

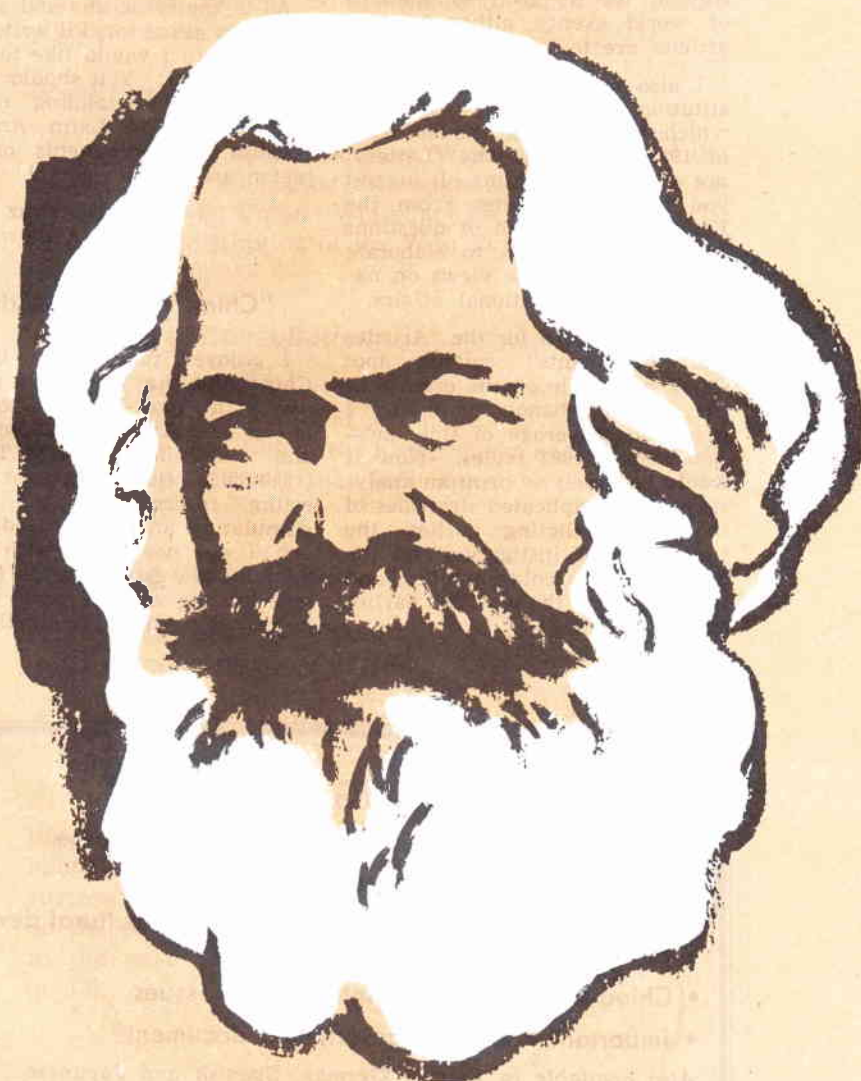
BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

**China Commemorates the
Centenary of Marx's Death**

1883-1983



- Decline of Crime in China
- Analysis of West European-US Relations

LETTERS

1983: A Step Forward

I liked Li Ning's article "1982, a Year of Mounting Troubles," Part 1 (No. 1), especially the section on the serious economic situation in the world.

I appreciate your new layout. The headlines are eye-catching and the highlights better arranged. I enjoyed seeing a photograph of the French edition staff (French edition, No. 1).

I read the "International" column for its good summations of world events, although some articles are too superficial.

I also found the Chinese Constitution and the index (Nos. 27-52) which you carried in the last issue of 1982 useful and the "Letters" are always interesting. I suggest you write the "Notes From the Editors" in the form of questions and answers, so as to elaborate more precisely your views on national and international affairs.

I have an idea for the "Articles and Documents" column too: Carry an article on the essence of the Israel-Lebanon conflict. I read your coverage of this question in the 1982 issues. Now it would be timely to print an analysis of the complicated strategies of the two conflicting parties, the United States' instigation and the Soviet Union's cold shoulder, and the stakes of the various parties in the war.

I enjoy your weekly. It helps me keep abreast of China and its modernization efforts.

Daniel Gauthier
Vaudreuil, Canada

Helpful to Us

I have been reading *Beijing Review* and *China Pictorial* since 1977. I think these magazines important because of their contents. Your reports on international affairs help us realize more clearly that the proletariat, the people and nations of third world countries are being invaded, bullied, exploited and oppressed by the superpowers who are contending for world hegemony.

As to the criticisms and suggestions you asked for, I'll write more later. Here I would like to make one comment: You should obtain a better understanding of the problems facing Latin America, because your comments on this region are too superficial.

Benigno Cruz Turpo
Ayaviri, Peru

"China and the World"

I enjoyed reading the booklet *China and the World* (2), particularly the two essays "Zhou Enlai in the Arena of Diplomacy" and "US Policy Towards Taiwan (1949-50)." Both contained interesting information and some stimulating analysis. Needless to say, I did not agree with every point in the essays. I see from a note at the end of each of the essays that both originally ap-

peared in your *Chinese Journal of International Studies*. It is very helpful for someone like myself, who does not read Chinese, to have translations of these important articles.

A good feature of the booklet is the printing of the texts of Chinese speeches and statements, for example, Huang Hua's speech to the UN General Assembly last June on disarmament. It is so helpful for research purposes to have complete texts of important official statements conveniently at hand.

David Steeds
Penglais, UK

Figures Please

The articles in your magazine are helpful to me, especially the figures and tables which appear in your recent economic reports.

I am interested in reports about factories and rural people's communes.

I also hope you'll report more about Japan.

Yoshitake Shimizu
Tokyo, Japan

Criticisms and Suggestions

I am partial towards reports on the lives of the Chinese workers and peasants, and less interested in reports on international relations because they are mainly about exchanges between Chinese and foreign statesmen, not the peoples.

I hope you will print more about the peoples' struggles in Central America and Africa.

Your cover is rather dull and the photos are unclear.

Yury A. Cahuata
CUSCO, Peru

I suggest that you include more articles in the international reports and comments on third world countries. I would like to read your analysis of these countries because I believe you would suggest how to go about constructing their economies which are in the imperialists' pangs.

Samwel S.C. Mkela
Songea, Tanzania

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Truth of Marxism Lights Our
Way Forward (see centre-
fold page)

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Centenary of the Death of Karl Marx

China marked the centenary of the death of Karl Marx (1818-83) — founder of scientific communism — with an important report by CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang at a Beijing mass rally, symposium, exhibitions and a TV series (p. 5).

7th Non-Aligned Summit

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial hails the results of the 7th Non-Aligned Summit Conference and expresses China's support for the movement's continued success (p. 11).

West European-US Relations

A clash of interests between Western Europe and the United States has caused difference in their policies towards the Soviet Union. While far-reaching effects can be expected, no disruption of the West European-US alliance is likely (p. 19).

Sino-Soviet Consultations

This commentary refutes Soviet claims that Sino-Soviet consultations should not discuss Soviet troop withdrawal from Mongolia or the Kampuchean and Afghanistan issues on the grounds that these questions concern third countries (p. 11).

Declining Crime Rate

A public security official analyses the recent nation-wide reduction of crime (p. 15).

Salvadorian Guerrillas Gain Ground

A review of the situation in El Salvador, highlighting the guerrillas' successful counter-attacks on the government troops in the past few months (p. 13).



Karl Marx.

by Wang Donghai

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

On the 'iron rice bowl'

Isn't the "iron rice bowl" the superiority of socialism? Why are you against it?

In "Farewell, big public pots" of issue No. 7 we made the analysis that "eating from the big public pot" is in essence absolute egalitarianism. The "iron rice bowl" is of the same nature. The only difference is that the former is manifested in the wage system and the latter in the labour system.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have instituted a system that the state provides jobs for people. Once a person was employed by a state enterprise, he was guaranteed a life-long job and a fixed income determined according to the wage scale. Generally, he could not be fired unless he seriously violated the criminal law. Once he became a cadre, as a general practice, he could only be promoted, never demoted. People metaphorically described this as owning an "iron rice bowl."

Of course, in socialist society everybody should have a job whereby to earn a living. Our Constitution stipulates that citizens have the right to work and receive remuneration and to enjoy social insurance, social relief and medical and health services if they are disabled. All these are necessary and correct.

But, rights are always linked with duties. The Constitution, therefore, also stipulates that the working people should perform their tasks with an attitude consonant with their status as masters of the country, and that the principle of "from each

according to his ability and to each according to his work" should be carried out.

The labour system characterized by the "iron rice bowl" absolutizes this relative social insurance and changes it into unconditional job insurance and income insurance. In fact, this practice encourages the indolence of those who want to enjoy the advantages of socialism but not to perform their duties. It does not help develop the initiative or the creativity of the industrious.

Under this system, employment had only one channel—the unified state assignments. But the state enterprises and undertakings could absorb only a limited number of people. As they had very limited power to transfer personnel, it was difficult for them to acquire the people they needed or to transfer those they did not need to other units. This resulted in a wasteful and irrational use of labour power.

To overcome these shortcomings, in recent years we began abolishing life-long tenure for cadres and empowered enterprises to fire those who often were absent from work without leave or adopted an extremely irresponsible attitude towards their work despite repeated admonitions.

At the same time, we opened up numerous employment channels in addition to the state labour departments, including advertising for professionals, recruiting workers through examinations and encouraging individuals to set up co-ops or find jobs for themselves.

At present, a labour contract system is being practised among the job-awaiting youths in some places. The contracts are signed by both workers and employers (state enterprises and undertakings). During the period covered by the contract, the workers' pay is directly linked with how well the enterprise is managed and with their own individual efforts. This system allows enterprises to employ workers according to their needs and workers are able to choose jobs and develop their special skills.

The reform of the long-standing "iron rice bowl" system will be gradually carried out after experiments have been made in some places.

At the same time, resistance to change based on conventional ideas must be overcome. This ideological resistance is the product of the small-peasant economy which existed in old China.

Suppressed by feudalism, the economic status of small peasants in the old society was extremely fragile. They could barely withstand natural calamities and social or individual misfortunes and led a very unstable life. Therefore, they yearned for an insured life. The labour system of the "iron rice bowl" and the wage system of "eating from the big public pot" reflected this desire.

It is necessary to help people understand that these practices reflected an illusion in the old society and that in the socialist period, they obstruct social progress and go against the fundamental interests of the people.

— *Economic Editor Wang Dacheng*

Centenary of death of Karl Marx marked

THE CPC Central Committee held a mass rally on the afternoon of March 13 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. The rally, which was attended by 10,000 people, was a part of China's large-scale commemorative activities for Karl Marx.

Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and other Party and state leaders attended the rally. Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee, made an important report to the rally, entitled "The Radiance of the Great Truth of Marxism Lights Our Way Forward."

than three decades, the movement has followed a tortuous course of development. It has scored magnificent successes and victories. But it has also experienced severe setbacks and failures and undergone a bewildering process of turbulence and division.

"However, amidst such shouts of 'crisis,' the Marxist parties and organizations of many countries, braving all kinds of attacks, have heroically and calmly carried on the fight.

"In the tortuous course of development all true Marxists and far-sighted people are discerning a most essential positive factor, i.e., politically and ideologically more and more Marxist parties and organizations have dared to break with blind faith, to emancipate their minds and to think for themselves, thus becoming able independently to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries.

"Facts have proved that on the questions of how to handle correctly the relations between the parties of various countries and of what specific road of revolution to take, the Marxist parties in different countries have a much deeper understanding and are richer in experience and their level is clearly higher than before. Fundamentally, this has created the most important condition for the greater development of Marxism."

Hu Yaobang said: "It follows that a basic lesson to draw from the history of the development



Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Li Xiannian on the rostrum.

Highlights of Hu Yaobang's report

At the meeting, Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang said: "Without Marx's theory, China could not possibly have become what she is today. We have learnt from Marx, conscientiously studied and drawn wisdom and strength from his works, and shall continue to do so."

He praised Marx as "the founder of scientific communism, great teacher of the proletariat and of the exploited and

oppressed masses throughout the world, and the most outstanding revolutionary and scientist in human history."

A full century has elapsed since the death of Marx, but his theory has grown into a mighty force that has profoundly changed world history and will continue to do so, Hu said.

Speaking about the history of the world communist movement since the Second World War, Hu Yaobang said that for more

of Marxism is that the Marxist party of each country cannot succeed in revolution and construction unless it formulates its own line and policies in accordance with its own concrete conditions and with the international and domestic circumstances in which it finds itself."

Expounding on the history of the Chinese revolution, Hu Yaobang pointed out that for several decades Comrade Mao Zedong upheld the road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the actual realities in China and brought tremendous wisdom and strength to our Party and people. But when he deviated or departed from this correct road in the evening of his life, even such a great Marxist as Comrade Mao Zedong could not avoid going astray and making distressing mistakes.

Hu Yaobang said that in the four years prior to the 12th National Congress of the CPC in 1982, we fulfilled the arduous task of setting things to rights in our guiding ideology. In essence, this means that we have re-embarked on the road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the actual realities in China under the new historical conditions. This also means upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought.

He summarized the successes in carrying out the responsibility system in China's rural areas as having "found new forms that are truly Chinese and suited to China's rural conditions." He also pointed out that in our economic, social and other activities there still exist many erroneous ideas and models that do not suit China's actual conditions and that have seriously hampered the development of the productive forces. They must be reformed step by step and in an all-round way.

He recalled that the Chinese Communist Party has had marked successes in handling the question of intellectuals. However, it also committed serious "Left" mistakes in its attitude towards intellectuals from the late 1950s onwards. The effects of the "Left" mistakes became an important component of the catastrophic upheaval of the distressing decade of the "cultural revolution." He called on the whole Party, the working class and other working people throughout the country to draw lessons from the experience and establish Marxist concepts on the question of intellectuals, so as to meet the urgent needs of expanding our socialist modernization.

First, he said, we must fight against the incorrect tendency of isolating Marxism from the cultural achievements of mankind and setting it against the latter; establish the correct concept of valuing scientific and general knowledge and mobilize the whole Party and the whole people to strive to acquire knowledge of modern science and culture.

Second, we must oppose the erroneous tendency of separating intellectuals from the working class, counterposing them to the workers and regarding them as an "alien force," confirm the correct concept of intellectuals as a part of the working class; create an atmosphere in which knowledge and intellectuals are valued; take effective steps to

improve their working and living conditions; guard against the wrong tendency to disdain and belittle manual workers; and strengthen a hundredfold the unity between workers and peasants on the one hand and intellectuals on the other.

Third, we must oppose the erroneous tendency of divorcing Party leadership from expert leadership or setting the former against the latter and instead implant the correct concept that all leading personnel must strive to be experts. We must ensure that our cadres become better educated and more professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded.

Hu Yaobang called on all Party members and leading cadres to learn anew, acquire a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and a better grasp of various branches of social and natural sciences, modern technology and science of management.

Hu Yaobang concluded: "Marxism also enables us scientifically to pinpoint the source of war and find the only way to eliminate it. Although today mankind is still faced with the menace of a massive war of aggression, we are convinced that through the common struggle of the working class, the oppressed nations and the whole of progressive mankind, light will eventually triumph over darkness." (For full text of the report, see centrefold page.)

National symposium

A national symposium commemorating the centenary of the death of Karl Marx was held from March 7-12 in Beijing, attended by more than 1,500 specialists, scholars, professors

and other representatives from all over the country.

The symposium received more than 830 papers. Noted Chinese Marxist theoreticians exchanged views on their study of the basic

theory of Marxism as well as its practice and development in China. The symposium was characterized by a lively atmosphere.

Zhou Yang, adviser to the propaganda department of the Party Central Committee, delivered a paper entitled "A Preliminary Study of Several Theoretical Issues Concerning Marxism." In a discussion of the relationship between Marxism and humanitarianism, he pointed out that during a prolonged period after the founding of the People's Republic, humanitarianism was considered incompatible with Marxism. This critical viewpoint is, however, one-sided and some related views are even wrong, he said. "I don't agree to incorporating Marxism into the system of humanitarianism, nor do I agree to summarizing Marxism as humanitarianism. But we should admit that Marxism includes humanitarianism. Of course, this is Marxist humanitarianism," he argued.

