations. On January 5 this year, before his inauguration, Reagan went to Mexico's border town of Juarez to meet with President Portillo and after he became president, he once again said he would give high priority in improving U.S.-Mexican relations. Stressing the "special importance" placed on the Mexican President's visit prior to his arrival in the United States, a senior official of the U.S. State Department pointed out that the visit concerned not just U.S. relations with a neighbouring country but with an important country. The visit was carefully planned to emphasize the importance attached to this occasion. President Portillo was the first foreign leader to be invited to Camp David after Reagan came into power. At the White House welcoming ceremony, the U.S. President pledged that his administration "will sincerely and diligently strive to maintain the relationship of mutual respect and co-operation" between the two nations and that decisions which affect both countries will be made only after close consultation between them.

On bilateral relations, Reagan announced that President Portillo and he have decided to form a bilateral commission to be co-chaired by U.S. Secretary of State Haig and Mexican Foreign Secretary Castaneda "to assure integrated handling of matters of common concern." A cabinet-level committee will also be set up immediately to deal with trade.

These are signs of change, but whether there will be a substantial change in U.S. attitude towards Mexico remains to be seen. One thing is certain. Only if the United States adopts an

attitude of respect, equality and reason towards the other side, will disputes be resolved through consultations and U.S.-Mexican relations be developed rapidly.

— Zhong Shu

Restless Bolivia

Bolivia is in political turmoil. Three armed rebellions in May and popular dissatisfaction have forced the president to declare he will leave office on August 6.

AT the end of May Bolivian President Garcia Meza suddenly announced that he no longer wanted the post of commander-in-chief of the army and would be handing over presidential powers on August 6, Bolivia's independence day. Local observers say this is the result of growing internal strife in the army.

Strife-Torn Army

Garcia Meza took power in July last year through a military coup which ended the process designed to restore democracy and constitutional government begun in 1977. Garcia's military junta, following the coup, imposed strict military control. The activities of all trade unions and political parties were suspended, universities were shut, a curfew was imposed on the country indefinitely and political prisoners were sent into exile. The measures sapped the strength of the trade unions and political parties and relative calm prevailed for a while.

In the early stages, the military junta had the support of the army, the Right-wing Falange Socialista Boliviana and some other organizations. But very soon schisms gradually emerged into the open between

the military junta and its collaborators. The military too split into contending factions. Important generals like Mario Vargas Salinas, the former commander of the 7th division stationed in Cochabamba, and Hugo Echeverria, head of the armoured corps in Santa Cruz, withdrew their support for Garcia.

In May this year, political unrest in Bolivia erupted. Within one month, three armed rebellions broke out. On May 2, Peralta, leader of the Falange Socialista, led a group of armed men to occupy an oilfield and refinery south of Santa Cruz. He called for a transitional government composed of civilian and military officials to replace the Garcia government.

On May 11, some army officers and soldiers led by Colonel Emilio Lanza staged a rebellion and urged Garcia and other members of the supreme military command to resign. They were surrounded and disarmed by troops loyal to Garcia. Lanza surrendered but he escaped a few days after.

On May 25, Lanza again tried unsuccessfully to seize control of the city of Cochabamba. He besieged the headquarters of the 7th division and occupied the radio station and again

called for Garcia and his military junta to resign.

In Bolivia, the army decides and Garcia's government clearly does not have the army with it, for the army itself is divided. Many Bolivians see the former president, General Hugo Banzer, and General Alberto Natusch (the latter led an abortive coup last November in an attempt to overthrow the Gueiler government) as the main challengers to Garcia. Both have supporters in the army. Banzer and Natusch had declared in exile that the days of the Garcia government were numbered. When Lanza launched his second attempt to topple the government he had hoped to put Banzer or Natusch in power.

Grave Economic Difficulties

The other reason behind the instability is Garcia's government's poor economic performance and its inability to gain more recognition from abroad. Only 20 countries have recognized his government. The opposition factions inside the army represented by Lanza and others charged that the present military junta is incompetent, corrupt, has close ties with prominent cocaine traffickers and cannot improve the economy. The 1980 gross output value in Bolivia went up only 0.8 per cent, the lowest in five years, and inflation in 1980 went up 45 per cent. By early May, Bolivia had built up some 3,700 million U.S. dollars in foreign debts. The economy is said to be in the worst shape ever in the past 30 years. People of all strata are dissatisfied with the military junta and it is probably a matter of time before Garcia's government falls.

— Ji Mei

Chinese Communist Party Is Capable of Correcting Its Mistakes

—In commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the C.P.C.

by Li Honglin

Drawing on some important events experienced by the Chinese Communist Party during the periods of the democratic revolution and socialist construction, Li Honglin expounds from a theoretical point of view the Party's courage and ability to conduct self-criticism and to expose and correct its own mistakes. Through this process, the Party constantly sums up its experiences and draws lessons therefrom, thereby, resulting in increased maturity. The author points out that the Party's courage to do so is determined by its nature and tasks. — Ed.

ON the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, everyone concerned about China can see that great changes are taking place in this vast land. The turmoil, chaos, disintegration and civil war which occurred during the "cultural revolution" have been replaced by stability and unity; sluggish production has been superseded by a vigorous economic life. The practices of destroying culture, abandoning science, regarding ignorance as an honour and savagery as revolution have been defeated by a civilized and advanced socialist new ethic. Under the leadership of the Party, the Chinese people are striving, with one heart and one mind, to build China into a modern, highly democratic, highly civilized, powerful socialist country. Of course, things are still far from what we would have liked them to be, but our country of 1,000 million people has extricated itself from the 10 years of catastrophe and is advancing along the broad road of scientific socialism.

How has all this come about? What strength has been called upon to bring this huge ship of China back on course? Clearly, this

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has occurred as a result of the Chinese Communist Party's making earnest self-criticism, summing up its historical experiences and correcting its own mistakes.

Communist Party Also Commits Mistakes

It is not strange that the Communist Party also commits mistakes, for the Party is composed not of angels but of men. Although the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat—the most advanced class in human history—its members are all men. As a man's ability to understand is limited by various conditions, it is impossible for him to avoid mistakes. Even when a man, in the process of knowing the world, has tried as much as possible to proceed from reality, he has been unable to avoid making mistakes because the nature of an objective thing (or process) has not been fully revealed. Socialist construction, for instance, is a new-born thing. What characteristics and laws it possesses remain, in large part, unknown to Communists throughout the world. When a man's practice has not yet reached a certain stage of development, it is impossible for him to accurately master its laws. Apart from a question of understanding, there are many other factors that can cause a proletarian Party to commit mistakes, for instance, when in the face of success it becomes conceited and self-complacent, and thus divorced itself from reality and the masses, or when it experiences a disruption in its democratic life.

