

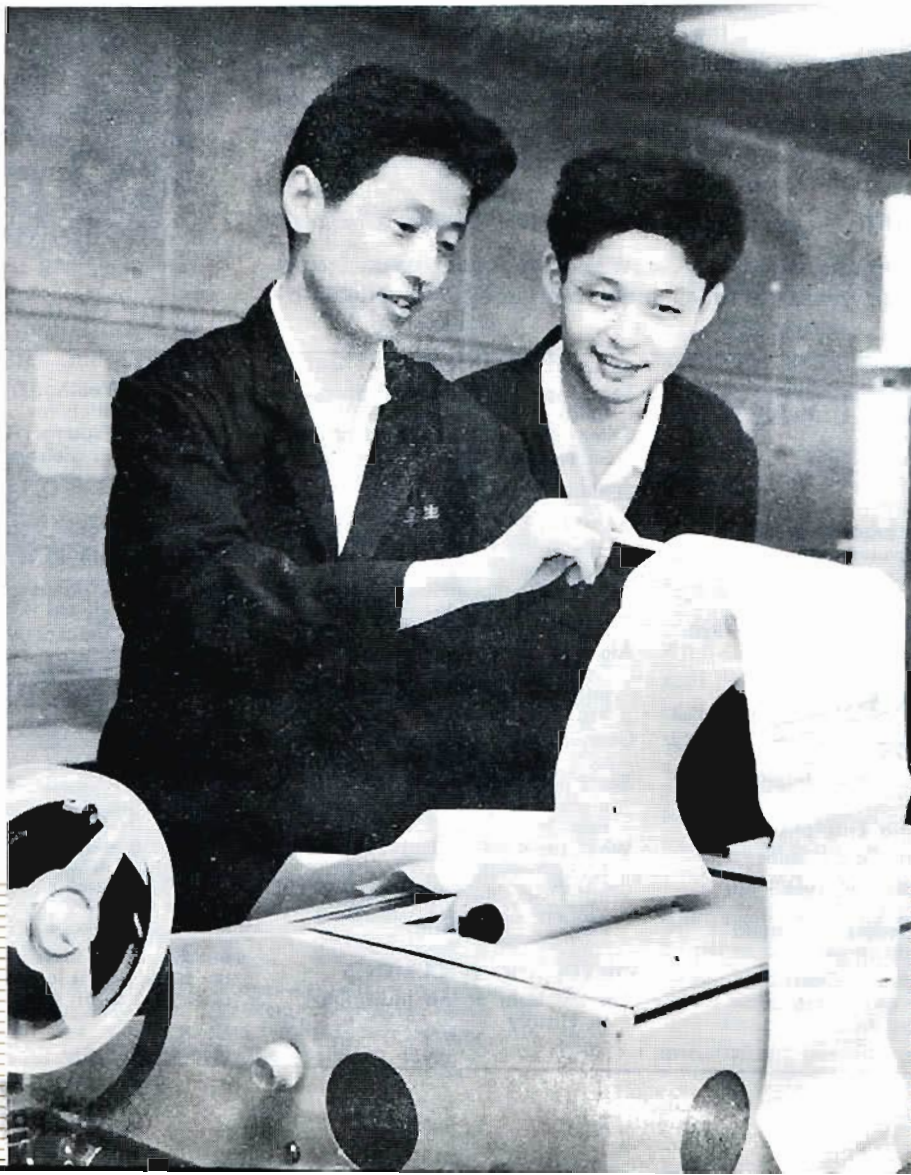
No. 32 August 11, 1980

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- The Role of the Individual in History
- More Outlets for the Young
- A Victory for the Palestinian Cause



U.S.A.....US\$0.30
Canada.....Can.\$0.36
Australia.....A.\$0.29
New Zealand...NZ.\$0.34
U.K.....£0.15

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Role of the Individual

The people, not some great men, are the makers of history. This is a Marxist thesis. What would be the consequences if the role of the individual were exaggerated and a personality cult should emerge? (P. 17.)