In a paper entitled "Marxism and China's Conditions," Hu Sheng, Head of the Party History Research Centre under the Party Central Committee, said that people may wonder why China did not experience a capitalist society before entering socialism. China's social and historical conditions and the international environment did not allow it to become an independent capitalist country and in fact made it impossible for China to take that road. From the viewpoint of historical materialism, it is by no means a short cut to socialism by first undergoing capitalism. Why would the Chinese people choose such a prolonged and painful road?

Jurist Zhang Youyu said in his paper that as it is practised in China, the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat has adopted the form of the people's democratic dictatorship with Chinese characteristics. One of the special features of this dictatorship is that it includes the national bourgeoisie in the category of the people and not as a target of the dictatorship. Zhang pointed out that the proletariat and the people are a whole entity, and democracy and dictatorship are dialectically inseparable. The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat embraces, in the first place, the idea of a people's democratic dictatorship. Some people argue

that a people's democratic dictatorship is a revision of the dictatorship of the proletariat and belongs to the category of bourgeois democracy. This is totally wrong, he said.

Ma Hong, President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, expounded in his paper on the tremendous development of Marxism in China's socialist construction since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Economist Yu Guangyuan held that it is necessary to put forward the concept of regarding "Marxism as a science for building socialism" so as to suit the world historical development in the days after Marx.

Manuscripts and others

Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), organ of the CPC Central Committee, published on March 9 the manuscripts of Karl Marx's three letters which are kept in China.

The first one is written in English on July 14, 1875 to British woman writer Matilda Betham-Edwards, pointing out many factual errors in her article "The International Working Men's Association."

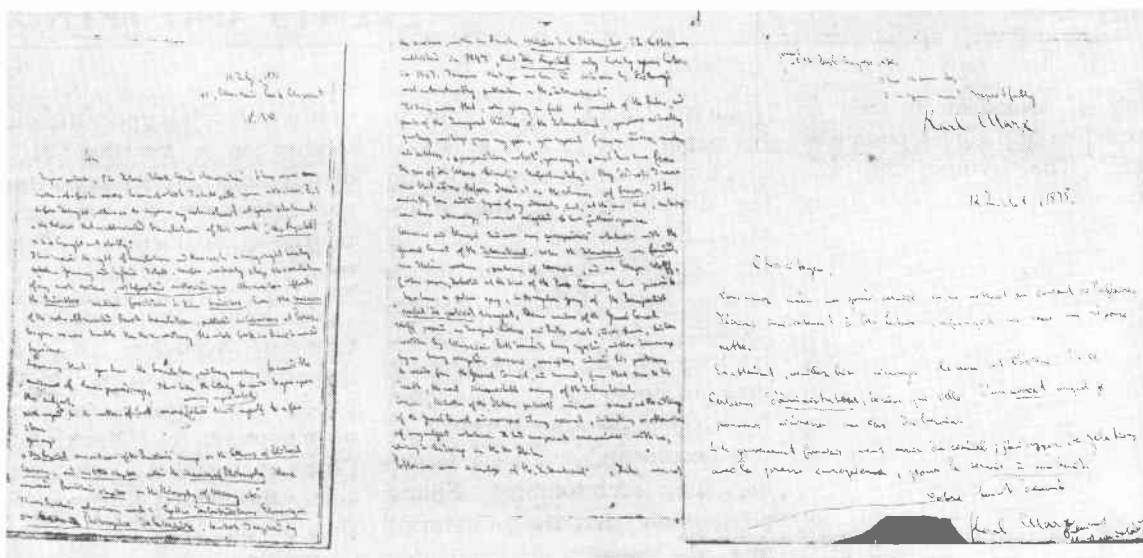
The second letter, previously unpublished, in French, was written on July 12, 1875. Specialists believe that it was written to Just Vernouillet, manager of the Maurice Lachatre Publishing House in Paris which was responsible for the publication of the French edition of *Capital*. In it, Marx discusses the difficulties

he has met in getting the first volume of the French edition of *Capital* published.

The third letter, also not published before, in German, was written on August 25, 1877 to Nikolaus Delius, a German professor of Shakespeare.

The first letter is now in the Central Archives while the other two are in Beijing Library.

All the 50 volumes of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* have been translated into Chinese. Of these, 44 have already been published and the rest will come out by the end of this year. The first volume of the French edition of *Capital* has been translated into Chinese and has just been off the press.



Manuscript of Marx's letter to Nikolaus Delius.

Nigerian Vice-President visits China

The Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Alex I. Ekwueme arrived in Beijing on March 12 for a week-long official friendship visit to China.

On March 15 General Secretary Hu Yaobang met with Vice-President Ekwueme. The two leaders had a cordial and pleasant discussion on economic development.

Hu said nations must make big efforts to develop their national economies so that they can consolidate political independence through economic independence. He said China is willing to further expand its economic and technical co-operation with Nigeria.

"We'd like to see rapid prosperity in China as well as in Nigeria and other African countries," Hu said.

Earlier, Premier Zhao Ziyang met with Vice-President Ek-

wueme and held a welcome banquet in his honour on March 13.

Premier Zhao said, "The non-aligned movement has become a political force exerting important influence in the international arena. The Chinese Government and people deeply appreciate and firmly support the independent, sovereign and non-bloc principles followed by this movement." He sincerely wished the non-aligned countries successes in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and power politics in all forms.

On bilateral relations, the Chinese Premier said, "Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the amicable relations and co-operation between our two countries has developed smoothly on the basis of equality and mutual benefit in political, economic, cultural and other fields. Our co-operation in 20-odd projects demonstrates that our economic and technical co-operation has made a good start. This co-operation is in

The "Biographical Album of Karl Marx," the first of its kind edited in China, which includes more than 400 pictures, vividly depicts the life of Marx. At the same time, five newly edited works on Marxist literature and art will soon be released.

On March 14, the "Exhibition on Marx's Life and Cause," the "Exhibition of Marx's Works in China," and the photo "Exhibition on the Life and Cause of Marx and Engels" sponsored by the former Marx's residence research centre under the Ebert Funds of the Federal Republic of Germany, were inaugurated in Beijing. On the same day, ceremonies of laying the foundation stones for the statues of Marx and Engels were held in Beijing and Shanghai respectively.

The TV series, *The Youth of Karl Marx*, jointly produced by the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, started on March 6. *Karl Marx*, produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio for the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, was also shown in early March.

China, Yugoslavia to boost co-operation

The Chinese Government wishes that Sino-Yugoslav economic and technical co-operation would constantly expand in conjunction with the good political relations between the two countries, said Premier Zhao Ziyang on March 12 when he met with Mijat Sukovic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia.

"We should open up various channels for co-operation that are beneficial to both sides to ensure stable economic co-operation between the two

countries," Zhao said.

Vice-President Sukovic said that Yugoslavia will adopt all possible measures and make use of various channels to push forward economic co-operation with China.

The Yugoslav Government Delegation led by Sukovic arrived in Beijing on March 10, to attend the third meeting of the Chinese-Yugoslav committee for economic, scientific and technical co-operation and to pay a friendly visit to China.

the interests of both peoples and has a bright future."

Vice-Premier Wan Li held two rounds of talks with the Nigerian Vice-President. They shared the view that since the establishment of diplomatic relation between China and Nigeria, their relationship has been developing in a sound way. Further, the two sides hold identical views on numerous international issues.

China keeps word on co-operation

China will keep her word in economic and technical co-operation with other countries, said Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Hu said this when he met with Armand Hammer, chairman of the Board of the Occidental Petroleum Co. of the United States on March 8.

Zhao to visit New Zealand, Australia

On invitation of the Governments of New Zealand and Australia, Premier Zhao Ziyang will go to the two countries on official visits from April 13 to 23.

Premier Zhao Ziyang told New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs and Overseas Trade, Warren E. Cooper, that he will be going to visit New Zealand soon and will meet with Prime Minister Robert D. Muldoon.

Zhao met the New Zealand Foreign Minister on March 7. Zhao said that Prime Minister

Welcoming the co-operative development of coal resources between China and the US oil company, Hu said that although China's laws are incomplete and need to be improved, "we will honour our word. This is the most reliable guarantee."

"All foreign enterprises working in co-operation with us are assured of reasonable profits," he added.

An interim agreement on the joint development of an open-cast coal mine in the Pingshuo area of Shanxi Province was signed in Beijing that day by the China National Coal Development Corporation and Occidental Petroleum Co. The final agreement to this first project for building a large coal mine in China with the co-operation of a foreign firm is expected to be signed next July.

Hammer and his group arrived in Beijing on March 5 for the signing of the interim agreement.

Muldoon was the first foreign government leader he welcomed after becoming Premier. "I'm very glad to have the opportunity to meet him again in your country," he told Cooper. "I expect to exchange views with him on international issues of mutual interest and explore multiple ways of developing economic and technical co-operation between our two countries," he said.

Zhao also told Cooper that China attaches great importance to expanding relations with New Zealand and other South Pacific

countries. There are no outstanding issues between China and New Zealand. "We share common ground on many international issues," he said.

Foreign Minister Cooper arrived in Beijing on March 3 on one week visit at the invitation of Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian.

On March 14, the Chinese Premier also confirmed with Randal Macdonald, publisher of the Australian paper *The Age*, and an accompanying delegation his plans to visit Australia next month.

There is a "solid foundation" for Sino-Australian relations, Zhao said. "Both of our countries oppose aggression and expansion, stand for peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific region, and share common ground on many international issues," he added.

In developing bilateral relations, China and Australia have strictly followed the basic principles guiding international relations and the principles laid down in the communique on establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. "The prospects are bright for developing Sino-Australian relations on such a solid foundation," Zhao noted.

Foreign Ministry holds press briefing

Only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the Asian Development Bank, and the Taiwan authorities are not eligible for its membership, said Qi Huaiyuan, director of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, at a press briefing for Chinese and

foreign correspondents in Beijing on March 8.

Qi said that the United States should, in a clear-cut manner, support China's demand for the expulsion of the Taiwan authorities from and admission of the Government of the People's Republic into the bank instead of setting up obstacles to it if it is determined to act in accordance with the commitments it made in the Sino-US joint communiques of 1978 and 1982 that there is only one China and that it recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China.

Referring to the Soviet proposal to move part of its SS-20 missiles from the European part of the Soviet Union to the Far East, Qi Huaiyuan said that the missiles being reduced should be destroyed rather than being transferred from one area to another. He said that to ensure progress in disarmament, both the Soviet Union and the United States should drastically cut their nuclear weapons of all types. The transfer of SS-20 missiles would not mitigate the menace to Europe but would aggravate the menace to Asia and the Far East.

Qi said that China's relations with the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have grown these years. China hopes that with efforts of both sides these relations will further develop. This is in the interest of China and these countries and their peoples.

Qi Huaiyuan also reaffirmed the consistent support of the Chinese Government and people to the Namibian people's struggle for liberation.

The Chinese Government, he said, has always condemned the

reactionary South African authorities for obstinately pursuing a racist policy and for its illegal occupation of Namibia. "We support the international conference to be held in Paris next month in support of the Namibian people's struggle for independence, and wish the conference every success," he added.

China, USSR sign trade agreement

A Sino-Soviet goods exchange and payments agreement for 1983 was signed in Moscow on March 10.

The agreement was signed by Jia Shi, head of the Chinese Government Trade Delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, and Ivan Grishin, head of the Soviet Government Trade Delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade.

The agreement indicates that trade between the two countries will expand greatly in 1983. According to the agreement, the Soviet Union supplies China with steel products, non-ferrous metal, timber, chemical fertilizers, cement, plate glass, chemical products and machinery, while China provides the Soviet Union with mineral products, meat and meat products, cooking oil and oil-bearing seeds, silks and satins, cotton, textiles and garments, products of light industry, tea, and livestock products.

CORRECTION: In the article "Dissemination of Marxism in China," Issue No. 11, p. 20, second paragraph, fifth line, "1840s" was misprinted as "1940s" in some copies.

*Non-Aligned Movement***Seventh summit successful**

THE New Delhi Non-Aligned Summit, which began on March 7, successfully concluded its work on March 12 after adopting a series of documents that lay down guiding principles for the future activities of the non-aligned movement.

Leaders of 100 non-aligned nations and organizations discussed a number of major world political and economic issues and achieved consensus on them. Many heads of state or government firmly upheld unity among the non-aligned countries and voiced strong desire to rid the non-aligned movement of superpower influences and to maintain the movement's purpose and principles. Adhering to the principle of seeking unanimity through consultation, they demanded that the erroneous practice of imposing one's views on others by abusing power, as was followed at the previous Havana summit, be changed.

The New Delhi conference came at a time when the world situation is becoming more turbulent and the international economy is going from bad to worse. Mired in serious economic recession, the Western developed countries have tried to shift the burden of the crisis on to the developing countries, thus causing enormous damage to the latter, including non-aligned nations. The summit put forward a series of positive measures in order to replace the present world politico-economic order with a new one.

The non-aligned movement has been gaining strength since

its emergence. Twenty-two years ago, when its first summit was held, it had only 25 members. Today it has a membership of 101, including most of the third world countries. It has become an active force in the international arena, and cannot be slighted.

Differences exist among the non-aligned countries, but they are understandable and can be resolved through consultations. The superpowers, however, try to take advantage of these differences and widen them, so that they can manipulate the non-aligned movement and alter its direction. Such attempts were made during the New Delhi summit, but were opposed by the majority.

Although the seat of Kampuchea was left vacant at the conference due to Vietnamese obstruction, this dispute is to be resolved through discussion within the non-aligned frame. On the question of Afghanistan, many state leaders expressed their opposition to the foreign invasion and their support for the Afghan people's struggle. The Political Declaration adopted by the summit contains a call

for the withdrawal of alien troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The conference voiced resolute support for the people's struggle for national independence, self-determination, a stop of foreign interference and national reunification in Palestine, Lebanon, Korea, Argentina, Namibia and the rest of southern Africa. The summit also called for a halt to the arms race and the realization of disarmament. All these just demands and appeals are a heavy blow to the hegemonistic policies of the superpowers.

The summit's Economic Declaration has proposed a series of positive measures to transform the existing international economic order. By setting forth these principles, the Economic Declaration will contribute to improving the third world economy and that of the entire world.

The Chinese Government and people appreciate and continue to support the non-aligned movement efforts to pursue its purpose and principles of independence, sovereignty and non-alignment, and highly appraise its positive role in international affairs.

— *Excerpts from March 15 "Renmin Ribao" editorial*

*Soviet Union***Attitude on Sino-Soviet talks**

A SOVIET vice-foreign minister declared in Moscow on March 3 that the Sino-Soviet consultations will not concern third countries and that it is a principle of the Soviet Union not to discuss with other coun-

tries the problems concerning third countries.

Before this vice-minister's statement, *Pravda* and other Soviet mass media, too, harped on the theme that consultations will not concern third countries.

It seems that the Soviet Union is showing respect for "third countries" by maintaining that the Kampuchea and Afghanistan issues and the problem of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia are "problems concerning third countries," so they cannot be discussed at the Sino-Soviet talks on normalization of relations. In fact, however, it is a pretext to sidestep these problems.

Threat to China's Security

As is well known, the Kampuchean issue was created by Viet Nam, with the support of Soviet-made tanks and artillery. The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea was carried out soon after the signing of a Soviet-Vietnamese treaty of "friendship and co-operation," in essence a military alliance pact. Without Soviet backing, Viet Nam would not be able to wage a war of aggression in Kampuchea, and hence no Kampuchean issue.

This Soviet support to Viet Nam has placed Democratic Kampuchea, a third country other than the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, under the military occupation of a foreign power and is endangering the security of many other countries in this region including the ASEAN states and China. As China's security is threatened, how can relations between China and the Soviet Union be normalized if they don't touch the Kampuchean issue in the Sino-Soviet talks?