In fact, no person or political party can avoid making mistakes; rather, the question is whether or not these mistakes can be speedily and thoroughly corrected. Historically, reactionary and decadent political forces had to be overthrown because they could not correct their

own mistakes (these mistakes were not just a matter of understanding but were determined by their reactionary stand).

Daring to Expose and Correct Mistakes

A genuine Marxist Party, however, should never conceal its own mistakes and it should be able to carry out conscientious self-criticism, expose and correct its own mistakes. This characteristic enables it to retain its vitality and continuously advance along a revolutionary path. What enables the Communist Party to do this? Because it is a proletarian party armed with Marxism, and its nature and tasks require it to do so.

The proletariat is the last exploited class in human history. Only by abolishing the social system of exploitation of man by man and emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally liberate itself. The proletariat is a class which historically has the brightest future because it is linked with the most advanced mass production. Its historical status determines that its party has the characteristics of selflessness, and of being open and above-board. The proletarian party which shoulders the mission of liberating all mankind is in great need of self-criticism because this is the road it must take in order to accomplish its own historical mission and achieve the emancipation of all mankind. It does not have self-interests to hide. The more rapidly and thoroughly it corrects its own mistakes, the more its own strength will be augmented, thereby advancing to greater victories in the revolution. That is why the Chinese Communist Party regards criticism and self-criticism as a weapon and highly treasures it.

The Chinese Communist Party not only dares to correct mistakes but is good at doing so. Marxism enables the Party to approach this question with a correct viewpoint and method.

From the metaphysical point of view, a mistake is a mistake. One just casts it out. But from a dialectical viewpoint, a mistake is not merely a mistake; it is often the precursor of what is correct. By making a penetrating analysis of the causes and conditions of a mistake, summing up experiences and drawing lessons therefrom, one can avoid repeating mistakes of the same nature and embark on a correct or relatively correct road. This viewpoint does not allow one to take a passive attitude towards mistakes. Mistakes are com-

mitted invariably by men. How to treat erring people has a great bearing on the Party's cause. Our Party's policy is "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient," and "achieving the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." This policy has helped prevent excessive struggles. It avoids laying emphasis on affixing personal responsibility, or accusing and complaining about others, thereby causing a rift in the Party.

With this correct attitude towards mistakes and correct method for amending them, one can achieve good results from having committed mistakes, or as an old Chinese saying puts it: "Failure is the mother of success."

Sixty years have already elapsed since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. It has traversed a none-too-smooth course, developing from an organization of several dozen people to a big Party embracing tens of millions of members. Both in the periods of democratic revolution and of socialism, the Party has gone through serious tests. It has traversed a great road, but one which was also full of hardships and obstacles. On this road, it has more than once committed serious mistakes and experienced many twists and turns. As we review its history, we find that all the mistakes have been corrected by the Party itself. Furthermore, each time we conscientiously corrected our mistakes, a greater advance in our revolutionary cause ensued.

Major Errors

Two major mistakes were committed by our Party during the period of the democratic revolution. The first was Chen Duxiu's Right capitulationism, which caused the defeat of the great revolution (1924-27). The first shot of armed resistance to the rule of Kuomintang reactionaries was sounded at that critical moment by the August 1 Nanchang Uprising led by the Party in 1927. Immediately afterwards, the Party Central Committee held an emergency August 7 Meeting in Wuhan, in which it criticized and terminated Chen Duxiu's Right capitulationism, adopted the general principles of the agrarian revolution and armed resistance to the Kuomintang reactionaries and decided to launch the Autumn Harvest Uprising. Then the Chinese Communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong embarked on the Jinggang-Mountain road of encircling the cities from the countryside. By following this road best suited to the characteristics of the country, the Chinese

revolution was able to undergo rapid development.

The second major mistake made during the democratic revolutionary period was Wang Ming's "Left" adventurism (1931-35). Forfeited were 90 per cent of the base areas and the Red Army which our Party had painstakingly established. Nearly all Party organizations in the enemy-occupied areas were lost. Moreover, the Party Central Committee and the Red Army were compelled to evacuate the Central Base Area in Jiangxi Province and were faced with the danger of extinction during the Long March. At this critical juncture, it was the Party which again corrected its own mistakes. At the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee in January 1935 in Zunyi, Guizhou Province, the "Left" adventurist domination over the Party was brought to an end, thereby rescuing the Red Army and the Party from crisis. The revolutionary cause made rapid advances under the leadership of the new Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. After the Zunyi Meeting, the Party not only led the Red Army in victoriously completing the Long March but also switched over to the War of Resistance Against Japan

Thanks to Comrade Mao Zedong's diligent theoretical work, the Party was able to correctly sum up both positive and negative experiences of the period of the democratic revolution and drew on lessons from the negative aspect — Right and "Left" mistakes. As a result of such summarizations, the Party matured politically, not only leading the nation to victory in the anti-Japanese war but also enabling itself to smoothly switch from fighting a war of resistance to waging a People's War of Liberation. The democratic revolution thus ended in great, nationwide victory.

The Party also made mistakes during the socialist period after the founding of New China in 1949. In the late 1950s, the Party began to make "Left" mistakes in its thinking guiding socialist revolution and construction. The most startling example of this erroneous guideline was the launching of the "cultural revolution." For this, Comrade Mao Zedong, the Party's Chairman, should hold the major responsibility. But, the blame for the mistakes still rests with the Party. For it did not prevent and correct Chairman Mao's mistakes at the time but, rather, accepted them. These "Left" errors were exploited by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, bringing very serious consequences to the country during

the 10 chaotic years of the "cultural revolution." Even the Party organization itself was seriously damaged. But again it was the Party which amended its own mistakes. By smashing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, it saved China from a catastrophe. More importantly, the summing up of the historical experiences in the socialist period has brought our socialist construction to a new historical period.

Now we have come to a historical turning-point in which the new will replace the old. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978, new policies and principles have already brought gratifying changes in every sphere of social life. Though only two years have passed, the signs of the trend are quite conspicuous. Our goal can certainly be attained so long as we continue to advance along this road.

Greater Maturity

Some people have lost their confidence as a result of the 10 chaotic years. But our Party has after all corrected its own mistakes and guided our country on to the broad road of the four modernizations. This is an objective reality.

What does this fact show?

It reveals that the Chinese Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, closely linked with the broad masses of the people, and able to correct its own mistakes with the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, has great vitality. By having a correct goal, a correct line and the ability to constantly amend its own mistakes, such a Party can always retain its revolutionary vigour.

Because of its errors, the Party's organizational principles and fine traditions have been seriously damaged. Even today, a number of problems are still evident in the work style of some Party members. However, if we judge things by essentials and not simply by their appearance, we know that the Chinese Communist Party, which has summed up both its positive and negative experiences since it was founded 60 years ago, particularly since the birth of the People's Republic 32 years ago, is indeed becoming more mature.