Economic Reform

Joint enterprises have been set up in some parts of the country in accordance with the new policy in restructuring the national economy. One of the latest examples is the large Nanjing Radio Corporation (p. 4). The viability of such enterprises has been abundantly proved in practice. A leading member of the State Council explains their advantages, the forms they take and the principles involved (p. 3).

Forum on Youth

Are Chinese youths who have grown up in the years of tur-

moil a "lost generation" as some allege? Or are they more sophisticated and more mature, having gone through periods of great change? Deputy director of a national paper for youths probes the problem and suggests ways and means to help the younger generation turn their talents to advantage for the modernization drive (p. 21).

The Palestinian Question

The recent U.N. resolution on Palestine, adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes, is an indication of the increasing awareness that a just solution to the Palestinian question is of key importance to a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel's intransigence and forcible occupation of the whole of Jerusalem is condemned by China (p. 9).

The Afghan Scene

While the Soviet-backed Karmal regime is plagued by

factional clashes and defections. Afghan resistance forces are closing their ranks (p. 11).

Memories of 1939

The world is again confronted with the threat of war — not from Nazi Germany as in 1939, but from Soviet social-imperialism. What should be done to cope with this menace? (P. 14.)

Tension in South Africa

Despite intensified repressive measures, the blacks in South Africa are stepping up their resistance against the racist regime (p. 13).



BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

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

Vol. 23, No. 32 August 11, 1980

CONTENTS

EVENTS & TRENDS	3-8
Promoting Economic Integration	
First Joint Radio Enterprise	
Big Increase in Retail Sales	
No Deification of Dazhai Brigade	
Chinese Leaders Attend Lecture on Science	
N.P.C. Standing Committee Members on Inspection Tours	

Selecting Cadres From Among College Graduates
China Firmly Stands on the Side of Thailand

INTERNATIONAL 9-16

A Victory for the Palestinian Cause — "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

No Glory in the Game — Xinhua Correspondent Guo Ping

Afghanistan: Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang

Oceania: Vanuatu, Newest Pacific Republic — Wei Yuqin
South Africa: Growing Resentment and Resistance — Shi Fang

Why Memories of 1939? — Chen Youwei

What Does Moscow Want? — Xinhua Correspondent Tong Liuyi

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

On the Role of the Individual in History

Forum on Youth: Opening Up More Outlets for an Up-and-Coming Younger Generation — Zhong Peizhang 21

THE LAND & PEOPLE 27-28

CULTURE & SCIENCE 29-30

LETTERS FROM READERS 31

COVER: Wu Shilong (left), recently employed by the Ministry of Telecommunications, has through self-study and hard work made notable achievements in the study of pattern recognition.

Published every Monday in Beijing,
The People's Republic of China

Distributed by GUOJI SHUDIAN,
(China Publications Centre),
P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Subscription prices (1 year):

Australia.....A.\$12.50	U.S.A.....US\$13.50
New Zealand...NZ.\$14.50	U.K.....£6.80
Canada.....Can.\$15.60	

ECONOMIC

Promoting Economic Integration

To take the road of integration and set up various types of joint enterprises—this is the direction in which China will follow in developing its national economy. A leading member of the State Council said this recently in an interview with correspondents of the Xinhua News Agency.

Promoting economic integration is an important policy of our country at present, he said. All the places and departments should give it their full support, sum up the experience gained and guide it on to the road of smooth development.

Since the readjustment and restructuring of the national economy started last year, more and more enterprises have been freed from the limitations of the system of unified management with over-concentration of

power and they have been given greater power of self-management. This has resulted in greater enthusiasm among the workers and economic work has become more lively with each passing day.

Various forms of joint enterprises have been set up throughout China. They include: Integrated corporations of the same trade, special corporations producing one product, inter-trade joint corporations, integrated farming, industrial and commercial corporations, enterprises jointly run by areas producing raw materials and areas doing processing work, joint enterprises established with funds invested by industrial centres in backward regions, urban big factories co-operating with neighbouring rural communes which process materials and supply manufactured goods.