The Afghanistan issue was created by the Soviet Union in a direct surprise attack. Up to now, 100,000 Soviet troops are still controlling the cities, towns and major communication points throughout Afghanistan. This aggression has obstructed peace in the South Asian region and threatened the security of

many countries in this area including China. This is yet another major obstacle to the normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union. Hence, to realize normalization of relations, the Chinese side naturally must discuss this problem with the Soviet side.

Soviet troops in Mongolia are part of the Soviet forces deployed near China's border areas. They make China the target of their attacks and seriously threaten the security of China and countries in the Far East. Therefore, the Soviet military buildup in Mongolia has gone beyond the scope of the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Mongolia and constitutes another obstacle to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. How can such a problem not be touched in the Sino-Soviet talks?

The Soviet authorities have time and again discussed with other countries "problems concerning third countries." From 1959 to 1977, leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States held many summit talks and in at least seven of them they discussed the problems of Germany, Berlin, Indochina, the Middle East and Europe. The Soviet Union and the United States are now negotiating in Geneva on the Euromissile issue which concerns Bri-

tain, France, West Germany and other European countries. This very Soviet vice-foreign minister himself discussed the Kampuchean issue with officials of Thailand and some other countries during his recent visit to some Southeast Asian countries.

Essence of Problems

The essence of these problems is that the problems "concerning third countries," which need to be discussed at the Sino-Soviet talks, all stem either from the use of military force by the Soviet Union or by another country with Soviet support, or from the Soviet deployment of armed forces in other countries. They constitute a grave threat to the security of China and the peace and stability of Asia and the world as a whole.

China's wish to discuss these problems is not an attempt to interfere in the "internal affairs" of the countries concerned, but only hopes to remove obstacles and push forward the process of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

If the Soviet authorities are sincere in wanting to promote Sino-Soviet relations, they should take real steps to remove the obstacles to normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

— Tang Tianri

West Germany

The general election campaign

THE general elections in the Federal Republic of Germany kept the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU) as the main party-bloc in the Bundestag, parliament. The

Social Democratic Party (SPD), which headed a ruling coalition from 1969 to last October, showed poorly. The Free Democratic Party (FDP), which changed its alignment in the October parliamentary manoeuvre

vres, also lost ground, but the Green Party won 5.6 per cent of the votes, enough to allow it to enter the parliament for the first time. Thus four party groups will be represented in parliament for the first time since 1961.

During the election campaign there was sharp debate over the Euromissiles. The NATO's "double-track decision" calls for deploying 96 cruise missiles and 108 Pershing II in West Germany alone, more than one-third of the total deployment. Therefore, the attitude of the future West German Government towards Euromissiles was viewed as having a direct bearing on the destiny of the NATO plan and the future of the Western alliance.

From the start, Washington and Moscow tried to influence the election results, expressing favour for one side and opposition to the other.

Unemployment was another disputed issue. The economic recession in West Germany is entering its fourth year; the gross national product decreased 1.2 per cent last year and 0.2 per cent in 1981. The number of jobless has rapidly increased, reaching 2.54 million in February. The government estimates that with a slow economic recovery that may appear this year, there will still be 2.35 million unemployed.

The rise and fall of the various forces in West Germany, the uncertain economic situation and superpowers' interference complicated these elections and enlivened the scramble between parties. It was difficult for the voters to decide which party to vote for based on such vital

issues as how to bring about an economic recovery and maintain peace and security. Finally, the electorate with uneasy minds concerning their future and that of their country went to the polls to cast their ballots.

Kohl's Victory

The reasons that the conservative alliance of the CDU/CSU defeated the SPD are:

1) Its consistent stress on the importance of unity within the NATO alliance since it came to power last October. This was reflected in its position on NATO's deployment of US missiles in West Germany if the US-Soviet talks on intermediate nuclear weapons fail to produce an agreement. And this was considered by many voters to conform with the country's security needs.

2) The conservative alliance is determined to decrease welfare funds, lower state borrowing, reform budgetary policies, increase public investment items and reduce business taxes in order to stimulate the economy and lessen unemployment. These economic policies received support from financial and business people.

3) The strong desire of the electorate for political stability played a decisive role. Prime Minister Kohl's government had been in office for only five months, so the voters favoured continuity.

4) Differences among the Social Democrats on the missile deployment issue and on nuclear energy upset their unity. Leadership shuffling also weakened them.

"Turn the Republic Green"

The entry of the ecologically minded Green Party into the Bundestag was a significant outcome as it broke the three-party-bloc system which has characterized the parliament for over two decades. Its orientation conforms with the ideology of some people, especially the young and reflects a current ideological trend in West Germany. The slogan "Turn the Republic Green" put forward during the elections had certain appeal. Its uncompromising stands (anti-nuclear, anti-war and pro-ecology) bring a new factor into the West German political equation.

— "Beijing Review" analyst
Ren Wenhui

El Salvador

Guerrillas gain ground

EL SALVADOR'S guerrillas have launched fierce counterattacks on government troops in the past few months. Military sources there say that the government offensive against the guerrillas has been stalled since the beginning of this year, and the guerrillas now have the advantage. To prop up the weakening ruling junta, the US Government recently proposed an additional US\$110 million in military aid to El Salvador.

Guerrillas Strengthen Capacity

Guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front launched a strong operation in January as a follow-up

to their large-scale attacks on government troops late last year.

On Jan. 31, guerrillas occupied Berlin, the second largest city in Usulután Province. For 13 days in mid-February, guerrilla troops surrounded Suchitoto, a big town 40 kilometres north of the capital San Salvador. They effectively resisted more than 4,000 government troops. And on Feb. 23, guerrillas recaptured another big town in north Chalatenango Province.

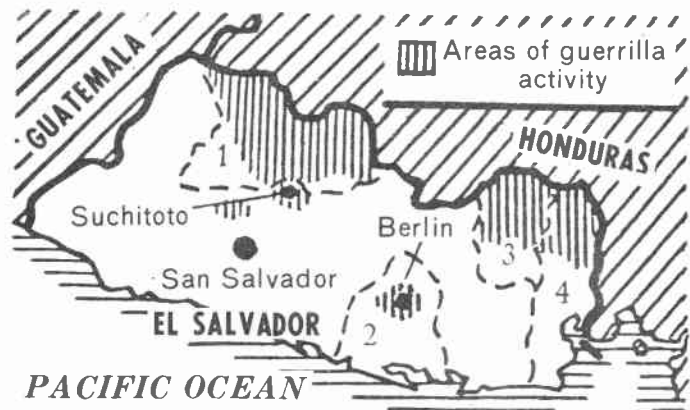
Guerrillas from various areas have co-ordinated their actions and, using flexible strategy and tactics, have inflicted losses on government troops while limiting their fighting effectiveness.

Guerrillas who were originally small scattered groups have now become armed troops and have launched successive operations against the government's army. An alliance of several main guerrilla groups launched a full-scale "general offensive" at the beginning of 1981, trying to topple the government and to seize political power. But they failed because of their own military weaknesses and increased US military assistance to the ruling junta. The recent campaigns against big cities, especially the occupation of Berlin, have shown that the fighting capacity of guerrillas is gaining strength, as is their internal unity.

Conflict in the Ruling Clique

The battles in El Salvador are an outcome of long years of rule by a feudal oligarchy. The Salvadorian people have no democratic rights and their economy is extremely unbalanced.

A military coup took place in El Salvador in October 1979, with an Executive Committee (a civilian-military junta) es-



1. Chalatenango Province
2. Usulután Province
3. Morazan Province
4. La Unión Province

tablished. The junta, backed by the United States, promised to introduce a series of reforms, including agrarian reform. However, these reforms would benefit the new ruling clique by weakening the power of the feudal landlords and hurting their interests, and thus they were resisted.

In spite of guerrilla opposition, the Salvadorian authorities held a Constituent Assembly election in March 1982, and the Assembly appointed a provisional president to replace the former executive committee.

But the March election did not bring El Salvador any closer to democracy or reform. On the contrary, it resulted in the control of the ultra-Right forces, close allies of the old oligarchy, over the Assembly and the government.

Last May, the Assembly ordered a halt to land reform and dismantled a number of measures that already had been taken. Many big landlords returned to their farms and took retaliatory actions against peasants. The Right-wing armed forces intimidated peasants, drove them off their land or even killed them.

The Christian Democratic Party and some soldiers, who

supported agrarian reform, firmly opposed the decision to halt the reform. In response, Right-wing terrorists have kidnapped and murdered some Christian Democratic Party officials in the government.

Conflicts in the army also have become sharper. As the Salvadorian authorities stick to their policy of military suppression of the guerrillas, the morale of the government troops is sinking, and soldiers often surrender to guerrillas. About 10-12 per cent of the government captives have joined the guerrillas. In face of the growing guerrilla resistance, a grave crisis is developing within the ruling clique.

Leaders of El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front have repeatedly proposed an unconditional dialogue with the government to seek a settlement of the conflict. However, the Salvadorian junta, backed by the United States, has rejected the proposal.

The fighting is expected to continue and the situation will remain in turmoil for the foreseeable future.

— Zhu Manting

Why the Crime Rate Is Declining

— Interview with Xie Heng, Director of Social Security Bureau under the Ministry of Public Security

CHINA'S crime rate, while low compared to many other countries, showed a further decline in 1982. To examine this phenomenon, our correspondent Zhang Zhiye recently interviewed Xie Heng, Director of Social Security Bureau under the Ministry of Public Security.

Question: Many people have noticed that public order is better now than it was several years ago. Can you give some insight into this observation?

Answer: The latest reports from the public security bureaus all over the country prove that public order took a turn for the better last year compared with previous years. The num-

ber of reported crimes declined by 15.9 per cent last year compared with 1981. The decline was 20 per cent in 18 major cities including Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Guangzhou. Fewer crimes were reported in higher crime areas like train stations, wharves and downtown districts of some cities. The number of reported crimes in rural areas dropped by 15.4 per cent.

Q: Which crimes show the greatest decline? And what about juvenile delinquency?

A: There was a general decline in reports of every kind of case. The biggest declines were in murder, harassment, robbery, and theft. Reported robberies dropped by nearly one-half (44.9 per cent) compared with 1981.

One significant change is that fewer young people are turning to crime. Statistics for 18 cities show a 12.8 per cent decline in juvenile delinquency among youths between the ages of 16 to 18.

Q: How do you compare China's public security with that of other countries?

A: China has always been safer than some countries. In some years, many reports stressed increased crime rates there. However, even when crime rose in these years compared to earlier years, the crime rate was far lower than that in many other countries. In 1979-81 for example, only 0.075 per cent of the population was convicted of crimes annually. By contrast, in the United States 5.22 per cent of the population was convicted of crimes in 1979, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The number of reported crimes in China is 1.3 per cent of the United States, according to the Associated Press.

Another difference with many Western countries is that more than 80 per cent of China's crimes are cases of theft, while violent crimes that endanger people's lives and security, such as homicide, robbery and rape, account for only 8 per cent.

Q: We know that "comprehensive measures"



Professor Zhu Xiwu, Vice-President of the Beijing Institute of Political Science and Law (right) and two lawyers give legal advice to Beijing residents.



Residents of a Shanghai juvenile reformatory learn to sew, a socially useful skill.

have been taken to reduce criminal cases. What effect has this had?

A: The restored social order of the last few years can largely be attributed to measures first adopted in 1979. In addition to the laws and the judicial agencies, we took "comprehensive measures" to mobilize the society as a whole, under the leadership of the Party and government organs at various levels, to maintain good social order.

All factories, enterprises, government organs, schools, neighbourhood committees, rural communes and production brigades are asked to design specific measures to prevent criminal activities within the areas under their jurisdiction, through different channels—ideological, political, economic, cultural and educational.

Q: Can you give some examples of such measures?

A: Last year we took steps in five areas. They were:

1. The development of social construction to create favourable conditions for stability. Thanks to the state policy of opening more channels to employment, the once acute problem of finding jobs for the youth has been alleviated. The 1982 statistics show 78,700 persons breaking the criminal law among the job-awaiting youth, a 15.5 per cent decrease compared with 1981.

Another factor for better social order was improved education in schools all over China

on subjects such as political ideals, moral integrity and resisting corrupt influences from abroad. Last year the number of criminal convictions among students fell 26.6 per cent below 1981.

One major reason for improved social order was the government's stress on socialist ethics over the past two years.

2. The emphasis on education among youths who committed minor offences. The public security bureaus are well aware that young offenders make up a

large portion of those convicted of crimes. The authorities feel that these youths' bad habits are not deep-rooted and that it is easier for them to be rehabilitated than it is for seasoned criminals. Therefore many resources are going into education of young offenders.

Many factories, mines, schools and neighbourhoods have formed special groups for this purpose composed of teachers, offenders' parents, neighbourhood committee cadres and the local police. In cities like Beijing and Tianjin such youngsters are helped to complete their schooling and find jobs. Nationally, the number of juvenile delinquents dropped 8.1 per cent between 1981 and 1982.

The following example illustrates the effect of taking such measures: Songhuajiang Prefecture of Heilongjiang Province in northeast China has 237 county leaders in its 11 counties. With the exception of 36 who are aged or weak, all of them personally helped in the re-educational

ANNOUNCEMENT

Beginning in this issue, we will print long and important official documents with separate page numbering while summarizing the highlights in the "Events & Trends" column. This will help those who wish to keep these long documents for their files and will allow us to regularize the organization of the magazine's contents for the benefits of our readers.

DOCUMENTS



The Radiance of the Great Truth of Marxism Lights Our Way Forward

Report at the Meeting in Commemoration of the
Centenary of the Death of Karl Marx

(March 13, 1983)

Hu Yaobang

Comrades and Friends,

We are gathered here today at this grand meeting to commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism, great teacher of the proletariat and of the exploited and oppressed masses throughout the world, and the most outstanding revolutionary and scientist in human history.

MARX was a German of the 19th century. But his influence far exceeds the limitations of time and place. He belongs to the whole of progressive mankind as well as to the proletariat of the world and all oppressed peoples and nations. As Frederick Engels said following Marx's death, Marx had fertilized with his powerful thought the proletarian movement of both the Western and Eastern hemispheres.¹ It was under the guidance of Marx's theory that the communists, the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in China embarked on the correct path of revolution and liberation in this enormous yet backward country of the East. The Chinese people have now accomplished the new-democratic and the socialist revolution and become masters of this great socialist country. We are creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, striving to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization and to fulfil the splendid programme set forth at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. All of us feel more deeply now that, without Marx's theory, China could not possibly have become what she is today. We have learnt from Marx, conscientiously studied and drawn wisdom and strength from his works, and shall continue to do so. Therefore, as we honour the memory of Karl Marx, who rests in eternal peace in London, let us today, at this

commemorative meeting held in the East, express our deepest gratitude to him.

Comrades and friends,

Marx's greatest contribution to mankind is his theory of scientific communism, which, formulated by Marx together with his closest comrade-in-arms Frederick Engels, equipped the proletariat and progressive people of the world with the most powerful ideological weapon for criticizing the old world, creating a new world and struggling for their own emancipation.

Marx was the first to combine materialism with dialectics and to apply dialectical materialism to the observation and examination of the history of human society, bringing to light the truths that, in the final analysis, material production constitutes the basis of man's social, political and ideological life taken as a whole and that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production constitutes the real motive force of historical development. He scientifically explained the role of class struggle in human history and the conditions under which classes come into being, develop and die out.

MARX was the first to discover the secret of the exploitation of labour by capital, namely, the law of surplus value, and to bring to light the circumstances of the birth and development of capitalism and its final historically inevitable replacement by communism.

He was thus the first to transform utopian socialism into scientific socialism, proving that the modern proletariat represents the new social force for the overthrow of the old system and the establishment of the new, and that it is the most promising and thoroughly revolutionary class.

Thereby, he brought about the most radical change in history, economics and philosophy and established a truly scientific world outlook and the most thorough theory of social revolution.