Greater maturity does not mean that the present Party members or leaders have surpassed those of the past in terms of ability. But it does mean that the Party's leading collective and

the political experiences of the entire Party have greatly exceeded those of the past. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party has not only redressed the mistakes of the "cultural revolution," but also corrected the errors before the "cultural revolution." On the question of socialist construction, we have not only restored and developed the national economy, which had been sabotaged by Lin Biao and the gang of four, but also corrected the "Left" guiding ideology which had fettered our minds for a long time.

We should never underestimate the tremendous achievements gained in economic construction and other fields after the founding of New China. Without these achievements, there would be no basis for launching the four modernizations. Yet, it should be pointed out that the Party's leadership in the economic work has been greatly improved and that the Party, after having achieved tremendous successes and suffering serious setbacks, has discovered the main errors in its economic work — "Left" guiding ideology. We should conscientiously put our future economic construction on a reliable basis

and try to run affairs in accordance with objective laws. Such lessons constitute a valuable spiritual wealth for socialist construction which can hardly be gained without a summarization of both the positive and negative experiences.

Mistakes can make people lose heart and reduce weak-minded people into pitiful creatures. Mistakes can also make people fly into a rage out of shame, cling to their mistakes and even lose their senses. But, if we approach the problem from a Marxist perspective, we can turn it into a valuable asset. Such assets and successful experiences can only help enhance people's confidence and make them more intelligent and mature. It is precisely because the Party has had both positive and negative experiences that it was able to devise a correct line, policies and principles after the Third Plenary Session. The Chinese people have seen the bright future of the four modernizations and, full of confidence (which is based on a solid foundation, not on wishful thinking), they are working to realize modernization at an early date by their own hands. Isn't this the way things happen? □

Nature of Chinese Society Today

by Feng Wenbin

The following is the second part of an abridged translation of "Carrying Out Conscientiously the Line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and Marching Forward Along the Road of Scientific Socialism" by Feng Wenbin, Vice-President of the Party School of the C.P.C. Central Committee. The first instalment appeared in our issue No. 23.

This part points out that though China has travelled a tortuous road, its socialist nature has not been changed and socialism has survived a difficult test. — Ed.

Historical Lessons

ONE of the serious lessons drawn from the practice of socialism in China is that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, we violated on several occasions some of the principles of scientific socialism. Because we were ideologically unclear about the problems, these "Left" errors became more and

more serious, culminating in the mistake of unleashing the "cultural revolution," which inflicted heavy losses on our socialist cause. In carrying forward scientific socialism, it is imperative to make a clean break with these "Left" mistakes. Some manifestations and consequences of the mistakes were:

1. Exaggerating the Class Struggle in Socialist Society. Though class struggle existed only in certain spheres with the establishment of the socialist system and the elimination of the exploiting classes, Chinese society was still considered to be composed of antagonistic classes. The fundamental tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat were misunderstood and the focus of work was not put on developing the productive forces. Class struggle overshadowed everything and socialist democracy and legality were ignored while emphasis was put one-sidedly on dictatorship and violence. Moreover, the two different types of contradictions, those between the people and the enemy and those among the people, were confused. As a result,

the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was formulated, and the wrong practice of the "cultural revolution" unfolded. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, taking advantage of the mistake of the "cultural revolution," carried out disruptive activities which had disastrous consequences.

While class struggle was exaggerated, science and technology were looked down upon. Mental work and intellectuals were despised and intellectuals were even regarded as bourgeois elements. An attempt was made to eliminate the differences between mental and manual work by turning mental workers into manual labourers instead of encouraging manual workers to master intellectual work. This greatly hindered the development of science and culture in our country.

2. Overanxious to Transform the Relations of Production. The effect of the relations of production on the productive forces was overestimated, and the law that the relations of production must suit the nature of the productive forces was violated. Political movements and class struggle were used as catalysts to promote changes in economic relations irrespective of the state of the productive forces. It was believed that the higher the level and the larger the scale of collectivization of the means of production were, the more the superiority of the public ownership would be manifested. So there was a rashness to move to large-scale collective ownership, then to the ownership of the means of production by the whole people and finally to communism.

As a result, the peasants' small plots for personal needs, household sidelines, rural fairs and small-scale individual economic activities were called capitalist tails and banned. Furthermore, no distinctions were made between the methods of management and the forms of ownership, and the system of responsibility in production was opposed. The principle of "to each according to his work" was negated and equalitarianism prevailed, wiping out differences in remuneration between those who worked hard and those who did not work. Socialist commodity production was restricted, even banned: the law of value was negated, no business accounting was practised inside the state economy, no exchange of equal values occurred between state-owned enterprises, and the market was not allowed to play the role as a regulator. Commodity economy was equated with capitalist economy. All this hindered and

even disrupted the development of the productive forces.

3. Impatient for Success in Economic Construction. In economic construction, the fundamental economic principles of socialism and the law of planned and proportionate development were violated. The scale of construction was beyond the country's capacity and no importance was attached to overall balance. Because there was impatience for quick results in economic construction, the emphasis was put on opposing "Right" deviation and conservatism and no attention was paid to opposing "Left" tendencies and rash advances. Stress was put only on the political demand for a high-speed economic development but no attention was paid to analysing whether it was possible economically. Such being the case, high speed, high targets and high accumulation were pursued and large-scale capital construction projects were undertaken in a blind way, thus neglecting China's real conditions and the people's livelihood. For years, this erroneous idea led to several big rash advances in economic construction which, as a matter of fact, retarded the building of socialism.

The serious mistakes mentioned above, and the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" in particular, brought our national economy to the brink of collapse. Incalculable losses in terms of political ideology, culture, education, social morality, etc., were sustained. What is particularly serious, the training and education of a whole generation was neglected. During the decade of the "cultural revolution," institutions of higher learning and secondary technical schools trained several million fewer professional people than they would have done. Spare-time cultural and scientific education of the workers and staff members hardly existed. Illiteracy increased. Social morality degenerated, superstitious activities revived, and many youths became confused ideologically and their mental outlook was affected adversely. All this has seriously hampered the building of our socialist material and intellectual civilization.

The "Left" mistakes, particularly the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, inflicted heavy losses on our country's socialist cause. However, the socialist nature of Chinese society has not been changed at all. Socialism has withstood a severe test. In the end, Lin Biao and the gang of four did not destroy our Party; instead, our

Party smashed them. In the few years since the downfall of the gang of four we have quickly restored our national economy which was on the verge of bankruptcy; we have rapidly brought to an end the chaotic and unstable political situation and have embarked on the correct path of building the four modernizations, thus proving the superiority and tremendous vitality of socialism.