In explaining this new policy, the leading comrade cited the following advantages:

—In the joint enterprises, the participating units can give

full scope to their strong points and make up each other's deficiencies so as to achieve the best economic results.

—Joint enterprises which incorporate production, supply and marketing of goods in accordance with objective economic laws help liven up economic activities. Artificial barriers set up by administrative measures between regions and departments are thus eliminated.

—In line with the principle of carrying out co-operation among specialized departments, joint enterprises help reorganize industry, promote technical progress and rational production and raise labour productivity, thereby avoiding the mistake of building the same kind of factories and producing goods in a blind way.

With regard to the principles and ways of setting up joint enterprises, he listed the following:

—The setting up of joint enterprises should conform with the needs of developing production and be carried out on a voluntary basis instead of administrative orders.

—Joint enterprises may be set up irrespective of the difference in trade or region. Ownership of the means of production, affiliation and financial relations of the parties concerned will remain as before and will not be changed arbitrarily.

—There should be equality and mutual benefit for all parties concerned.

—The forms of integration are many; they vary from place to place and are based on actual needs.

—There should be democratic and scientific management in



Workers of a collectively owned knitting mill of a people's commune on the outskirts of Beijing doing processing work for the state-owned Beijing No. 1 Knitting Mill in accordance with an agreement on co-operation between them.

the joint enterprises. The organs of power are the joint committees or boards of directors consisting of representatives of all the parties concerned. No party can change their decisions and administrative departments cannot intervene in their work.

First Joint Radio Enterprise

Thirty-eight radio factories and research institutions in Nanjing, capital of Jiangsu Province, amalgamated last month to form the Nanjing Radio Corporation. This is the first joint enterprise in China's radio industry and one of the many forms of joint enterprises set up in various parts of the country since the introduction of economic reforms in 1979.

The new corporation embraces more than 30,000 people. Of its member units, 10 are state-owned enterprises, some belonging to the Fourth Ministry of Machine-Building and some to the Nanjing municipal government, while the other 28 are collectively owned.

Jiangsu's electronic industry leads the nation in both production capacity and technology. The corporation's main factory is the Nanjing Radio Factory which is known for its famous "Panda" transistor radios. Though this factory has had close co-operation with 30-odd local factories for years, it has never been able to give full play to its potentialities because of the lack of a unified organization and plan, which accounted for the dispersion of strength and duplication of products. Now the corporation operates under a unified management by economic means and organizes production in accordance with the speciality of each member factory so as to get better economic results.

The main products at present are various kinds of communication equipment, transistor radios, TV sets, radio tape-recorders and relevant testing instruments and electronic components. The corporation will, in the light of demands on domestic and foreign markets, produce various kinds of electronic products for consumer use and gradually expand to become a big comprehensive company engaged in scientific research, production, marketing and technical services.

The corporation undertakes independent cost accounting and operates under the guidance of state planning. Upon fulfilment of production quotas fixed by the state, it may arrange for extra production in accordance with market demands and accept orders for processing.

While the management of the corporation is in charge of overall production, each member unit retains a certain amount of power in managing its own affairs. Major decisions are made by the board of directors, with the director, deputy directors, chief engineer and chief accountant in charge of their respective departments.

With due consideration for the interests of all quarters concerned, each unit retains its former ownership of the means of production and financial relations and is responsible for its own profits or losses.

Big Increase in Retail Sales

Retail sales in the first half of this year totalled 101,370 million yuan for the whole country, an increase of 15,790 million yuan over that of the same period of last year.



Tibetans selling products made by themselves at a free market in Lhasa.

A spokesman for the State Statistical Bureau said that this was a record six-month increase in the three post-liberation decades.

A 40 per cent increase was registered in the sales of pork, mutton, beef, poultry, eggs and aquatic products. Meat is no longer rationed, and there is at present a greater variety of sweets and cakes, cold drinks and other foodstuffs on sale.

The Xidan Emporium, one of the biggest in Beijing, now offers 29,000 varieties of goods for sale, 7,255 more than in June last year.