FROM its very birth, Marxism has demonstrated its mighty power with which no other ideological system can compare. Marx joined the revolution in his youth, and after he became a Communist, he directly led the workers' movement, identified himself with it and dedicated his whole life to the emancipation of the proletariat. His revolutionary activity was carried on in the 19th century, when European society was in the throes of violent upheavals and revolutionary storms. Under the test of these storms, particularly the severe test of the great struggle for the Paris Commune in 1871, a motley variety of previously vociferous schools of socialism, gradually died out. Marx's theory alone rapidly spread far and wide, because it truly represented the interests of the proletariat and the people at large and brilliantly summarized the experience of both the old and the new revolutionary movements. The proletarian party personally created by Marx developed from a small group of exiled revolutionaries into a "powerful Party that made the whole official world tremble."²

MARX and Engels have passed away, but Marxism has developed with increasing vigour. The past century has demonstrated, again and again, that the history of Marxism is one of triumph over successive onslaughts by various antagonistic ideological trends and over "encirclement and suppression" by reactionary forces. However serious the setbacks and violent the storms, its revolutionary drive has remained invincible. The past century has also repeatedly shown that the history of Marxism is one in which it has overcome various erroneous tendencies within the Marxist movement, thus continuing its forward march. Revisionism is erroneous because it discards the universal truth of Marxism; dogmatism, too, is erroneous because it regards Marxism as a set of rigid tenets. Both revisionism and dogmatism run counter to Marxism in that they separate the

subjective from the objective world and divorce theory from practice. Marxism is a developing science; it is the guide to revolution. Its vitality lies in its constant analysis and study of new situations and problems that arise in the course of practice and in its integration with concrete revolutionary practice at different times and in different countries. This is the well-spring of the unceasing enrichment and development of Marxism and the basic guarantee for its ever-growing revolutionary vigour.

The victory of the October Revolution led by V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of Russia represented the first momentous development of Marxism after the death of Marx and Engels. Lenin and his party formulated their own line and policies by integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the then latest developments of the world situation in the era of imperialism and with the concrete realities of Russia. From this arose the new development of Marxism, the birth of Leninism, the victory of the October Revolution and the realization of socialist revolution first in one country. If Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party had failed to act in the light of the actual conditions in Russia but had held rigidly to the specific conclusion of Marxism that the proletarian revolution must win victory simultaneously in the major capitalist countries, what would have been the result? There would have been no victory of the October Revolution.

THE triumph of the Chinese revolution is the most significant event in the history of Marxism's development after the October Revolution. Under the conditions then prevailing in the world's East, Comrade Mao Zedong and our Party integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities in China, relied closely on the peasants — the powerful ally of the working class in the rural areas and the main revolutionary force against feudalism — and found the correct path of encircling the cities from the countryside. From this flowed the birth of Mao Zedong Thought and the triumph of the Chinese revolution. If we had not taken this path, but had held rigidly to the traditional mode of revolution in

modern Europe, that is, the seizure of state power through urban armed uprisings, what would have been the result? There would have been no triumph of the Chinese revolution.

It follows that a basic lesson to draw from the history of the development of Marxism is that the Marxist Party of each country cannot succeed in revolution and construction unless it formulates its own line and policies in accordance with its own concrete conditions and with the international and domestic circumstances in which it finds itself.

FOR more than three decades since World War II, the world communist movement has followed a tortuous course of development. It has scored magnificent successes and victories, but has also experienced severe setbacks and failures, undergoing a bewildering process of turbulence and division. This complex historical phenomenon has given rise to a wide variety of reactions throughout the world. Some people have gloated over the setbacks, whereas others have lost their confidence, describing Marxism as being in a state of "crisis." However, amidst such shouts of "crisis," the Marxist parties and organizations of many countries, braving all kinds of attacks, have heroically and calmly carried on the fight. In the tortuous course of development all true Marxists and far-sighted people are discerning a most essential positive factor, i.e., politically and ideologically more and more Marxist parties and organizations have dared to break with blind faith, to emancipate their minds and to think for themselves, thus becoming able independently to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries. Facts have proved that on the questions of how to handle correctly the relations between the Parties of various countries and of what specific road of revolution to take, the Marxist parties in different countries have a much deeper understanding and are richer in experience and their level is clearly higher than before. Fundamentally, this has created the most important condition for the greater development of Marxism.

In our own Communist Party of China, a change of historic significance has taken place since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee in late 1978. Our Party fell into dire straits in the 10 years (1966-76) of the "cultural revolution." However, in spite of all the difficulties the Chinese people did not lose faith in Marxism; on the contrary, they were able to acquire a better understanding of its truth. In the short span of four years or so from the Third Plenary Session to the 12th National Congress of the CPC in September 1982, we fulfilled the arduous task of setting things to rights in our guiding ideology. In essence, this means that we have re-embarked on the road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the actual realities in China under the new historical conditions. This is the only correct road opened up for us by Comrade Mao Zedong. Our personal experience has made us appreciate keenly the brilliance of his thinking and practice and the tremendous wisdom and strength he brought to the Party and people when he adhered to this correct road through decades of activity. It has also made us realize that, deviating or departing from this correct road in the evening of his life, even such a great Marxist as Comrade Mao Zedong could not avoid going astray and making distressing mistakes. Therefore, by setting things to rights we mean restoring Mao Zedong Thought to its true essence and upholding and developing it. Some people are prattling right up to now that we have abandoned Mao Zedong Thought. This only shows that they have no idea of what Mao Zedong Thought means, that is, no idea of what Marxism means.

IN setting things to rights in ideology, we have resolutely shaken off the "Left" tendency and the personality cult that long fettered us, re-established the principle of seeking truth from facts, scientifically appraised the historical role of Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong, and restored and developed the Marxist principles guiding our Party life.

In setting things to rights politically, we have courageously discarded the erroneous

theory of "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" that did us so much harm, correctly re-analysed the contradictions in China's socialist society, achieved political stability and unity and shifted the focus of work of the whole Party.

IN setting things to rights in the agricultural system, we have resolutely corrected certain grave and prolonged misunderstandings regarding such questions as the socialist public economy and mass production, overcome the serious egalitarian error of "everyone eating from the same big pot" and created the system of responsibility for agricultural production characterized by contracting for specialized work and by payment being linked to output. In such ways the Marxist principle of "to each according to his work" and the principle of integrating the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are being genuinely implemented in the vast rural areas in the light of China's concrete conditions. The bold reform in agriculture has pioneered a correct road and given our 800 million peasants a free hand to fully tap their tremendous labour potential, develop a diversified economy and expand production in breadth and depth. It has led to a steady rise in purchasing power for means of production as well as for consumer goods and thus to the building up of an extensive socialist market. This has lent tremendous impetus to our socialist modernization drive as a whole, and will continue to do so. Far from losing its foothold or slipping back as some half-baked critics have claimed, socialism has become greatly consolidated and is taking big strides forward in our rural areas. This is because we have given up old forms that were divorced from realities — forms that were either uncritically copied from other countries or arbitrarily devised by ourselves — and have found new forms that are truly Chinese and suited to China's current rural conditions.

We have now entered the stage of creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. But in our economic, social and other activities, there still exist many erroneous

ideas and models that do not suit China's actual conditions and that have long fettered people's minds and seriously hampered the development of the productive forces. Only by proceeding from realities, breaking away from such ideas and models and instituting properly guided reforms step by step and in an all-round, systematic, resolute and orderly way can we create a new situation in all fields, better integrate the fundamental principles of Marxism with the concrete reality of our modernization drive and develop scientific socialism even further. In order to achieve the four modernizations (modernization of China's industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology), and to vigorously develop the productive forces, it is imperative to carry out reforms in both the relations of production and the superstructure. We are convinced that, by readjusting those links in the relations of production that are not in correspondence with the growth of the productive forces and those links in the superstructure that are not in correspondence with the requirements of the economic base, always provided that we adhere to the four cardinal principles* and the basic system of socialism, we will surely succeed in building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics and bring out to the full the immense creativeness latent in our hundreds of millions of people, so that the superiority of the socialist system will display itself still better. This, of course, cannot be accomplished in a short time, for it involves a process of constant improvement and progress. But it can be predicted that through one or two decades of hard struggle China, as an economically and culturally backward developing country with a population of one billion, will make historic progress in its modernization programme under the socialist system and that this will bring a new major victory for Marxism in the East at the turn of the century.

Comrades and friends!

Marx was not only a great revolutionary, but also a great scientist. One extremely im-

*These principles refer to adherence to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

portant factor which enabled him to found scientific communism was that he mastered all that was best in the culture and knowledge of mankind and integrated it firmly with the workers' movement. As Lenin said, the ideological sources of Marxism lay in its critical assimilation of three main trends of thought prevailing in the three most advanced countries of the time, that is, German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French utopian socialism.³ And Marx's theory was able to "win the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class" because he based himself "on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism," knowledge which enriched his conclusions.⁴ Marx's knowledge was extensive and expert. Rarely in the history of the world has any person achieved such breadth of scope and accomplished so much. Marx won the admiration of many honest scientists, thinkers and historians. The apologists of the old world tried to write him off or branded his theory as being thoroughly "outdated." But facts proved that this was mere wishful thinking. Generation after generation of scholars, young people, activists in the workers' movement, national revolutionaries and other people seeking change have continued to draw inexhaustible strength and confidence from Marxism. This would be inconceivable in regard to any flash-in-the-pan "new trend of thought." Marx's diligence and tenacity were amazing, and particularly in his rigorous approach to scholarly research, he set a worthy example for all scientific workers. Often persecuted by reactionary governments, he had to live abroad in exile, drifting from place to place. But his fighting will became even firmer and he never ceased to strive on along the road of revolution and science. All his life he was plagued by poverty, somewhat alleviated only with help from Engels. Four of his children died either in infancy or childhood and he could not even afford a small coffin for one daughter.⁵ He dedicated all his energies and wisdom and the choicest fruits of his scientific research to the working class and to all mankind. This spirit of utter devotion can move one to song and tears. Marx was indeed a working-class intellectual *par excellence*, and the most

outstanding intellectual representing the wisdom and conscience of mankind.

In speaking here of the importance of the mastery of humanity's cultural heritage to the success of Marx's great cause and of Marx as the most outstanding intellectual, I would like to take the opportunity to discuss at some length the correct attitude our Party, the Chinese working class and other working people should take towards knowledge and intellectuals.

SINCE our Party's founding more than 60 years ago, its main efforts have gone into leading the people of all our nationalities in the performance of two major tasks. One is the overthrow of the old world, the three big mountains (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism), and the other is the building of a new world, or the building of a powerful, modern socialist China. Knowledge and intellectuals were necessary for overthrowing the old world, and they are even more necessary for building the new. Furthermore, in a country like China with its low economic and cultural level, whether or not we are able to master modern science and culture is a pivotal factor determining success or failure in our construction. But it is precisely with regard to this key question that our understanding has been inadequate for so long and that we have for years been obsessed with erroneous ideas that depart from Marxism. Today, the correct attitude towards knowledge and intellectuals has therefore become a vital and urgent question in the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization.

It must be affirmed that our Party has had marked successes in handling the question of intellectuals. The founding and development of our Party cannot be separated from the efforts of revolutionary intellectuals. In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) entered a more arduous stage, a decision was taken, drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong, on "recruiting large numbers of intellectuals," and in

this well-known document he made an incisive Marxist analysis of the characteristics of the intellectuals in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China and laid down the policy of recruiting them boldly. History has already proved the importance of this strategic decision to the winning of victories in the anti-Japanese war, in the War of Liberation (1946-49) and in our cause after the founding of the People's Republic. In the early years after the birth of New China, our Party was, for some time, rather prudent and basically correct in its attitude towards intellectuals. In 1956, that is, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in his report at a meeting on the question of intellectuals convened on the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, systematically expounded the relationship between this question and the acceleration of socialist construction. For the first time, he pointed out in explicit terms that the overwhelming majority of China's intellectuals had already become a part of the working class, and issued the great call to "scale the heights of science." Under the Party's leadership, progress without parallel in Chinese history has been made in science, education and culture. There have been major achievements in science and technology, including such sophisticated items as the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, rocket carriers and man-made satellites. Not only have we recruited large numbers of intellectuals who were educated before liberation, but we have trained an even larger number of new intellectuals, among whom more than 4 million have received higher education. They constitute the backbone of our intellectual force today. And this contingent is growing steadily. They, along with the workers and peasants with whom they have identified themselves, are people we should rely on, for in their joint efforts lies our hope of attaining, by the end of this century, the advanced world levels of the 1970s and 1980s in science and technology.

But it should be noted that, from the late 1950s onwards, we gradually swerved away from the correct orientation and committed serious "Left" errors in our attitude towards

knowledge and intellectuals. The principal manifestations were contempt for knowledge and specialized studies, the stigmatizing as "bourgeois" of large numbers of intellectuals who loved their socialist motherland and had made important contributions to socialist construction, and discrimination and attacks against them. The result was that many intellectuals felt depressed and not a few were wronged. At the same time, efforts to carry out the strategic task of making our cadres at large better educated and professionally more competent were slackened or abandoned altogether. During the "cultural revolution" these tendencies reached heights of absurdity and whoever attached importance to knowledge and intellectuals was described as going "revisionist" and creating the danger of "subjugating the Party and nation." Thus, the effects of the "Left" mistakes concerning knowledge and intellectuals became an important component of the catastrophic upheaval of that distressing decade.

SINCE the smashing of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique in 1976, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party, there has been a marked turn for the better. In 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further expounded the thesis that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, thus bringing the Party's policy towards intellectuals back on to the right track of Marxism, as is now generally known. At the same time, however, it must be noted that the grave consequences of the prolonged "Left" mistakes are far from being liquidated either in our ideology and public opinion or in various political, economic and organizational measures adopted. The working class and other working people throughout the country, all Party comrades and primarily the leading cadres at different levels must gain a profound understanding of the Marxist concept on this major issue, so as to meet the urgent needs of vigorous expansion in our cause of socialist modernization. Time is as precious as gold to us. It is high time we solved this question thoroughly and without any hesitation.

Comrades and friends,

What lessons should we draw from the past twists and turns on the question of knowledge and intellectuals? And what truly revolutionary and scientific Marxist concepts should we establish in the light of them?

First, it is imperative that we fight against the incorrect tendency of isolating Marxism from the cultural achievements of mankind and setting it against the latter, that we establish the correct concept of valuing scientific and general knowledge and that we mobilize the whole Party and the whole people to strive to acquire knowledge of modern science and culture.

Where does Marxism come from? Fundamentally, it is no doubt the product of contradictions and of the workers' movements in capitalist society; at the same time it is the result of absorbing human knowledge accumulated over several thousand years. If the cultural achievements of mankind had not been applied to the scientific discovery of the laws governing historical development and to the definition of the fundamental and long-term interests of the working class, the movement of the workers could only have given rise to various kinds of theories such as syndicalism, economism, reformism and anarchism, but not to Marxism. Moreover, our comrades have all learnt through personal experience that to study Marxism one has to have a certain amount of knowledge. Simple class feeling can make one receptive to some isolated Marxist concepts, but is inadequate for a systematic understanding and good command of Marxism. In order to build a new world under the guidance of Marxism, apply and develop it in the great cause of China's modernization and use it to educate all the builders of socialism, it is all the more necessary that we make sustained efforts to critically assimilate new knowledge and the new achievements of modern science and culture. "Knowledge is power."⁶ It should be part of the fine qualities of us Communists and all builders of the future to value knowledge, em-

brace it, thirst after it and turn it into immense power for building a new world.

A fallacy that prevailed during the "cultural revolution" was that "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary he will be." It must be pointed out explicitly that human knowledge, that is, the knowledge of natural sciences, of production and technology, of history and geography, of different branches of modern social sciences studied under the guidance of Marxism and of operation and management as a reflection of the laws governing mass social production, as well as various other kinds of knowledge embodying the progress of mankind and the demands of progressive classes in history—all such knowledge contains truths accumulated by mankind in the long process of understanding and changing the world, is the product of its hard labour and can be a weapon in its fight for freedom. The more knowledge people acquire, the better able they will be to know the world and to change it. This is a sign of social progress. Even certain things which played an important role in history but are imbued with prejudices of the reactionary classes, should be critically analysed by Marxists and whatever is useful in them can be assimilated. What really matters is the standpoint, views and methods people apply in regard to knowledge. In general, it is always better to have more knowledge than less, and it definitely must not be said that "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary he will be."