The superiority of the socialist system does not manifest itself spontaneously. Socialism provides the possibility for mobilizing the people's initiative and steadily developing socialist economy and culture. To turn this potential into reality, it is not only necessary to have certain objective conditions but, more important, to have correct leadership. Since socialism is an unprecedented undertaking, there must be a process in which the masses and their leaders learn to recognize the objective laws governing the development of socialist society. Therefore, both "Left" and Right mistakes can hardly be avoided and this affects the realization of the superiority of socialism. We have gone through twists and turns and committed many mistakes in our efforts to understand socialist revolution and construction. It is only after these mistakes were gradually corrected that we have gained a deep understanding.

The "Left" mistakes in our guiding thought have many causes. Blaming all these mistakes on a single person is not in accord with historical reality, nor is it conducive to summing up our experiences. Comrade Mao Zedong's great achievements are primary, while his shortcomings and mistakes are secondary. We should not, because of the "cultural revolution," negate Comrade Mao Zedong's merits or make no distinction between the mistakes of a proletarian revolutionary and those acts of counter-revolutionary sabotage undertaken by Lin Biao and the gang of four. Lacking practical experience is one of the chief reasons for committing mistakes. Another is being arrogant after victory and therefore becoming divorced from reality and the masses. We would have committed fewer mistakes and our socialist cause would have advanced further if we had maintained a modest and prudent style of work, guarded against arrogance and rashness, studied conscientiously the theory of scientific socialism, proceeded from China's conditions by seeking truth from facts, paid attention to the opinions of the masses, summed up in good time both positive and negative experiences and carried out socialist construction in an enthusiastic and steady way.

(To be continued.)

Expansionist Soviet Global Strategy

SOVIET global strategy evolved gradually in the process of the Soviet Union transforming itself into a social-imperialist country. Its expansionist ambitions grew with its military might. In 1968 it sent its armed forces into Czechoslovakia and made no more pretences to disguise its hegemonist policies. By the first half of the 1970s the Soviet leaders were boasting that the Soviet Union was "at the zenith of its strength and power," that "very likely, more and more links will fall off from the imperialist chain" and that it was "an opportune time for the Soviet Union to press ahead unrelentingly with its historical offensive." They declared also that "no corner of the earth is outside Soviet consideration." Following this, the Soviet Union launched a series of "dazzling" offensives against the West and embarked on an "offensive strategy."

The United States as Its Chief Antagonist

Since the end of the Second World War the Soviet Union and the United States have taken each other as the chief antagonist. In the 70s U.S. strength waned, Soviet military strength waxed, the Soviets went on the offensive and the Americans have been on the defensive. The United States has been held in mind as the chief target all along in the latter's global strategy.

The position today is that the United States is still the only country in the world capable of challenging the Soviet bid for world hegemony. If the Soviet Union cannot get the better of the United States it will not be able to realize its ambition to achieve world hegemony. With the Soviet Union today pushing

out into various parts of the world at the United States' expense and the latter having its interest all over the world to defend, the two superpowers are set on a collision course which will inevitably cause them to clash in different parts of the world. Their confrontation is on a global scale.

Europe — the Strategic Centre

The position Europe occupies in the overall strategy of the two superpowers makes it the focus of U.S.-U.S.S.R. contention. Whoever controls Europe has the world in its grasp. The political, economic, military and cultural centre of the Soviet Union is in Europe, and Eastern Europe is the Soviet Union's first region to defend in its external strategy. For the capitalist world, Western Europe is the centre of powerful political, economic and military forces. Politically, the West European Community is the United States' main ally and their relations are interdependent. Economically, the European Economic Community has become the world's strongest economic and trading bloc after the major West European countries had rehabilitated and developed their war-torn economies. Western Europe is also a powerful centre of international finance, with some 600 to 700 billion Eurodollars. Moreover, the United States has huge economic interests there. Of the \$192 billion U.S. investments abroad in 1979, 60 per cent are invested in Western Europe. Militarily, NATO strength is a counterbalance to the massive forces of the Warsaw Pact.

With the two great military blocs pitted against each other, the Soviet Union runs tremendous risks if it wants to take over Europe by force. And it is this that has gradually led the Soviet Union to build up the strategic conception of "seizing Europe by stratagem." It involves, on the one hand, exerting military pressure to compel Western Europe to seek

"detente" with the Soviet Union, forcing Western Europe to opt for "neutrality," which would disintegrate the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and step by step squeeze out U.S. influence. On the other hand, it tries to make a breakthrough in the Middle East and Africa, "the extended backdoor of Europe," and seize control of the "two treasure houses" which Western Europe depends on for its existence — the oil-rich Gulf and mineral-rich Africa. It will have Western Europe in a hammerlock once it is in a position to control the two great strategic passages to Europe, the Suez Canal and Cape of Good Hope. These are two vital arteries of the West, through which it gets 90 per cent of its oil and 70 per cent of its minerals from the Middle East and Africa. The Soviet Union's push into Africa through its Cuban mercenaries and its painstaking efforts to cultivate and expand its influence in the Horn of Africa and about the Red Sea since the mid-70s are part of the Soviet strategic drive to wrest Western Europe from the United States. The Western press has pointed out that the Soviet strategy in Europe is to "win without resort to war," "defeat Europe without a shot" and "take over the West European industrial complex in its entirety."

Scoring in the South to Strengthen Its Eastern Front

The Soviet southward drive is re-enacting tsarist Russian postures. As early as the 17th century, Peter the Great had declared that the day Russia could freely enter the Indian Ocean, then it would be able to establish its own global political and military domination. On the East and on the West, the Soviet Union has run into stiff confrontation and is unable to make a successful frontal attack. So it has turned its attention to pushing southward at the soft underbelly. The Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan is a major step in its thrust southward. The long-



range Soviet military thrust south has led to Afghanistan being taken over to become a Soviet "bridgehead" for a further advance into the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. This has been carried out in concert with Soviet gains in the Red Sea. This forms a pincer attack on the Gulf and has improved the Soviet military position in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has also reinforced its strategic deployment on its eastern front and has made great headway in the Asian-Pacific region. It backed Viet Nam's policy to establish regional hegemony, and at the same time strengthened its own army, navy and air force and built up its military facilities. The Soviet Union today has a quarter of its total military forces deployed in the Asian-Pacific region. Its long-range bombers and its navy are on a par with the United States in this region. Its forces are equipped with nuclear weapons and it has been building up its military bases. It has actively pursued a "dumb-bell strategy," striving to dominate the Strait of Malacca to control passage between the Indian and Pacific Oceans even as it pushes its way south to connect its western front to Viet Nam and Kampuchea through Afghanistan. Its goal is to set up a cordon through the oceans, stretching from the Pacific through the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, to cut off the United States, China, Japan and Europe.