WHEN we state that Marxism is based on the fine cultural achievements of mankind, we naturally include natural sciences in that basis. It is particularly important to make this point clear today when we are concentrating on socialist modernization. Here I would like to stress the importance Marx and Engels attached to natural sciences. By delving deeply into the theories of mathematics and natural sciences and into a wealth of technical material and by applying the results of natural sciences, especially of the three great discoveries⁷ in the 19th century, they substantiated the theory that

things in nature develop through interconnection and mutual transformation, thereby laying a solid foundation in natural sciences for the Marxist world outlook. Two works by Engels, *Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Duhring*, give concentrated expression to the results of their studies in this area. Particularly noteworthy is Marx's famous thesis that science constitutes a productive force and has always played the role of a revolutionary motive force of history. Taking his stand with the proletariat which represents the advanced productive forces, Marx highly valued the role of science and technology in propelling social development and vividly referred to certain epoch-making achievements in these fields as "revolutionists of a rather more dangerous character"⁸ than some famous revolutionary persons of his time. When the techniques for generating electricity were still in an embryonic stage, he perceived discerningly that mankind would soon see the dawn of the epoch of electricity. When the world's first experimental electric transmission line was set up, Marx and Engels gave it the closest attention, foreseeing that in future electricity would reach remote corners of the world and "become the most powerful lever in eliminating antithesis between town and country."⁹ So Marx, while fighting for the overthrow of the old world, already paid great heed to developments in science and technology. Should not we, who today shoulder the great historical responsibility of building a new China, give science and technology still greater attention and all the more conscientiously study and master modern science and culture? There can be no doubt that once our hundreds of millions of working people, who have become masters of their country, are armed with Marxism and modern science and culture, they will become more powerful and dynamic productive forces and be able to perform world-shaking deeds.

Second, it is imperative that we oppose the erroneous tendency of separating intellectuals from the working class, counterposing them to the workers and regarding them as an "alien force," that we confirm the correct concept of intellectuals as a part of the working class and that we strengthen a hundredfold the unity be-

tween workers and peasants on the one hand and intellectuals on the other.

WE must respect and rely on the intellectuals as much as we respect and rely on the workers and peasants in the great cause of socialist construction. In the Marxist view, intellectuals do not constitute an independent class. Before the founding of New China, ours was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Although intellectuals were for the most part linked to the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie in their social status, the overwhelming majority of them were at the same time oppressed by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Therefore a number joined the revolution directly, others sympathized with it and a great many cherished anti-imperialist and patriotic aspirations. Those reactionary intellectuals who did obdurately range themselves against the revolutionary people and served the ruling classes were of course a force alien to the proletariat, but they were very few in number. When our socialist society was built, the conditions of China's intellectuals underwent a fundamental change. The overwhelming majority of them coming over from the old society have been working energetically for socialism and have been educated in Marxism and tempered and tested over a long period since the founding of New China. Moreover, over 90 per cent of our intellectuals today have been trained in the new society and, in their overwhelming majority, come from worker, peasant or intellectual families. Although major differences in their form of labour still exist between intellectuals on the one hand and workers and peasants on the other, this does not keep us from stating that in terms of their means of living and whom they serve, on the whole the intellectuals in our country have definitely become a part of the working class. This change is a great achievement in the history of the Chinese revolution and in our socialist development.

In the new period of socialist modernization, intellectuals have a particularly important role to play. In the Marxist view and judging from the latest trend in the development of science

and industry, essential differences between manual and mental labour will gradually diminish and eventually disappear, and there will be successive generations of new people in whom manual labour is integrated with mental labour on an ever higher level. But this is a long-range perspective and will not happen right away. In other words, for a fairly long time to come scientific and cultural knowledge and mental work will continue to be relatively concentrated among one section of the population — the intellectuals. Therefore, the intellectuals, who constitute the trained mental power indispensable to socialist modernization, are a valuable asset to our country. In our society we must create an atmosphere in which knowledge and intellectuals are valued, and we must take effective steps to improve their working and living conditions. This should be taken as "capital construction," and of the most essential kind at that. We should make it clear to our people at large that, generally speaking, in socialist society it is an essential condition for mental labour that people who engage in it, or who have attained a relatively high scientific and educational level, should receive more material remuneration than those who do manual labour or whose scientific and educational level is relatively low and, more importantly, that this will greatly contribute to the expansion of production and to the improvement of the material and cultural life of the people as a whole. At the same time, this will serve to encourage the working class and all other working people to become more educated and the children of workers and peasants to seek education and study science, thus swelling the ranks of the intellectuals. It is obvious that this policy conforms to the law of the development of socialism and to the immediate and long-term interests of the working class and the whole people and that it is a Marxist policy. Conversely, the previous erroneous "Left" policy ran counter to the principles of Marxism and socialism.

WHEN we speak of respect for knowledge and intellectuals, in no sense do we mean that manual labour and manual workers may be dis-

dained or belittled. This is absolutely impermissible in our socialist society. Any type of labour, manual or mental, is great and glorious in itself so long as it benefits society. In China, more than 90 per cent of our working people are engaged in different kinds of manual labour. In the final analysis, all our wealth is jointly produced by both manual and mental labour. Naturally, with progress in modernization, the fruits of mental labour will take on ever-increasing prominence and the proportion of mental workers in the working population will gradually grow. However, this process will itself involve a steady improvement in the educational and scientific level of manual workers, a steady increase of the elements of mental labour in manual labour and a switch from manual to mental work by group after group of people according to society's needs. At the same time, the productive activities pursued with creativeness by the masses of workers and peasants, particularly skilled veteran workers as well as dexterous artisans in the rural areas, constitute an inexhaustible source of scientific and technological progress. Any idea or practice that isolates mental from manual labour and pits one against the other is utterly wrong. In socialist society, intellectuals who hold workers and peasants in contempt and are divorced from them will find it hard to play their due role and will be corrected by society. It should furthermore be borne in mind that however high the technological level in production that may be reached in the future, the elements of manual labour can never be completely eliminated from man's labour, much less can technical and artistic handwork or heavy manual labour under special circumstances and in emergencies ever disappear. In this sense there will still be manual labour even ten thousand years from now. All in all, the distinction between manual and mental labour in socialist society is nothing more than a division of work and a difference in degree of complexity. In no way is one superior and noble and the other inferior and ignoble. I am making this point because now, as we lay emphasis on valuing knowledge and intellectuals, we must guard against the wrong tendency of disdaining and belittling manual labour and also because in

China, with its thousands of years of feudal history, the outworn concept of social hierarchy expressed in the saying "those who do mental labour rule and those who do manual labour are ruled" is deeply entrenched. Engels referred to the pernicious habit of disdain for labour as a poisoned sting left behind by the slave system.¹⁰ We must at all times keep a watchful eye on this poisoned sting and see to its removal.

IN saying that knowledge and intellectuals should be valued, we certainly do not imply that intellectuals are perfect in every way, or that they have no weaknesses to overcome. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals have each come, under specific historical circumstances, to possess certain strengths and weaknesses. Whether ideologically, professionally or in work performance, our intelligentsia taken as a whole cannot as yet fully meet the new and higher demands set by our socialist modernization drive. In the new period, we hope that while taking Marx and Engels, the most outstanding intellectuals, as shining models, inheriting and carrying forward the glorious traditions of revolutionary Chinese intellectuals since the May 4th Movement of 1919 and the December 9th Movement of 1935, and learning from the spirit of dedication of comrades like Peng Jiamu, Luan Fu, Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, Lei Yushun and Sun Yefang, our intellectuals will study Marxism more diligently, apply themselves more assiduously to the pursuit of new knowledge, go among the masses and dig into practical work, consciously strengthen their sense of organization and discipline and strive to transform their own subjective world and become both red and expert in the course of the great struggle to transform the objective world. The experience of all advanced intellectuals has testified to the fact that none of them, not even highly prestigious specialists and scholars, can rest on their laurels in face of the rapid scientific and social progress, but have constantly to raise their ideological and professional levels. It has also proved that only when intellectuals identify themselves more closely with the workers and peasants and wholeheartedly serve the people can they put their talents to the best use, bring their initiative

into full play and truly turn their knowledge into a mighty force for enhancing the people's well-being.

Ninety years ago, Engels wrote a letter to the International Congress of Socialist Students, expressing the ardent hope that from among them "the intellectual proletariat" would emerge. Taking their place in the same ranks as the manual workers, he added, such intellectuals could play a great role in revolution alongside their brothers, the manual workers.¹¹ Today, under the new historical conditions in China, Engels' hope is being realized on a countrywide scale. However, some people now say that "while Number One has been shunted aside, Number Nine is soaring to the skies."^{*} It is not right to describe workers as "Number One" and intellectuals as "Number Nine." As for the assertion that "Number Nine" is soaring to the skies, this is not true. We maintain that under the leadership of the Party, workers, peasants and intellectuals join hands and work shoulder to shoulder so that they can all soar to the skies, the new skies of socialist modernization.

Third, it is imperative that we oppose the erroneous tendency of divorcing Party leadership from expert leadership or setting the former against the latter, that we implant the correct concept that all leading personnel must strive to be experts and that we ensure that our cadres become better educated and more professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded.

That our socialist modernization needs knowledge and needs intellectuals is a guiding idea which must be embodied, first and foremost, in the reform of the leading organs at all levels and of all departments, so that our cadres will be younger, better educated and more pro-

^{*} Here "Number One" refers to the workers whereas "Number Nine" refers to the intellectuals because, during the "cultural revolution," they were placed ninth, after the landlords, the rich peasants, the counter-revolutionaries, the bad elements, the Rightists, the renegades, the special agents, and the inveterate capitalist-roaders. — *Tr.*

professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded. People may ask: Didn't we win our revolutionary wars even though the educational level of our cadres wasn't very high? True, due to the protracted rural guerrilla fighting, our Party cadres lacked knowledge of modern science and culture during the war years. Even in those circumstances, however, our Party laid great stress on the planned training of large numbers of cadres and troops. We ran many kinds of cadre schools in Yanan and other base areas and in the liberated areas. We studied diligently and conscientiously and acquired much knowledge about military, social, economic and cultural affairs urgently needed in the revolutionary wars, the building of revolutionary base areas and work in the Kuomintang areas. Thousands upon thousands of fine leaders were brought up at different levels from among the cadres of both worker-peasant and intellectual origin, and many of them became specialists in military affairs, agrarian reform, united front work, financial and economic affairs, propaganda, cultural and educational work, and so on. And the comrades forming the leading core of the Central Committee of the Party that directed our entire struggle and the large numbers of outstanding Party leaders all attained a high educational and theoretical level. They studied questions concerning the Chinese revolution comprehensively and profoundly and summed up the laws of development of Chinese society, thus evolving the set of systematic and scientific theories on the Chinese revolution known as Mao Zedong Thought. History shows that, far from being uneducated and ignorant, the cadres of our Party were intelligent and capable people who had a good command of the knowledge urgently needed in the revolutionary struggles of the time and were, therefore, able to vanquish the enemy. The situation today is radically different from that in the past. Socialist modernization, being an entirely new task, is much broader in scale and far more complex in nature, involving many more branches of learning than the tasks we faced before. Military work, too, has become more specialized. Under these circumstances, to rely merely on past knowledge and experience is far from adequate. It is a pressing necessity

of the current struggle to master modern science, technology and culture. Is it not, then, entirely correct, necessary and in conformity with the requirements of historical development for us now to set the higher demands of training better educated and more professionally competent cadres?

PARTY leadership involves political, ideological and organizational leadership, leadership in matters of principle and policy, and inspection and supervision of work in various fields. It cannot — and should not — monopolize specific professional, technical and administrative work. This being so, what need is there for the Party's leading cadres at all levels to become more professionally competent and turn into experts? In our socialist modernization drive today, correct political leadership means adhering to the four cardinal principles in all fields, integrating the Party's principles and policies with the concrete practice and professional work of the given locality or department and mobilizing and organizing the positive factors in various quarters so as to effectively fulfil the tasks advanced by the Party. To achieve this, it is imperative not only that the leading Party cadres at all levels master the basics of general and scientific knowledge, but also that they acquire the professional knowledge needed by the particular work they lead, understand the actual conditions in the relevant professions and grasp their specific laws. Otherwise, their leadership will be nothing more than armchair politics, pointless and fruitless effort, or arbitrary direction. Our modernization programme would get nowhere if we were to rely on such leadership. To lead, therefore, one must strive to be expert.

From the viewpoint of the theory of knowledge, we must correctly understand and handle the relationship between the general and the particular if we are to properly integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of our socialist modernization and properly integrate the Party's principles and policies with concrete professional work in various fields. Marxism holds that the general and the particular are interrelated and that the former resides in the latter. Only with a deep under-

standing of the particular will it be possible to have a better grasp of the general; and an understanding of the general should be followed up with a continuous deepening of knowledge of the particular. Comrade Mao Zedong regarded this dialectical relationship between the general and the particular as part of the quintessence of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge and as an important principle of method of thinking and of leadership which we must always bear in mind. It will be very dangerous if our leading comrades rest content with generalized "political leadership" without trying to gain a deep understanding of the particular and to acquire the professional knowledge necessary for effective leadership, or if they simply refuse to do so, thinking that it is perfectly normal for laymen to lead experts. For to act thus will be to negate outright the necessity for greater professional competence and to obstruct both the steady deepening of knowledge and the continuous improvement of leadership.

IN fact, the question of making our Party and government functionaries better educated and more professionally competent was raised as early as in the 1950s. At the First Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress held in September 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that, reflecting the course of development of the Chinese revolution, the composition of the Central Committee would change later to include many engineers and scientists. However, this question, along with that of lowering the average age of leading cadres at various levels, was not solved in good time. With the present organizational reform as a good start, the Central Committee of the Party is determined to solve all these questions gradually in conjunction with one another and through the succession of new cadres to the old. They will be solved by the following methods: Large numbers of old cadres are mobilized to leave their posts and help and guide young and middle-aged cadres and pass on experience to them; many intellectuals who possess both political integrity and professional competence and are in the prime of life, are recruited into the leading bodies at all levels; and middle-aged cadres fairly experienced in

leadership and having a fairly high level of political understanding but little schooling are warmly encouraged and helped to improve their level of education. These are strategic measures of far-reaching import for ensuring the incessant vigorous development of our Party's cause.

Comrades and friends,

AS we commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, we are happy to see that, in China today, the central task of the communist movement initiated by Marx and Engels has become the struggle to bring about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to turn the country into a modern, powerful socialist state with a high level of democracy and civilization. This grand and arduous task is one of the greatest creative undertakings in the history not only of the East but also of all mankind. Some of the major problems involved in accomplishing this task have never before been encountered by the world's Marxists and hence there is no precedent for solving them. This demands that we Chinese Communists and cadres in all fields learn anew in the unfolding great struggle.

On the eve of the founding of our People's Republic, our Party put forward the slogan of learning anew. In his article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong said emphatically: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties." He added: "We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know. We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are." Facts have proved that our learning anew in that period ensured the success of our Party's shift from fighting a revolutionary war to seizing state power and ensured the establishment and consolidation of our People's Republic. It is regrettable that we did not persevere in such study and, particularly, that we did not put before our leading cadres at all levels the specific task of systematically learning modern science and culture, and especially of acquiring varied

professional knowledge — even less did we adopt any long-term and effective measures for that purpose. Faced with the task of socialist modernization in this new historical period, our Party has now once again put forward the slogan of learning anew. This effort to learn anew — the second following the founding of our People's Republic — has two equally important aspects: One is to acquire a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought on which the theory guiding our thinking and all our actions is based, and the other is to acquire a better grasp of various branches of social and natural sciences, modern technology and scientific operation and management. This effort, which will run through the whole process of China's four modernizations, must be organized in a planned and systematic way and persisted in for a long time. Together with the planned vigorous expansion of all our educational and cultural undertakings, it will mean a great, nationwide march towards the heights of science, involving hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals in all fields of endeavour.

AT this commemorative meeting, as we put forward the task of learning anew we think naturally of the brilliant example Marx and Engels set for us in this respect. For more effective research in political economy, Marx, in his 40s, reviewed his knowledge of algebra and learnt calculus, an advanced branch of mathematics in his time; in addition, he made a point of attending lectures on technology. In the course of establishing the dialectical materialist outlook on nature, Engels determinedly embarked on a systematic study of mathematics and natural sciences when already past 50. Recalling this experience, Engels said, "I went through as complete as possible a 'moulting,' as Liebig calls it, in mathematics and natural sciences."¹² What was meant by this "moulting"? The famous 19th-century German chemist Justus Liebig had said, "Chemistry is moving forward at an incredible speed, and chemists, wishing to keep up with it, are in a state of constant moulting. The first feathers, unsuitable for flight, fall out of the wings, but new ones grow

in their stead and flight becomes more powerful and easier."¹³ This refers to the precious enterprising spirit of scientists who strive constantly to update their knowledge, never cease in their research effort and dare to destroy the old and establish the new. Why can't the effort being made by us Chinese Communists and people to learn anew be compared to moulting? China, with its one billion people, is like a giant roc whose "wings obscure the sky like clouds."¹⁴ Once the old feathers unsuitable for flight fall out of the wings and new ones grow in their stead in the process of learning anew, our country is bound to soar to the skies more powerfully and with greater ease, flying over one peak after another towards its goal.

Comrades and friends,

A full century has elapsed since the death of Marx. For more than a hundred years, Marx's theory, at first a "spectre" haunting Europe, has grown into a mighty force that has profoundly changed world history and will continue to do so. Since its birth, Marxism has been a compass guiding the world proletarians in their united struggle and guiding the oppressed nations of the world in their struggle for political and economic independence. At present, although there are many obstacles on their road of advance, both these forces are a thousand times more powerful than in Marx's time. Marxism also enables us scientifically to pinpoint the source of war and find the only way to eliminate it. Although today mankind is still faced with the menace of a massive war of aggression, we are convinced that through the common struggle of the working class, the oppressed nations and the whole progressive mankind, light will eventually triumph over darkness.

The great ideal of communism advanced by Marx and Engels inspires the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations in their struggle for emancipation and inspires all progressive mankind in its struggle for a bright future. These struggles are converging into a worldwide, irresistible historical tide propelling social progress.

Marxism is immortal. Let the radiance of the great truth of Marxism for ever light our way forward!

NOTES

¹See Frederick Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of March 14, 1883, in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx — Biographical Memoirs*, Eng. ed., Charles H. Kerr & Company Co-operative, Chicago, 1901, p. 46.

²See Frederick Engels, "Closing Speech Delivered at the International Congress of Socialist Workers," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Vol. 22, p. 408.

³V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 19, pp. 23-24.

⁴V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 31, p. 286.

⁵See Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an Eventful Life," *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow.

⁶See Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning and Novum Organum*, the Colonial Press, 1900, p. 315.

⁷These refer to the discovery of the law of the conservation and conversion of energy, the discovery of the cell and the discovery of the evolution of living beings.

⁸See Marx, "Speech at the Anniversary of *The People's Paper*," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Vol. 14, p. 655.

⁹See "Engels' to E. Bernstein, February 27-March 1, 1883," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, Vol. 35, p. 445.

¹⁰See Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1978, p. 181.

¹¹See Engels, "To the International Congress of Socialist Students," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Vol. 22, p. 415.

¹²Frederick Engels, "Prefaces to the Three Editions," *Anti-Dühring*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 15-16.

¹³*Ibid.*, Note 12, p. 449.

¹⁴See Chapter I, "Transcendental Bliss," *Chuang Tzu*, edited by H. A. Giles, Eng. ed., Kelly & Walsh Ltd., Shanghai, 1926, p. 1.



Research on Juvenile Delinquency

A NUMBER of social scientists are compiling the nation's first book on research into juvenile delinquency, according to Zhang Liqun, Chairman of the Chinese Society for Research on Juvenile Delinquency.

Zhang said the 400,000-word volume, entitled *Study of Juvenile Delinquency*, will provide a systematic examination of this social ill in China, and will discuss the measures the nation can adopt to prevent and reduce juvenile crime as well as to help the erring youngsters.

Research on juvenile delinquency is a new branch of social science in China. It covers law, juvenile psychology, juvenile psychiatry, sociology and other subjects.

The Chinese Society for Research on Juvenile Delinquency was established during a national forum on youth offenders in Nanning last June. Its purpose is to study youth crime, which increased after the decade of turmoil (1966-76). It seeks to determine the objective laws governing the occurrence, characteristics and changes in delinquency and to seek effective ways to solve this problem.

More than 200 papers and reports on this subject have been presented to the society over the past year. At a recent meeting of the council of the society, members agreed to focus research on juvenile delinquency in large and medium-sized cities, among young workers and students wandering about the street in particular, on the characteristics of young offenders and on crime prevention.

In China, the classification of "juveniles" applies to people in the age group between 14 and 25—they make up more than 50 per cent of the population. Government statistics indicate that a large proportion of the nation's criminals is in this group, particularly in urban areas.

The society's chairman believes that strengthening the study of juvenile delinquency will be a significant contribution to raising a young generation which is healthy in mind and to maintaining social stability and promoting economic construction.

In addition to this society, each of the four institutes of political science and law in China has established a juvenile delinquency research department. Similar research units are attached to the judicial departments, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Women's Federation and the Communist Youth League of China.

Discussions on the causes and laws governing juvenile delinquency have also been organized in the cities—Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin—and in the provinces of Liaoning, Hebei and Hunan in the past year.

The Chinese Society for Research on Juvenile Delinquency expects to organize two more forums this year to discuss the characteristics of young offenders and the way to mobilize the family and society as a whole to effectively control juvenile delinquency.

tion of 4,363 youngsters who had violated the law. Today 3,606 of the offenders have stopped making trouble and 1,258 of them are completely rehabilitated. In 1982, the number of criminal cases in the prefecture dropped by 26.7 per cent and only 0.054 per cent of the population broke the law.

3. Following the nationwide implementation of the production responsibility system, a similar responsibility system was established for public security. Under this system, the maintenance of security in the factories, mines, enterprises, rural communes and production brigades is closely tied to the workers' and commune members' political dignity and their economic benefits. Units that can maintain good security receive citations and material incentives. However, those that do not are criticized or penalized.

4. Self-governance and self-education at the grass roots. In many areas urban and rural residents have worked out local rules that encourage community members to be law-abiding. Simultaneously, the people are called upon to fight against criminal activities. The mass media has repeatedly cited heroes and heroines who have helped put criminals behind bars.

Take Shanghai as an example. In 1982 alone, public security agencies received a total of 14,000 letters and pieces of information exposing numerous crimes. Criminal cases dropped by 33.5 per cent and major crimes dropped by 22.2 per cent compared with 1981.

5. Improvements in efficiency of the public security agencies through professional and technical training for security personnel. In 1982, 75 per cent of the cases were solved,

a 4.4 per cent increase over 1981. Among the serious crimes, the percentage was 89.3 per cent. This has resulted in the disintegration of criminals. In 1982, about 6,200 criminals in 18 big cities handed themselves over to the public security agencies.

Q: What are the problems that still exist in China? What measures are you ready to take?

A: There are still unsatisfactory aspects of our work. We still have a few cases that threaten people's lives and security, such as murder, rape and robbery. The number of cases is small but the consequences are serious.

One reason these crimes occur is that in some grass-roots units, no effective measures have been taken to prevent persons from becoming criminals. Some minor disputes which might have been solved through mediation or persuasion were allowed to intensify and develop into crimes. For instance, 90 per cent of the murder cases are property disputes, lovers' or marital quarrels, and disputes over the right of house sites or disagreements over the right to use irrigation facilities in the rural areas. Only 10 per cent of all murders are committed in connection with robbery or rape.

China currently is conducting a series of reforms. The public security agencies are no exception. The main guideline of our reform is to encourage security officers to become involved in their communities, to institute comprehensive and effective crime prevention measures and to educate and help youths who commit minor offences.

In the meantime, we will continue to cooperate closely with the judicial departments to deal promptly and decisively with the very small number of criminals who commit serious crimes. This will further decrease the crime rate and create conditions for a fundamental change in the social order.

A Soldier Reforms A Thief

ZHU Boru, a middle-aged regimental officer in the People's Liberation Army, has been dubbed a "living Lei Feng" in numerous media reports.

Lei Feng, a PLA soldier who died on duty in the early 1960s, was a popular hero highly praised for the selfless life he led.

In China, advanced models are glad to help and educate those who have fallen behind or who have been led astray. The following story illustrates one of the many good deeds attributed to Zhu Boru.

Zhu Boru was riding a bus home from work one afternoon early last year, when he felt someone's hand reaching for the money in his pocket. He grabbed the thief, a lean and shy youth, and confronted him with his crime. Other people on the bus were angry and wanted to teach the youth a lesson. Zhu stopped them and said, "Don't beat him. I'll take him to the public security bureau."

But Zhu Boru led the youth not to the bureau, but into his own home. Then Zhu asked him, "Have you eaten anything?"

"No," came the reply.

"Then, wait a moment."

The young man was surprised to see Zhu prepare a meal for him. Zhu smiled "You do not look like a hardened thief. I want to talk with you," he said.

Zhu learnt that the young man was from Hunan Province and that after he completed senior middle school, he loitered about and developed the bad habit of hankering after money and pleasure. Zhu seriously criticized the youth's erroneous ideas and immoral behaviour.

"A man with sound morality gains happiness from his own labour, that is, he earns a happy life. A noble-minded person takes pleasure in alleviating other people's miseries," he told the youth.

In order to help and educate the young man, Zhu Boru invited him to stay in his home. At that time, Zhu's wife was hospitalized. He asked his two children to show respect for the young man.

The young man accepted the invitation. But he was so moved that he could not sleep. He said to Zhu Boru, "I was wrong. Please show me the right road."

(Continued on p. 28.)

Crises in West European-US Relations

by Ding Yuanhong

The relationship of both "co-operation and disputes" between the United States and West European countries has undergone a new change in substance, as expressed mainly in their differences over policy towards the Soviet Union.

The clash of interests is the cause of their ever-sharpening contradictions. Different approaches in strategic thinking, the change in the relative balance of strength and economic difficulties all add fuel to the flames.

Although no real disruption of the alliance is likely to take place, these contradictions will produce far-reaching aftereffects.

MUTUAL recriminations and open confrontation between the United States and the major EEC countries (France, West Germany, Britain and Italy) over the latter's loans to the Soviet Union for the natural gasline from Siberia to Western Europe have further aggravated the differences and contradictions between the United States and Western Europe. This dispute has become increasingly apparent since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Although tense consultations and bargaining have produced a temporary *modus vivendi*, the basic issues have not been resolved. This recent quarrel has made a dent in the Atlantic alliance. The latest development in West European-US relations affects the world strategic balance and merits close attention.

Differences Grow

The relationship between Western Europe and the United States is commonly known as an alliance of both "co-operation and disputes." Indeed, in the past three decades or so, contradictions have all along existed in their relations and on many occasions sharp differences of opinion have arisen. For instance, in the 1950s the United States took advantage of the Suez war to move into the Middle East by ejecting British and French influence there. In the 1960s President Charles de Gaulle decided that France would withdraw from NATO and forced US troops stationed in his country to leave. In the 1970s Western Europe refused to support the US pro-Israel Middle East policy, the United States and Western Europe quarrelled over the "Year of Europe" question, etc.

The present crisis in their relations, however, is somewhat different from previous ones. Whereas their past differences were generally confined to one particular field or problem, the present crisis is one of very wide-ranging economic, political as well as military dimensions. It is manifested in the clash of economic interests caused by higher US interest rates, US restrictions on the import of West European iron and steel, their competition in the export of agricultural produce and in East-West trade, and disputes over the deployment of nuclear weapons in the European theatre, over Middle East policy, Central American policy, the South-North talks, etc. These disputes have erupted one after another and have been so heated that the two sides have not been able to come to terms. More important, the core of their contradictions is the question of policy towards the Soviet Union. At present, a sharp difference of opinion on this fundamental question has arisen in the North Atlantic Alliance founded mainly to cope with the Soviet Union. The seriousness of the question is quite obvious. Although present West European-US relations are still conducted within the framework of "co-operation and disputes," the development of recent events indicates that a great change has taken place in their relations, that their differences and contradictions are strategic in nature, not tactical.

Viewed from the changes in the strength of the United States relative to the West European countries and the respective roles they have played in the international arenas in the past 30 years, the alliance between the United States and Western Europe has gone through the following four stages.

The stage from the founding of Atlantic alliance following World War II to the establishment of the EEC in 1957. During this stage, the United States was in an absolutely superior position in every field. Western Europe relied entirely on US military "protection" and its economic reconstruction was dependent on US "aid." It was basically at the beck and call of the United States.

The stage from the establishment of the EEC to 1973, the year when the community was expanded to embrace nine member states. During this stage, the United States was weakened by

its protracted involvement in the Viet Nam war and by other problems. Some leading West European countries, on the other hand, to protect their own interests, had gradually achieved economic integration and thus freed themselves from economic dependence on the United States, although, politically, they still had to comply with US strategic demands.

The stage from 1973 to the close of the 1970s. This stage was marked by the further development of the multipolarization of world power. The third world, which used oil as a weapon, grew rapidly in strength. The capitalist international monetary system based on the dollar began to collapse. Western Europe's economic power continued to rise, and the Soviet Union's contest with the United States for world hegemony intensified. Politically, Western Europe moved towards independence from the United States, and diplomatically, pursued its own approach to some major world problems.

As the world enters the 1980s, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, find themselves in a much weaker position to control and influence world events. The tendency towards the multipolarization of the world is irreversible. The alliance between Western Europe and the United States, established against the background of the bipolar cold war between the East and West with the United States as its undisputed leader, can no longer meet the new situation today and badly needs readjustment.

It is precisely these complex and sharp contradictions between Western Europe and the United States today that indicate the urgency, for readjustment at this new historical stage.

Policy Towards the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union, as the rival of the United States in its bid for world hegemony, is also the main threat to West European security. Thus, the United States and Western Europe have a common interest vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. This was the basis for the West European-US alliance and is still its foundation today. But with the changing times, they have evolved differing positions and must now consider their own particular interests, Western Europe and the United States no longer hold identical views on how to evaluate and effectively cope with the Soviet Union. Thus a difference in their strategic policies has gradually emerged.

Having gone through the two main postwar periods, the period of cold war and that of "de-

tente," the opinions on the Soviet Union of the governments of the Western countries and their brain trusters, though many and varied, can be summed up as the following two basic views:

One stresses the great difference between the Soviet social system and that of the West and argues that the Soviet Union, limited by its ideology, is determined to build up strength for expansion, that long-term co-operation for mutual benefit is impossible in any form and that the West must therefore maintain a position of strength and wage an uncompromising struggle to contain the Soviet Union for a long time to come. The other, emphasizing the point that the Soviet Union is pragmatic, argues that, though ideology is important to the Soviet Union, it is not the basis for every one of the nation's actions, that its attitude is similar to that of other big powers in history. This view suggests that more attention should be paid to its internal difficulties than to its behaviour abroad, and that it is possible and advisable for the West, along with a policy of containment, to seek to reach agreements of mutual benefit with the Soviet Union and thus prompt it to assume a more responsible attitude. Generally speaking, the Reagan administration holds the first view and the West European countries the second.