The Soviet Union wants to make a breakthrough on its southern front to reinforce its eastern front, circumventing solid resistance to outflank Europe and co-ordinating its moves in the east and the west. The eastward thrust of the Soviet Union is primarily directed at the United States and its major ally, Japan. In the Asian-Pacific region, the United States has important political, economic and military interests and militarily it is a match for the Soviet Union, which is trying to push U.S. influence out of Asia. As Japan exerts a decisive influence in this region and is tending more and more to oppose the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has been trying to make Japan more amenable to its wishes by both hard and soft tactics. At the same time, the Soviet Union is conducting a hostile policy against China in an attempt to encircle and contain China. As the foreign press has pointed out, the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to put up a wall of encirclement around China to stop it becoming a big power.

Along with the above, the Soviet Union is

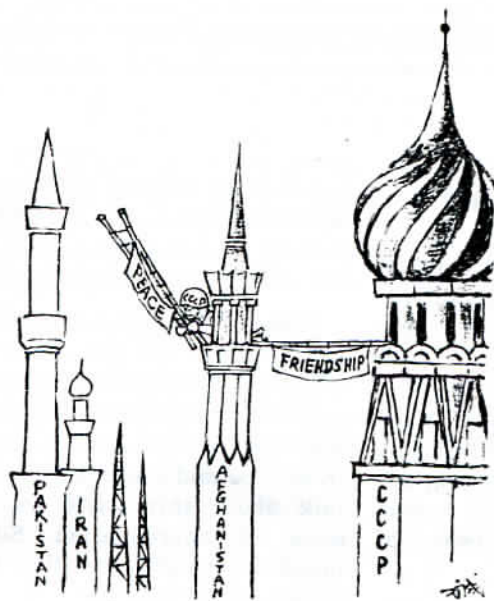
sparing no effort to expand its influence in the third world. Western strategists point out that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the 80s is grounded on seeking every opportunity to penetrate the third world, and its target at the moment is the unstable and weaker regions where the Soviet Union can win strategic advantages without running much risks.

For Victory Without War But Prepared to Win Through War

The Soviet Union continually tries to achieve military superiority over the West and is prepared to use real force to achieve hegemony. It relies on military superiority and exploits Western Europe's fear of war and desire for rest and quiet to check the United States from adopting a tough stance vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviet Union strives for nuclear superiority and conducts nuclear blackmail to make the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" over Western Europe ineffective and to exacerbate the U.S. credibility crisis in Western Europe. At the same time, it provides military assistance as a major means to find proxies in the third world areas to fight its battles and to engineer armed coups d'etat. It supports the policy of regional expansionism of certain countries and even engages in naked armed invasion in the third world. The Soviet leaders have repeatedly announced that they are quite prepared to fight and win a conventional war or a nuclear war, a partial or an all-out war.

"Detente" as Cover, and Economic Lures

The "detente" the Soviet Union advertises is a major component of its global strategy against the West, an important move to weaken the West and build up its forces to "win without a war." The illusions the West entertains about the Soviet Union and the West's own difficulties and weaknesses provide objective conditions for the Soviet Union to apply its global strategy. The Soviet Union uses "disarmament talks" to cover its arms buildup and the "detente" atmosphere to increase economic relations with the West, absorbing investments and advanced technologies from the West to boost its economic might. It claims that "detente" and "aid to national-liberation movements" are two entirely different things and refuses to allow the West to use "detente" to check Soviet expansion in the third world. It is glaringly obvious that the Soviet Union has got more out of "detente" than through "confrontation with NATO." It



has persuaded participants to the "European Security Council" to approve the fixing of the present East-West European borders and has won large quantities of funds and advanced technologies from Western Europe. The Soviet leaders themselves have announced that through "detente" they have achieved "indisputable strategic successes" and that "the policy of detente must be pursued for a long time to come."

Political chicanery has always been a frequently used weapon in the Soviet arsenal. Besides advertising its "peace posture," other ploys it uses include signing various treaties. It has concluded treaties of alliance of an obvious military nature one after another with a number of Asian and African countries and it is still trying hard to sell its "Asian security system." Many in the world see this as an "extension of the Warsaw Pact to Asia" and the Soviet navy and air force are seen as the vehicle binding together all signatories to "friendly treaties" scattered in Europe, Asia and Africa. Another practice of the Soviets is to exploit loopholes and to sow dissension whenever possible to disrupt relations between Japan and the United States, China and the United States, China and Japan, as well as relations between China and ASEAN countries and other immediate neighbours. Sometimes they couple threats with promises, employing the stick-and-carrot policy. In addition, the Soviet Union makes full use of the various contradictions between countries and inside countries to create confusion and to infiltrate and foster pro-Soviet

forces. It also even directly engages in espionage activities and carries out subversion.

Besides these nefarious activities abroad, the Soviet Union pays much attention to developing its economic might by inducing certain countries to help it through offering them economic advantages as a lure. One example of this is the on-going negotiation with West European countries to raise 10 billion U.S. dollars for a 5,000-km. natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe. The bait offered is a share in the output of natural gas. The hook is Western dependence on the Soviet Union for much of its energy wants. The Soviets have also tried repeatedly to induce Japan to take part in the exploitation of energy and other resources in Siberia. Many third world countries given "aid and assistance" in various forms are now providing lucrative economic benefits to the Soviet Union and are being brought under Soviet political control.

Soviet-inspired "detente" and Soviet dangling of economic bait all proceed from the strategic goal for Soviet global domination. This must be fully taken into account and no illusions should be entertained about Soviet moves and declarations. No one should pretend not to see that the Soviet Union is an expansionist power bent on attaining world hegemony. Vital strategic interests should be taken into account when economic and technical assistance to the Soviet Union is being considered. One should not "add wings to a tiger." When the situation develops to the point of having to surrender without a fight, when to fight means certain defeat and non-resistance means total surrender, then it will be too late for regrets.

Of course, one must also see that the Soviet Union is beset with difficulties and that its appetite is far greater than its capacity. The forces against hegemonism in the world are growing. As long as we encourage and foster this development of a world unity against hegemonism, not confining ourselves to the problem of one country or one region, but proceeding from an overall strategy and carrying out effective work, the Soviet Union will run into resistance wherever it tries to expand. This will frustrate its global strategy and weaken Soviet hegemonism which breeds war. Quite possibly the outbreak of a world war will then be put off for some time and we will have a peaceful environment for a comparatively longer period.

— Qi Ya and Zhou Jirong

Centres of World Civilization

HISTORICAL development has been uneven, with different areas flourishing at different times.

From 4000 to 2000 B.C., primitive society existed throughout most of the world, except for some civilized societies in the East. The civilizations of Egypt, India and China and along the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers represented the apexes of world culture at that time. Wasn't the ancient East the centre of civilization in those days?