It is exactly because of the basic difference in views about the Soviet Union that Western Europe and the United States are divided in their stands on specific policies:

Militarily, in the face of the Soviet threat, both Western Europe and the United States speak of the need to employ the dual tactics of defence and dialogue; but in actual fact, the two sides emphasize different points. The Reagan administration stresses the need to rebuild the country's national prestige and to increase US strength to meet the Soviet challenge, whereas the West European countries underscore the importance of continued East-West dialogue. Helmut Schmidt, then the West German Chancellor, speaking on June 10, 1982 at a NATO summit meeting, observed that contemporary security policy called for not only the necessary military strength but also unremitting efforts for arms control and disarmament, which was of equal importance, and that only when there was agreement on a balance of forces at the lowest possible level could there be a guarantee for genuine stability and security.

The different emphases mentioned above are expressed concretely in one major problem in the current relations between Western Europe

and the United States, namely, the implementation of the "dual resolution" on nuclear weapons in the European theatre.* The United States noted emphatically that the "dual resolution" consisted of two parallel parts, that the first part was not conditioned by the second, that war-zone nuclear weapons of the latest type should be deployed according to schedule irrespective of the prospects of the talks. Western Europe, however, stressed the point that, if a certain amount of agreement could be reached through talks, or even while the talks were still going on, there was no need for deploying such weapons. The West European countries were very worried when the United States delayed its efforts to begin talks with the Soviet Union; now the talks have begun and the United States has verbally committed itself to accepting the "zero-option" plan, but the West European countries are nevertheless still sceptical about US sincerity in the talks. The United States, in turn, accuses its West European allies of vacillation and of in actuality trying to find a pretext for delaying deployment of the new-type nuclear weapons. The fact that the two-party resolution aimed at strengthening unity between Western Europe and the United States soon became an outstanding issue fomenting further estrangement is an irony of history.

This estrangement is by no means accidental however. It is a logical conclusion of two different kinds of military strategy. As the military power of the United States relative to that of the Soviet Union changed, US military strategy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union evolved from one of "massive retaliation" to one of "flexible response." But, in the last analysis, US strategy is still based on the use of war, except that it wants to avoid as much as possible a war that will damage the US proper. Because Western Europe lacks a self-dependent military strength, is under direct military threat from the Soviet Union and recalls its bitter experience in the catastrophe of the two world wars, its military strategy is to avoid war by all means. Since the military strategic thinking of the two sides differs, they have different views concerning the use of nuclear force in Europe.

* Meaning the resolution adopted by NATO in December 1979, which includes a plan for deployment and a proposal for talks.

The core of West European-US contradictions is the question of policy towards the Soviet Union.

Politically, the core of their differences is their different appraisals of "detente" and the dispute over the question of the "divisibility of detente." Washington was greatly shocked by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979. Inside the United States, much of public opinion held that the policy of "detente" was to the advantage of the Soviet Union, and so should be abandoned. This view suggested that nearly 10 years of "detente," instead of restraining the Soviet Union, had played into its hands, allowing it to increase its military strength for worldwide expansion, and that the United States must once again adopt the policy of containment and go all out to meet the Soviet challenge. The policy pushed by the Reagan administration, characterized by its intensified contention with the Soviet Union for military superiority and demanding that its allies be strategically at one with the United States in containing the Soviet Union is the product of this view. But, as far as Western Europe is concerned, through the policy of "detente," it has not only made economic gains and established

better relations with Eastern Europe, but has also reduced its dependence on the United States and found more room for manoeuvring between the two superpowers. This is why Western Europe regards the policy of "detente" with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as a long-term strategic policy and will not give it up merely because of some incident that has taken place outside Europe. Shortly after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Chief Editor of the West German magazine *Die Zeit* noted that Europe need not necessarily get tense because of tension elsewhere. He said that the West could not possibly win back in Berlin what it has lost in Afghanistan. Early last year, speaking of the Polish incident, Schmidt made it clear that "we will certainly never give up the policy of dialogue, detente and co-operation with the East," adding that, in his opinion, "this was the only way to make Eastern Europe change with discretion." This shows that Western Europe's reluctance to tail after the United States and its insistence on pursuing "detente" with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are the result of its long-term political deliberations.

Economically, Western Europe and the United States were divided on the issue of East-West trade as early as the 1950s. In the 1970s

when the West pushed the policy of "detente," the two sides acted more or less in concert. But in the present decade, due to their different political stands, plus the fact that each has its own economic interests to consider, their differences on the issue of East-West trade have once again come to the fore. The United States is of the opinion that, to contain the Soviet Union politically, economic pressure and sanctions must be applied that will increase the Soviet Union's economic difficulties and restrain the pace of its arms growth and expansionist activities. Western Europe, on the other hand, believes that East-West trade is mutually beneficial and must, therefore, be allowed to continue and develop since mutually beneficial economic relations will in turn influence Soviet foreign policy. They argue that, despite its economic difficulties, the Soviet Union, a big country with rich resources and plenty of room for economic manoeuvring, will not be really hurt by economic sanctions, whose disadvantages outnumber their advantages, and which may even backfire. The West European argument is evident in such instances as the West European countries' disregard of US pressure when they hemmed and hawed without making any real response to US sanctions against the Soviet Union following the incidents in Afghanistan and Poland.

At the Bottom of the Contradictions

The factors contributing to the sharpening of US-West European contradictions are manifold, but at the bottom of their contradictions is the clash of interests. This conflict of interests has become all the more evident in the new situation of the present decade:

(1) **Contradiction between bipolar and multipolar strategic thinking.** The United States has all along treated the Soviet Union as its rival in its bid for world hegemony. The core of US global strategy is to preserve its own hegemonic position, leaving its relations with its West European allies in a place subordinate to US-Soviet relations. This strategy actually requires that its West European allies bow to US strategic needs for world hegemony. Although Nixon, when president, had already perceived that the world's political situation was moving towards multipolarization, his strategic thinking was still based on a bipolar view of the world. This bipolar strategy has become all the more prominent in Reagan's foreign policy. The West European strategic thinking is, however,

opposed to a monopoly of world affairs by the two superpowers, opposed to a hegemonic bipolar world; it seeks to bring about a multipolar world with a balance of forces and a Western Europe as an increasingly powerful pole. To maintain their own independent position on the international arena, the West European countries, within the framework of an alliance with the United States, aim to withstand the Soviet threat and also to defy US control. They want to co-operate with the United States in a joint effort to deal with the Soviet Union without, however, following every step taken by the United States but with a certain degree of freedom of movement. This is consistent with the interests of the West European countries, situated between the two superpowers; but this does not agree with US strategic requirements for Western Europe. As early as 1981 French Defence Minister Charles Hernu openly demanded a redefinition of relations within the North Atlantic Alliance. The days when only two big powers consult with each other as friends or rivals must end, he said. Lord Carrington, then British Foreign Secretary, also wrote an article saying that the United States should welcome Europe's political co-operation, that the multipolar view was their strength. The implications of these words are self-evident.

(2) **The change in relative strength brings the contradiction of the inequality in the relationships within the West European-US alliance to the fore.** Beginning in the early postwar years, the West European-US alliance was based on the West European dependence on US economic "aid" and military "protection." This historical setting meant that the alliance could not possibly be one of equality in the first place; the relationship contained the latent seeds of future contradictions and differences. After the vicissitudes of the past 30 years, yesterday's history has become a thing of the past, and it is only natural that these contradictions and differences now emerge and grow acute.

In military strength, the United States is not only inferior to the Soviet Union in conventional weapons but has lost its edge in strategic weapons as well — their forces now are more or less in balance. But because the Soviet Union intensified its deployment of new types of medium-range nuclear weapons in the middle of the 70s, especially in Europe, it now holds a superior position there in both conventional and nuclear weapons. Western Europe is now under growing Soviet military threats and pressure, while the military "protection" given by the

United States to Western Europe has become less and less reliable. Not only that, as a result of the shift of the US strategy of nuclear deterrent from one of "massive retaliation" to "flexible response," the 1977 Memorandum No. 10 of the US President revealed that the United States was prepared to give up part of West German territory in case of war; then in 1981 Reagan openly spoke of the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe — all this makes the West European countries question both the credibility of US "nuclear protection" and its real intentions.

In economic strength, although the United States now still enjoys the advantage of the dollar being the international reserve currency, the relative economic strength between Western Europe and the United States is no longer what it was in the early postwar years. In 1979 the GNP of the EEC for the first time surpassed that of the United States. In 1980 the gold and foreign exchange reserves in the hands of Britain, France, Italy and West Germany were five times that of the United States; their exports were twice that of the United States. Western Europe is now an independent international economic force with considerable strength.

With the ineffectiveness of US "nuclear protection" and the change in relative economic strength, the West European countries, to preserve their own interests, now demand as a matter of course a change in the unequal relations within their alliance with the United States and are energetically seeking an international position appropriate to their economic strength. French President Mitterrand, speaking of the contradictions between Western Europe and the United States, proposed that both sides of the Atlantic should conduct genuine consultations, that the European countries had a stand of their own and that their interests must be taken into account. The United States, however, is still making great efforts to continue to dictate Western Europe and maintain its position as the "head" of the alliance. This inevitably conflicts with the efforts of the West European countries to seek greater independence for themselves. The big quarrel over the issue of the natural gasline, while manifesting the conflict of economic interests, also clearly reflects a struggle of control and counter-control.

(3) Economic difficulties aggravate the contradictions. In the late 70s and early 80s, economic recession swept the whole of the West,

and the economic decline continued to suggest a bleak outlook for future development. This situation not only endangers the political stability of the various countries but also affects their foreign policies. Unlike the United States, the West European countries depend largely on imports of energy sources and semi-finished raw materials and on exports of their manufactured goods. To preserve and guarantee the conditions in the outside world on which the development of the West European economy hinges is described in the West as economic security, which is one of the fundamental goals common to the foreign policies of the West European countries.

For instance, economic and trading relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are much more important to the West European countries than to the United States. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, in 1980 the EEC's volume of trade with the Soviet Union remained at 25,900 million dollars while US volume of trade with the Soviet Union valued at only 1,950 million. US exports to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe constitute 1.7 per cent of its total, whereas the corresponding percentage in the case of Britain is 2.4; of France, 4.5; and of West Germany, 1.9. Moreover, 80 per cent of US exports to the Soviet Union is grain, while 80 per cent of the West European exports is complete sets of industrial equipment. Thus exports to the Soviet Union directly affect the economic development and employment of Western Europe. To date, Western loans to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe amount to a total of about 80 billion dollars, mostly supplied by the West European countries. Given these circumstances, apart from other considerations, West European economic interests require that they do everything they can to maintain the "detente" with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in opposition to the US stand for economic sanctions. In the face of Reagan's proposal to impose economic sanctions on the Soviet Union because of the Polish question, Schimdt asserted that the main threat facing the West was economic recession and social turmoil, not the Polish question.

Aftereffects

Western commentaries differ in their appraisals of the seriousness of the present contradictions between Western Europe and the United States. The more general view is that the alliance relationship needs some readjust-

ment but opinions vary as to what adjustments are desirable.

It should be noted that despite the numerous contradictions and the vociferous disputes, no disruption of the alliance is foreseen. This is mainly determined by the reality, the objective situation. The Soviet threat still exists and Western Europe will find it difficult for sometime to build up an effective, independent military power to replace US military "protection." Although the US military presence in Europe represents a potential danger, the West European countries still need it to defend against possible Soviet aggression. The United States, likewise, cannot do without Western Europe as a frontline, buffer region in its confrontation with the Soviet Union. The international monetary system based on the dollar, though on the verge of collapse, remains the basis of the international reserve and Western Europe's own currency is not yet strong enough to replace the dollar. Furthermore, the economic interests of the United States and Western Europe are so interlocked that one cannot do without the other. For instance, in 1980 Western Europe's direct investment in the United States amounted to 44,000 million dollars, 66.4 per cent of the foreign capital in that country; US investment in Western Europe was 95,650 million dollars, 44.8 per cent of the foreign capital there. The total volume of trade between the two sides in 1980 was 98,050 million dollars. The EEC countries' trade with the United States constituted 5.6 per cent of their exports and 8.3 per cent of their imports. Moreover, the security of transportation routes via which Western Europe imports energy and raw materials from the third world countries and the security of the related regions is still being safeguarded by US military force, while in return the United States needs West European support and co-ordination in its contention with the Soviet Union in the third world. There are also other factors, such as the political system, cultural tradition, the concept of value, etc., which, though both sides feel dissatisfied with the existing state of the North Atlantic Alliance, at the same time, are worried about a possible disruption of the alliance. This situation will probably continue for quite a long time.

Still, the sharpening of these contradictions is producing a number of far-reaching aftereffects.

1) The sharpening of the contradictions makes it difficult for both sides to take a coordinated, unified stand on major world problems and will weaken the effectiveness and role of the alliance and affect the world's strategic pattern. The mounting dispute will hasten the neutralist trend of thought in Western Europe and the isolationist stand in the United States, which will in turn further corrode the alliance relationship.

2) Since Europe is the key focus in both Soviet and US strategy, sharpened contradictions between Western Europe and the United States will play into Soviet hands—Moscow will use this opportunity to do whatever it can to divide the alliance. There are, of course, many reasons why the Soviet Union has not yet sent troops to intervene directly in Poland. One important reason is that it does not wish to damage its relations with Western Europe. Making use of the contradictions between Western Europe and the United States will become a major factor in future Soviet diplomatic activities.

3) The third world, as the base to which the West European economy owes its existence and development, is also a "strategic supplementary force" in Western Europe's countermove against the two hegemonic powers. As the contradictions between Western Europe and the United States intensify, the tendency of the former to make the third world a new key link in its diplomatic and strategic moves will become all the more evident. To improve its strategic security, it will more energetically promote South-North dialogue, European-Arab dialogue and other similar activities.

4) The poor economic situation has caused more contradictions among the West European countries themselves, affecting adversely the progress of their union. But, at the same time, due to the ever-growing Soviet threat, their sharpened contradictions with the United States and strong economic competition throughout the world, they are compelled to strengthen their united forces. Though the West European union faces difficulties in the days ahead, it will continue to make slow, sometimes halting progress.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article which appeared in "Journal of International Studies," No. 1, 1983.)

After Joining Up

by Our Correspondent Tian Yun

Why do people volunteer for the army? asks Mr. Lawrence Berg, a reader from the United States. What progress do soldiers make in the People's Liberation Army and what benefits do they earn? These and many other questions about life in the PLA inspired the following interviews with soldiers and commanders who guard the northeastern border of China. — Ed.

YAN ZAILI is the youngest and shortest soldier in the No. 15 frontier post in the Mudanjiang Prefecture of Heilongjiang Province. An unsophisticated youth from the countryside with a ready smile, he enlisted in the army less than a year ago.

Acting as a guide, he led the way down several dozen steps from the post to a fairly spacious training ground where he showed off the two army dogs, and then along a rugged mountain path to a spot where the soldiers raise pigs and sheep to supplement their state-supported meals.

"You've come late. Several months ago, there were flowers and grass, wild vegetables and fresh mushrooms. The mountains were green all over. It was really beautiful." He looks happy and his eyes are shining. It is easy to see that this 18-year-old soldier really loves his mountain frontier post 800 metres above sea level.

To Safeguard the Motherland

After Yan Zaili graduated from senior middle school in 1981, he applied to join the army. He was inspired by the experiences of his elder brother, who had matured into an officer with technical expertise after a period of training in a military academy and in the army. He was convinced that joining the army was not only his duty to defend the motherland, but also would provide him a good chance for education.

But, he did not foresee the great changes in habits and environment army life would re-

quire. Because he had never before left home, he missed his family very much during the first two months after he joined up. Many nights he wept himself to sleep.

"My comrades-in-arms were great," Yan said. "Post head Liu Xueming's words really helped me out. He told me that it's natural to miss one's home when one leaves for the first time, but the best thing one can do for one's parents is to work hard to succeed.

"One time we had to carry up firewood from the foothills for several days. It was hard work. I was on duty in the post. The genuine concern and care of the comrades made me feel as if I was at home."

Zhu Qingguo, deputy political commissar of an army stationed in Liaoning Province said that the overwhelming majority of new soldiers join the army because they want to safeguard the motherland and aid socialist modernization.

Although they need a period of time to adapt themselves to the intense life and strict discipline of the army, they quickly develop a deep affection for the new life with the help and encouragement of their comrades-in-arms.

Zhu Qingguo said, "Of course, some are not as dedicated as others. For instance, some join up just to learn some technical skills, and others mistakenly think that it is easier to join the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League by serving in the armed forces. They are not so enthusiastic if their plans do not materialize.

"Some enrol from the countryside because they wish to find jobs in the cities when they are demobilized. Careful education is always carried out among these young people.

"We explain that serving the people is the sole purpose of our army and it is most glorious to do one's duty for the people.

"At the same time, the soldiers learn the modern history of China, which enables them to understand how old China was invaded and enslaved by imperialism. This enhanced their



Reading in spare time.

sense of responsibility about safeguarding the socialist motherland.

"Officers and soldiers in our army are completely equal politically. There is no beating or cursing of soldiers. Army members show concern for each other and make progress together.

"These aspects of army life attract a large number of young people and also make it possible for people who join the army with impure motives to become outstanding soldiers."

Changes of a New Soldier

In the encampment of an artillery regiment near the estuary of the Yalu River, soldier Hu Dingwen explained how he changed into an outstanding serviceman from one who was always on the sick list.

Hu Dingwen, enlisted from a rural area in southwest China's Sichuan Province in 1979, said, "I joined the army not only to safeguard the motherland and help modernization. I had my own plan. I wanted to be a lorry driver, be-

cause I thought that a driver had more freedom in the army and that it would be useful to know how to drive when I got out.

"When I was assigned to the artillery regiment, my hopes were dashed.

"Then, I got a letter from home saying that a production responsibility system on the basis of households had been carried out in my village. There were few labour hands in my family. I thought I had made a mistake in joining the army. So I wished to go home.

"To achieve this end, I began malingering. I stayed in bed because of a minor illness caused by cold. I refused to take the medicine the medic sent me and put aside the patient's diet prepared for me by the kitchen squad.

"When the regimental commander came to see me, I covered my head with a quilt. I just kept saying: 'I want to go home.'

"While I was ill, the company political instructor and other cadres often came to see me. Yang Gongxia, the company commander, came the most often. He always asked if I took my medicine and how well I ate.

"He would put his hand on my forehead to see if I had a fever and if the quilt was cold. Once, when he found I had not eaten, he at once sent me a can of food that is not easy to obtain here.

"A man has feelings. When I saw with my own eyes that the company commander and other cadres showed genuine concern for me, my heart could not be calm. I thought that even my parents would not show as much patience with me. It would be absurd to keep on malingering.

"I began to respond to the company commander and take medicine and eat at regular intervals. Encouraged by my change, he sat on my bed and invited me to talk frankly with him. I told him about some of my problems.

"To help me out, he and the political instructor wrote two letters, one to my parents and the other to my production team. Soon, I received two replies. My parents' letter asked me to work hard in the army and not to worry about the family.

"The letter from the production team told me that they had adopted a method to give additional work-points to the families of armymen. Because there were few labour hands in my family, the production team had decided to subsidize it with 2,000 work-points each year. They also mailed me the certificate for subsidized work-points.

"When I read the two letters, I felt extremely grateful to the company commander. I believe that he showed such concern for me and spent so much energy on me because he wanted to help me become a useful member of society.

"I promised him that I would work hard in military training. He commended me at a meeting of new soldiers.

"Later, he repeatedly told me that serving in the army is doing our duty to the people. The decisions about who becomes a driver and who becomes an artilleryman depend on the army's need. One should not make the choice himself.

"On the contrary, each soldier should try to work well at his assigned post.

"He personally taught me to take aim. I studied hard and made daily progress in military training. Not long afterwards, I joined the Communist Youth League.

"Since then, I have been commended every year by the company and was elected an 'outstanding serviceman.' "

Army Life on a Small Island

New soldiers who malingers like Hu Dingwen are rare, but cadres who consider the soldiers their own brothers as Yang Gongxia did are common. Any soldier will tell you that it is hard to be an armyman, but it is glorious

to do one's duty for the people and it is good to work with people who genuinely care for each other.

All soldiers have deep feelings for the motherland they protect and wish to assist the construction of the places where they are stationed.

In the northern part of the Yellow Sea, there is a small island called Xiaowangjia. Soldiers stationed on its 0.313 square kilometres have built a road 3 metres wide and 500 metres long.

When new soldiers come to the island, they too shoulder earth from the mountain and stones from the beach to continue construction and maintenance of the road. The soldiers also have built a small park, laid flower beds and planted willows, cherry trees and Chinese scholar trees.

In order to improve their own life on the island, the soldiers collected earth shovelful by shovelful to make a vegetable garden one-third of a hectare in size.

Every March their families send them bags of vegetable, flower and tree seeds, including pepper seeds from Sichuan, pumpkin seeds from Jiangsu, flower seeds from Hunan and pine seeds from Heilongjiang.

The soldiers on the island have pressing work schedules with daily patrols and training



Soldiers on Xiaowangjia Island on patrol duty.

courses. Sometimes they shoulder additional tasks of construction for national defence.

At the same time, however, their living conditions have gradually improved. Now, there are generators, film projectors and TV sets on the island. Professional troupes come to give special performances every year as an expression of gratitude. The soldiers also hold 10,000-metre race around the island and clam fishing competitions.

Some soldiers on the island said that they have not only learnt how to fight battles, but also have come to know how to live and how to be good men. Each year, many of the veteran soldiers who finish their service say they hate to leave. Many demobilized servicemen continue to correspond with their former unit.

A recent letter to soldiers on Xiaowangjia Island said, "I did not have enough of the island. How I wish to enlist again. It is sad that my age does not allow me to do it."

Deputy Political Commissar's Answer

What progress do the soldiers make and what benefits do they get while serving in the army? Deputy political commissar Zhu Qingguo said:

(Continued from p. 18.)

The next day, Zhu found a copy of *Moral Training of Young People* and other books for the young man. Before he left for work, he handed a bunch of keys to the young man, saying, "There are not many valuable things in the house except the TV set, which might be worth something. If you want it, take it. You can also open all the suitcases and take all things you need. But, don't steal other people's things any more." Then, he went downstairs and off to work.

The young man did not leave. When Zhu Boru came back, he had read many pages and the house was very tidy. He stayed with Zhu and his children for three days. Every day, Zhu talked with him, encouraging him to be mature, describing ideals young people should have and how they could realize them.

The young man got ready to leave on the third afternoon. Zhu Boru gave him a notebook. On the flyleaf, he wrote, "You are leaving. I would like to ask you to stay a few days more so I could study with you. But, Spring

"In my opinion, there are four points. First, the soldiers' ideological and theoretical level is improved through political education and cultural study. Many youths arrive with this or that shortcoming, unhealthy habit or even an ignominious record." All these are corrected in the three years of service. Some who work hard are commended. Some join the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League.

"Second, they learn to live independently. While at home, young people do not know how to take care of themselves. In the army, they have to do things on their own.

"Third, they master some military skills and gain some scientific and cultural knowledge. They will be useful people whether they remain in the army or return to civilian life.

"Fourth, they get economic benefits. Since the rural production responsibility system was adopted, production has developed rapidly. Many places now give a special allowance to families of servicemen. In addition to free clothing, food, housing and medical care, soldiers receive a monthly subsidy of about 10 yuan. With all this added up, their income is about equivalent to that of people in their home villages."

Festival is coming and you must go home to your parents. I am very happy to see that you have made rapid progress in the past two days and hope you discard all evil habits and turn over a new leaf. I hope you cheer up. Progress is the meaning of life."

Zhu Boru bought the youth a ticket at the train station and handed him a paper box. He said to the young man, "Your family is not well-off. It will soon be Spring Festival. I bought 7.5 kilogrammes of pork and 2.5 kilogrammes of New Year cake for you. In addition, there are 15 yuan for you to buy books."

The young man was moved and said, "I have made up my mind to correct my mistakes and be a new man. I won't come to see you again unless I make good."

Recently, the young man sent the notebook to the army unit where Zhu Boru serves. He wrote on its pages, "I was so happy to meet a kind-hearted man. My life today would be inconceivable if not for him. I am grateful to him and will follow what he taught me and be useful to the people. . . ."

THEATRE

French drama enjoys world premiere

The China Youth Art Theatre presented the world premiere of the 111-year-old French drama *Le Temps des cerises* (The Time of Cherries) to commemorate the centenary of Marx's death.

Le Temps des cerises, originally titled *Le Peuple de Paris* (The People of Paris), was written by French writer Jules Valles (1832-85). It reflects the heroic struggle of those who took part in the movement of the Paris Commune: blacksmiths, opticians, journalists and women workers. It depicts how the Communards, some of whom had participated in the June Paris Uprising of 1848, fought valiantly in the street against the reactionary troops.

The plot follows each historic development: the capture of the cannons of Montmartre Height,

the declaration of the founding of the Paris Commune, the struggle against the Versailles saboteurs, the street fighting, and the heroic deaths at the Pere-Lachaise Cemetery. The drama portrays the initiative of the Paris proletariat and other working people and denounces the bourgeois Versailles regime's ruthless slaughter of innocent people, thus refuting reactionary slanders against the Commune.

One of the participants in the street fighting, Jules Valles wrote the play in Switzerland one year after the Commune failed. Later he was banished by the Versailles regime. During his exile, he persisted in his vain attempts to get his play staged. It was not until 1970 that the whole drama was published by the French magazine, *L'Europe*. However, no country (including France and the Soviet Union) had ever staged it. Therefore, its performance in Beijing, 111 years after it was written, is a world premiere of historic dimensions.



Chen Yong, the director.

The director of the drama, Chen Yong, is a versatile woman dramatist. She realizes that it is a long way from a good script to a satisfactory performance. It was a challenge to retain the original flavour of the drama and to present the complicated plot logically on the stage with tragedy and lyricism. In this respect, she emphasizes the contribution of Shen Dali, the translator of the drama.

When rehearsals began, some actors and actresses feared that Chinese audiences would find it uncomprehensible as they were unfamiliar with its historical setting. The translator, under the instruction of the director, familiarized the performers with the moving story of the Paris Commune, enabling them to unleash their creativity and reproduce the mood of those times. The thread of emotion, which runs through the story, is heart-rendering and tortuous as conflicts involving love and hatred between spouses and relatives unfold in this historic turmoil.

The translator, Shen Dali, was conferred the title "membre



A scene from "Le Temps des cerises".

d'honneur" by l'Association des Amis de la Commune de Paris (Association of the Friends of the Paris Commune) in 1981. The director, Chen Yong, was notified recently by telegram that she too had been accepted as another honorary member of the association.

About the Translator

Shen Dali, a lecturer at the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute was born in Yan'an, the cradle of the Chinese

translated some other poems of the Commune.

In March 1979, Shen Dali was sent to work as a translator for UNESCO in Paris, where he spent his leisure time at La Bibliotheque Nationale (the National Library) and Le Musee Historique (the History Museum), reading documents that were not available in China. To Shen, a devotee of the revolutionary culture of the Commune, even the bookstands along the Seine River were an attraction: there he purchased quite a few rare books on the culture of that period. He econ-

omized on his living expenses to spend money on books, material and cultural relics related to the Commune. His collection soon filled up several large boxes.

All along, he continued translating and publishing literary pieces from this period, including Valles' *Le Temps des cerises*. Shen also translated Emmanuel Robles' poems, essays and his novel *Montserrat*, the last one was adapted for stage in Beijing in 1980. In addition to translation, Shen Dali has also written articles on the culture of the Paris Commune.



Shen Dali beside the tomb of Jules Valles in Paris.

revolution. He graduated in 1956 as one of the top students in the French Department of the institute and was assigned to teach there. During the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), the institute was in turmoil, so Shen and his wife plunged themselves into gathering materials about the Paris Commune. Over several years, they consulted all available books on the Commune and amassed more than 10 million words of materials. In 1979, *Selected Poems by Eugene Pottier*, which they compiled, translated and edited, was published. Subsequently, they

ARCHAEOLOGY

700-year-old miniature Buddhas

Danzeng, a Tibetan peasant, recently donated to the state five 700-year-old miniature Buddhas and other relics.

The five miniature Buddhas are carved out of human vertebrae (1.0 to 0.5 cm high) and each is distinctive.

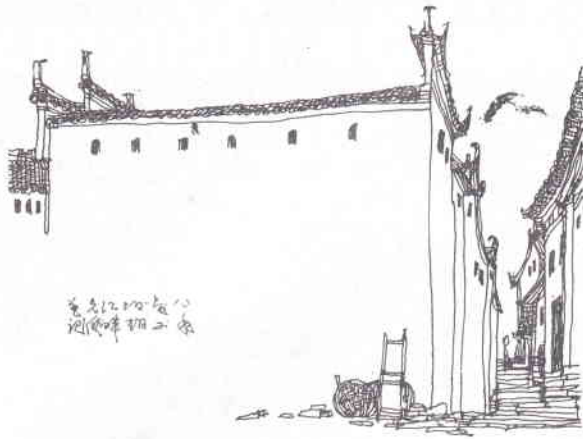
Research indicated that the five Buddhas were made from the backbone of the revered living Buddha Zhudo Gyabu who lived during the Tufan Dynasty and the reign of Sajia. They were treasured by the local people as sacred objects.

The other relics include a piece of a wild ass bone and six fragments of human bones. The biggest is about 3×3 and the smallest 1.5×1 cm. There is the

personal seal of Dalai V Ngawang Losang Gyaco on each.

These relics were originally stored separately in the 13 small towers of a monastery in Lhozhag County in the Shannan area (one piece was removed by the fifth Dalai to the Potala Palace leaving these 12). During the rebellion in Tibet in 1959, Lama Sangdan moved these sacred objects into a mountain cave and before he died he handed them on to his brother Danzeng.





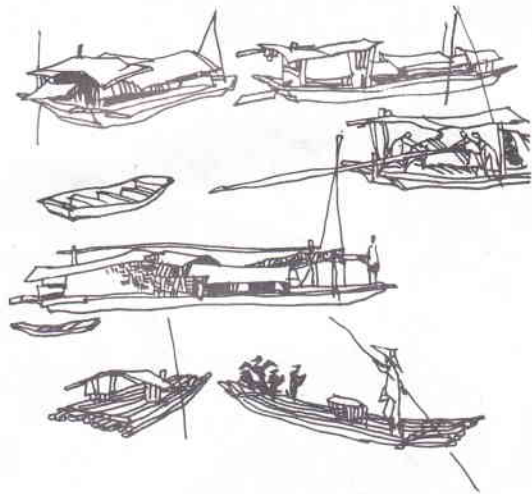
西江边的
农家小院

Zhou Zhihang's Sketches

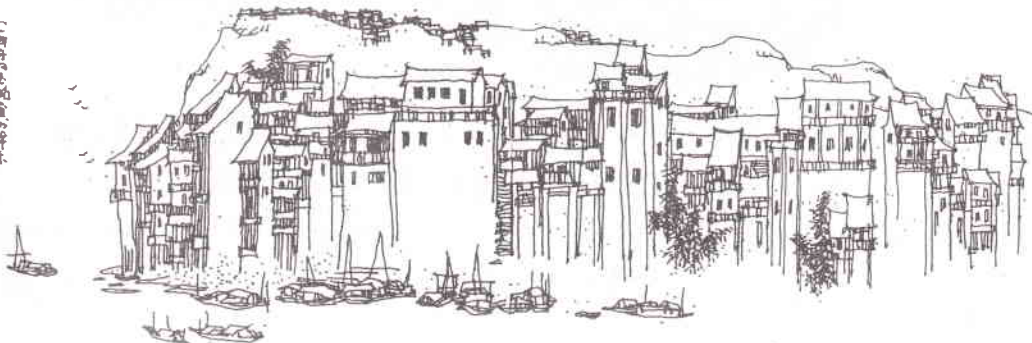
These sketches of Guangxi scenes are done by a young amateur painter. Born in 1963, Zhou Zhihang now works in a garment factory in Rongqi, a small town in Shunde County, Guangdong Province. He takes part in the activities of the Youth Group of Traditional Chinese Painting in his hometown and often goes to neighbouring provinces as well as other places to sketch from nature.



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