With the passing of time, slave societies in Greece and

Rome made advances when iron tools — the advanced productive forces of the East — came into use. During the 5th century after the downfall of the western part of the Roman Empire, large-scale migrations reduced Europe to a state of chaos for nearly 600 years. China, India and Arabia once again became the centre of world civilization.

Between the 14th and 15th century, there appeared Renaissance in Europe and its productive forces rapidly developed, while many countries in the East were still under strict feudal control. Step by step the

latter were reduced to colonies or semi-colonies of the West, leading to a westward shift of the centre of world civilization.

Today, science and technology in the West are far ahead of other areas of the world, but the relations of production and ideology are in crisis. Many people in Europe and the United States talk about this crisis with a sense of apprehension. Some insightful people feel that the golden age of capitalism is over and the future of mankind lies in the East.

(Excerpts from "Sixiang Zhanxian" [Ideological Front] of Yunnan, No. 2, 1981.)

Guotu (Territorial) Economics

THE importance of land is known to us all, but not everyone has a scientific understanding of how to look at land in economic terms. Hence, the need has arisen for a new science that will provide the basis for the utilization, exploitation, protection and control of a nation's land from an economic perspective. Such a science is known as "guotu (territorial) economics."

This science should be concerned with both principles, theories and general methods as well as the solution of concrete problems. In terms of China, territorial economics will study its 9.6 million sq. km. of land (including islands), the territorial seas along its 18,000 km.

coastline, the continental shelf, and underground resources and air space.

Territorial economics as applied to China mainly encompasses the following areas:

- The study of the theories and methods suitable to China as well as other countries, which include the objects and the tasks of research, the theoretical basis and the nature of this branch of learning, and its relationship to other sciences.
- The scientific description and analysis of the layout of the land, including the natural and other conditions in the long past and in the last 31 years.
- A study of the principles of how to look at China's land and the scientific basis of these principles from an economic point of view.

- A study of the measures and plans for the utilization, exploitation, protection and control of land resources.

- From an economic perspective, a study of the government's responsibility for land management, the related laws which should be enacted, and the kinds of organizations which need to be set up for land management and the implementation of such laws.

A solid foundation for the study of territorial economics already exists in China, though this field has never been studied as a whole. This branch of learning cannot play a full role until a special government organ is established to oversee its development.

(Excerpts from an article in "Renmin Ribao," Dec. 26, 1980.)

I RETIRED from the stage in the second half of 1979 and began working at a desk. With the help of my friends, I have written half a million words in eight months. It's not easy to change from performing on a stage to writing at a desk. How did I manage? I learnt on the job, so to speak. Since I am now teaching at Beijing University, I have to study extra hard.

impact on them. In doing so, the actors must study and practise endlessly. My life with its many ups and downs and my stage experiences provide a good illustration.

During my early childhood my parents gave me up because of poverty. When I was four, my uncle brought me to Beijing and I was taken in by a family

line, and all those below would then ram the earth. He sang the next line and they would ram again. As I had no chance to go to the theatre or a concert, this work chant was the only music I ever heard. It was so melodious that I would listen for hours and the simple tune was deeply imprinted in my mind.

At 11, I began to learn opera from a street-player named Yan. In those days, learning to sing opera was known as "getting spanked." Why? My teacher believed that we would learn our lines much faster and become good performers if we were spanked. Every student was punished regardless of how well he was doing. Of course, spankings were bad, but it was good to be strict with us. I really appreciated him for teaching me how to be a good street-player and laying a strong foundation for my future career. Later, it was quite easy for me to become a *xiangsheng* performer. I was the first northern *xiangsheng* actor to learn how to sing southern *Yueju* opera.

I still have to learn. Now, I am trying to deepen my understanding of street art from the past. Last June, I asked a 75-year-old worker to my home. He had been a porridge pedlar in his youth and he still remembered the pedlar's chant: "Porridge hot, sweet and delicious, come and have a bowl." I taped this musical chant which almost seemed like an old folk song.

(Excerpts from "Zhejiang Ribao," Feb. 12, 1981.)

Hou Baolin's Ideas on Learning

My friends suggested that I begin by writing up my stage experiences, but I decided to begin instead with *An Introduction to Balladry* and *The Origins of "Xiangsheng."* Though much more difficult, there is a much greater need, both by Chinese and foreign scholars, for such works. I believe it's better to start by tackling a hard job. Whatever I do, I have to learn and learn conscientiously.

Is it easy to be a *xiangsheng* (comic dialogue) actor? Not if you really want to capture your audience. People tell me that they never tire of hearing some *xiangsheng*. In fact, these good pieces often go through many revisions. Some actors are famous, but not all famous actors are good; some are at most "craftsmen." A performing artist should give his heart to his audience and should have an

named Hou as an adopted son. But this family could not support me either, so I scrounged through rubbish heaps, worked as a newspaper boy and would beg. Once I was lucky enough to go to school for three months.

My first contact with "art" as a child was hearing the work chant of some rammers. When



one of our neighbours was building a house, a worker standing high above would sing out a

Hou Baolin is a celebrated *xiangsheng* artist, a linguist and a professor at Beijing University.

SHORT STORIES

Fresh Approach to a Familiar Subject

The down-to-earth simplicity, honesty and determination of the Chinese peasant, as well as the remnants of centuries-old feudalism his thinking sometimes reveals, all come to life in the masterful short stories of Gao Xiaosheng, one of China's most prominent writers. Two of his recent works, *Li Shunda Builds a House* and *Chen Huansheng Goes to Town*, have won him national short-story awards for two consecutive years.

Fifty-three-year-old Gao Xiaosheng first came to fame in the early 50s for his popular short stories, poetry and traditional opera scripts. In 1957, however, he was wrongly labelled a Rightist in the nationwide anti-Rightist movement and his budding literary career came to an abrupt halt. Forced to return to his home town in the countryside in Jiangsu Province, Gao spent the next 22 years living the life of a peasant. Yet in some ways this was a blessing in disguise; for it was clearly these long years in the countryside which gave him such deep insight into the character of the Chinese peasant, and which enables him to depict it today with a vividness and realism his previous works had never shown. Most of the 20 short stories Gao Xiaosheng has published since his rehabilitation two years ago centre around this theme.

Li Shunda Builds a House is the story of an impoverished peasant who after liberation wants nothing more than to save up enough money to build his own house. He and his family work towards this goal

with tremendous efforts and ingenuity, but are repeatedly thwarted by political instability and unsound policies. Not until 30 years later is Li Shunda's wish finally realized.

Gao's other award-winning short story, *Chen Huansheng Goes to Town*, reveals the character of an industrious and frugal peasant through his experiences on a trip to town. Chen Huansheng goes to town to buy a new cap, unwittingly passes the night in an expensive hotel that charges him the price of two caps and ends up going home broke and empty-handed. What makes both these simple folk stories successful is the sensitive, probing, often humorous glimpses they give into the hearts of two ordinary Chinese peasants.

In the style of such accomplished writers as Zhao Shuli (1906-70), Liu Qing (1916-78) and Zhou Libo (1908-79), Gao Xiaosheng's stories demonstrate the enduring enthusiasm and determination of China's country folk as well as their time-weathered commitment to the nation's revolutionary road. However, Gao's works also probe deeper, exposing the hardship and losses many peasants suffered in the past from ultra-Left slogans and policies. His writings thus evince feelings of sympathetic sorrow while stressing that today, in spite of past setbacks, the Chinese peasants are advancing.

At present, many writers like Gao Xiaosheng are devoting their energies to the subjects of rural life. Among those awarded best short-story prizes for 1980 are:

- He Shiguang, a middle school teacher from Guizhou

Province. His short story *On the Village Square* tells the tale of a gentle peasant who, encouraged by new policies and stability in his village, overcomes personal fear to help confront a dishonest and overbearing shopkeeper.

- Ma Feng, a well-known veteran writer acclaimed since the 1940s for the richness and distinct national flavour of his works. In *At the Wedding Ceremony*, the author reveals the poverty of life in the countryside which is the root of the enduring feudal custom of giving bridal gifts. A TV film of this story has also been produced recently.

- Zhang Shishan, a young and upcoming writer from Shanxi Province. His skilful portrayal of *Stubborn Han Baoshan* radiates with the local colour of life in a Shanxi mountain village.

According to the judges of 1980's best short stories, the number of works reflecting rural life and subjects has increased since 1979. The 30 prize winners, selected out of a total of 3,000 contestants, represent a step forward in this field for their sharper, more subtle development of familiar Chinese themes.

LITERATURE

In Memory of Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore, a world-famous Hindu writer, devoted great efforts to promoting cultural exchanges between China and India. His role as an old friend of the Chinese people was honoured on May 5 of this year at a meeting sponsored by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Coun-

tries in Beijing on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of his birth. Tagore's visit to China in 1924 was recalled, particularly his 63rd birthday party which was attended by such well-known Chinese scholars and writers as Liang Qichao, Xu Zhimo, Lin Huiyin and Xie Bingxin.

Tagore warmly praised Chinese culture and showed concern



Xu Beihong's painting of Tagore.

for the condition of China's people. As early as 1881, in his famous work *Death Trade*, he sternly condemned British imperialism for poisoning the Chinese people with opium. In his speech at Tokyo University in 1915, he censured Japan for its imperialist aggressive policy against China. In 1916, he predicted that "Once China's momentous power moves forward along the road of modernization, in other words, once China masters modern science, perhaps no force in the world can stop it from advancing." While visiting China in 1924, Tagore stated: "Friendship and solidarity between China and India are the foundation stone of a struggling Asia." Upon his return to India, he stressed the importance of studying China's language and literature. In 1937, Tagore

opened a Chinese College (Cheena-bhavana) at the International University (Visva-bharati) which he had himself founded.

Premier Zhou Enlai paid a special visit to the International University when he went to India in 1957. There he wrote an inscription, saying: "Tagore was a great poet, philosopher, patriot and artist. He is highly esteemed by the Chinese people."

Tagore developed close contacts with the famous opera artist Mei Lanfang and the well-known painter Xu Beihong. During his stay in Beijing, he attended Mei's performance of *Goddess of the River Luo* and presented him with a fan on which he wrote a poem in English with a Chinese brush. When Xu Beihong lived in India in 1940, he painted a portrait of Tagore which is still hanging on Tagore's living room wall. Another well-preserved picture of a galloping horse neighing in the wilderness was also given to Tagore by Xu Beihong.

Tagore's works were introduced to China 60 years ago, and are still very popular. Many Chinese modern writers, such as Xie Bingxin and Zheng Zhenduo, were influenced by him. In 1961, to mark the 100th anniversary of Tagore's birth, China published *A Collection of Tagore's Works* in 10 volumes.

"Nothing, but My Heart!"

— In commemoration of the 120th anniversary of Tagore's birth

by Zhao Puchu

Half a century ago, one night
When the poet was to leave Beijing,
Hundreds gathered to see him off.
Some folding their palms before
their breast,

Some throwing their arms around
him.

Tears mingled with high wind and
pelting rain.

Someone happened to ask,

"Have you left anything behind?"

Out rang the poet's reply,

"Nothing, but my heart!"

* * *

Twenty years ago, tonight,

At New Delhi I declaimed my
elegy for you,

Though it lacked the lustre of your
masterpieces,

It tried to convey what was in
your brother's heart,

However gloomy those times,

Tears mingled with high wind and
pelting rain.

And tonight

I cannot but recall that question,

"Have you left anything behind?"

And your ringing answer,

"Nothing, but my heart!"

(Translated by Yang Xianyi)

To the People of India

— Written on the 120th anniversary of Tagore's birthday

by Ai Qing

Let our hearts be linked with
yours

Across the storms of our century;
Let our people be linked with yours

Like our two lands;

Let our two peoples understand
each other,

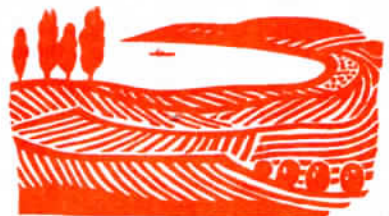
Live together in peace and have
friendly communications;

Let us sing together under the
same sun,

In the same scented air.

May 5, 1981 Beijing

(Translated by Yang Xianyi)



Books

Guidebook to China

The Official Guidebook of China
(available in Chinese, English and Japanese)

《中国旅游指南》

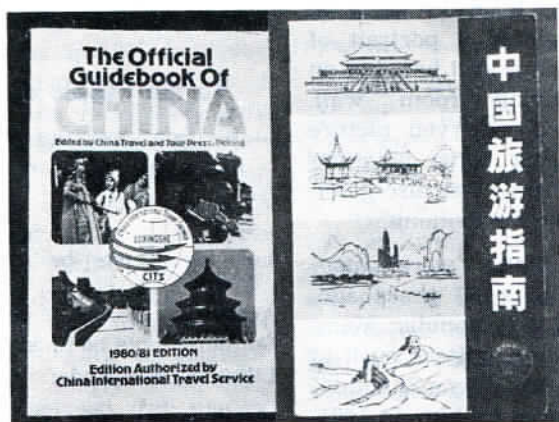
Published by China Travel and Tour Press of the China Travel and Tourism Administrative Bureau,

Renminbi: 1.50 yuan (Chinese edition), 15.00 yuan (English edition), 8.00 yuan (Japanese edition).

It is said, "To see once is better than to hear one hundred times." Friends coming to China from all over the world

experience, this work is now the most practical and up-to-date China travel guide available.

The China International Travel Service has provided all of the latest information on hotel accommodations, restaurants, scenic spots and cultural sites for the more than 70 cities and regions now open to foreign visitors. Photos, maps and highlights of local culture are also given. The awesome, snake-like Great Wall, the Qin Dynasty's newly unearthed terracotta army in Xian, the Three Gorges of the mighty Changjiang (Yangtze) River, the ancient Silk Road that once linked



will certainly find this proverb true in describing the rich experience of a visit to this legendary land. But to see and fully enjoy a foreign country, one must be well-informed; and as veteran tourists well know, an instructive, easy-to-read travel handbook can be invaluable. The recently published *The Official Guidebook of China* is the first comprehensive volume on China travel written by the Chinese. Providing all the information a visitor needs to know to make his trip a unique and enjoyable ex-

perience, this work is now the most practical and up-to-date China travel guide available. The China International Travel Service has provided all of the latest information on hotel accommodations, restaurants, scenic spots and cultural sites for the more than 70 cities and regions now open to foreign visitors. Photos, maps and highlights of local culture are also given. The awesome, snake-like Great Wall, the Qin Dynasty's newly unearthed terracotta army in Xian, the Three Gorges of the mighty Changjiang (Yangtze) River, the ancient Silk Road that once linked

China with Western Asia and Europe, the beautiful scenery of Guilin, Hangzhou and Suzhou — these and many more of China's historic and modern wonders are presented in this descriptive volume. A brief introduction to the country's history, geography, language and government will be helpful for those new to China. Also answered are the questions most frequently asked by China travellers: how to get a visa, what to bring with you, customs regulations, the climate,

Chinese cuisine, air and train schedules, and where to shop for everything from fine antiques to reasonably priced clothes, jewelry, rugs, arts and crafts and other items. No other guidebook has so much practical information.

In co-operation with foreign publishing houses, *The Official Guidebook of China* will soon be published in German, Italian, Spanish and Dutch as well.

— Lu Nianguo

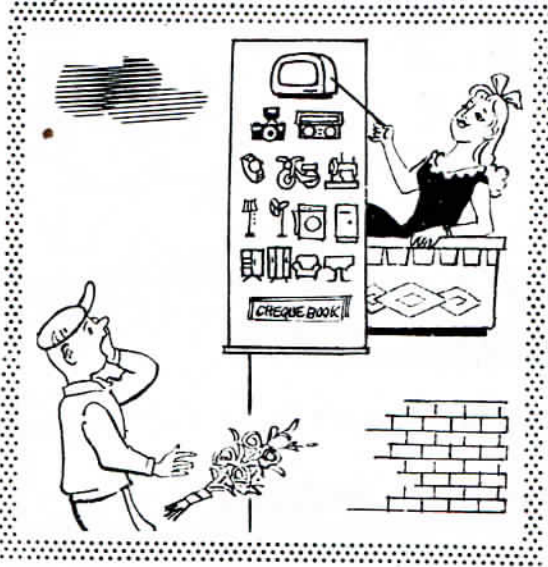
Publishing News

The premiere issue of *China: Sights and Insights*, a colourful new bi-monthly tourist magazine, was published in April this year. The magazine's 64 pages of excellent photography and articles on Chinese art, history, cuisine, scenic spots and other topics of interest make it a valuable addition to the current tourist literature on China.

Featured in this first issue are places of interest in Beijing and north China, I.M. Pei on Chinese architecture, an exclusive serial on ancient life in the Imperial Palace, a look at Beijing Opera and the Tibetan New Year's Festival and some 300 colour photos and illustrations. Also included is an artistic opening inscription by Liao Chengzhi, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, which reads: "To perfect our service and to make friends with people from all over the world."

China: Sights and Insights is published in both English and Chinese jointly by the China Travel and Tour Press and the Magnificent-Art Originals Ltd., Hongkong, and printed in Hongkong. The price is Renminbi 4.50 yuan, or 3 U.S. dollars, per issue.

Humour In China



Modern-day Romeo and Juliet. —Gao Feng

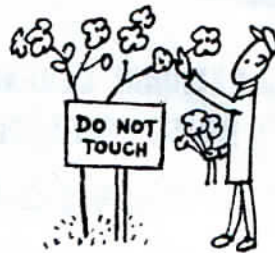


My hairstyle in fashion again!

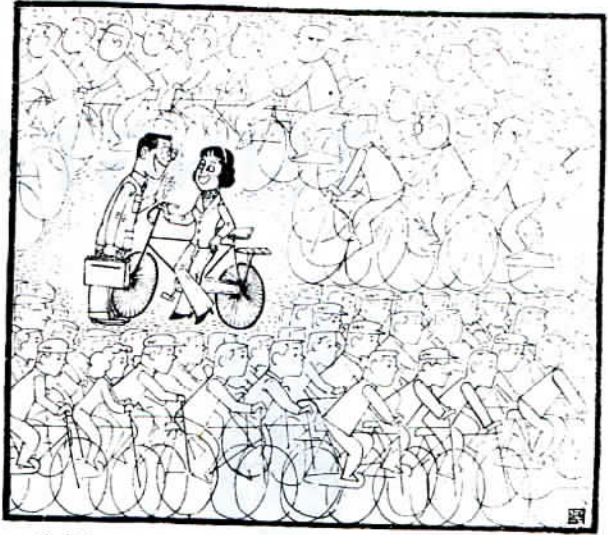
— Shi Donghong



Not Illiterate after all.



— Wang Jian



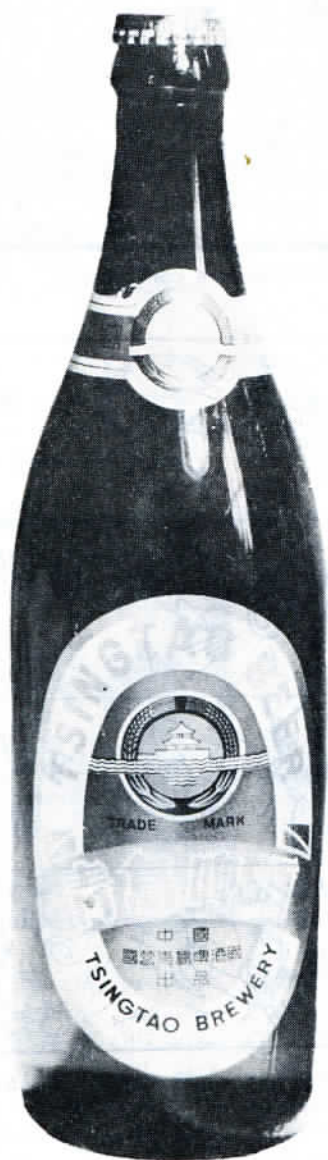
Public road, private conversation. — Wu Jiliang



Reciprocal

— Xia Qian

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