Demands for more durable consumer goods are rising. Sales of television sets, wrist-watches, sewing machines, bicycles, electric fans and washing machines have gone up considerably.

The spokesman of the State Statistical Bureau attributed the increases in retail sales to the

new policies which encourage the peasants to go in for a diversified economy and become rich and which give priority to the production of consumer goods.

The total volume of sales at the rural fairs continued to increase while prices dropped. A 36 per cent increase was registered in the first six months of this year over the corresponding period of last year in the total volume of transactions at 206 rural fairs in 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, according to the General Administration of Industry and Commerce. Selling prices at the end of June averaged 5 per cent lower than in the same period of last year.

No Deification of Dazhai Brigade

All advanced units, including the Dazhai Production Brigade in north China, are advanced and exemplary in some aspects but they, too, have their limitations and shortcomings and therefore should not be deified. This was the theme of an article published in *Shanxi Ribao* early last month.

Dazhai was one of the many advanced farming units that had emerged during the agricultural co-operation movement in the 1950s, the article pointed out. But even in agriculture, it had many limitations and was only a model for construction in mountainous areas.

In the Cultural Revolution, however, Dazhai was praised to the skies, to the point of absurdity, the article said. It was publicized as an example not only for agriculture, but also for all other fields of work, alleging that it was consistently correct in everything.

The article said that Dazhai was held up as the ultimate model during the Cultural Revolution because many of its practices conformed to the ultra-Left line pushed by Lin Biao and the gang of four and also because there were people who stopped at nothing to laud and prettify it, alternately using exaggeration, fabrication and other means according to the prevailing political climate.

China is a vast country with an area of 9.6 million square kilometres and a population of 900 million people of over 50 nationalities. How could a model of "construction in mountainous areas" serve as an example for the entire country to follow and how could its experience be applicable to all communes and production brigades? How could China's agriculture advance with great strides if all the production brigades had to "trim the sails" to conform to the Dazhai standard?

The article called for a dialectical approach in the appraisal of advanced units. An advanced unit should be aware of its own weaknesses and shortcomings, and on no account should anyone become conceited and think that they are second to none.

The article pointed out that people will never approve a model set up by dishonest means and by using large amounts of funds appropriated by the higher authorities. For some years from 1966 onward, Xiyang, the first Dazhai-type county, received more than 25.6 million yuan in aid from the Jinzhong (central Shanxi) Prefecture alone for farmland capital construction and water conservancy projects, averaging

9,000 yuan for each hectare of land brought under irrigation. How could other places afford to learn from such a model fed and fattened with so much money?

The article added that people must not be forced to copy the experience of an advanced unit. In the past, however, they were told to "do exactly whatever Dazhai and Xiyang have done." When Dazhai and Xiyang made the production brigade the basic accounting unit, all the communes in Shanxi Province had to follow suit. And when rural fairs and household sideline occupations were banned in Dazhai and Xiyang, other places in the province had to do the same. This is abnormal, the article stressed, and is against dialectical materialism and detrimental to the creativity of the masses.

"Beijing Review" reported several times in the past how the Dazhai Brigade had transformed the mountain area through hard struggle. This is right. But owing to the influence of the erroneous line and lack of on-the-spot investigation, we described Dazhai as an advanced model in every respect. This is wrong, for which we should make a self-criticism. — Ed.

POLITICAL

Chinese Leaders Attend Lecture on Science

Members of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and the State Council attended the first lecture on

science on July 24 in a classroom in Zhongnanhai where the People's Government is located. The teacher was Professor Qian Sanqiang, a noted physicist.

Professor Qian gave a brief account of the development of science and technology, analysed the various historical stages of their progress and explained their impact on society.

This was the first of a series of ten lectures arranged by the Secretariat for Chinese leaders. Other subjects on the programme are: the special features of modern science and technology and the trend of their development, agriculture, energy, natural resources, population control, environmental protection, electronic computers, space science and mathematics.

At the Second National Congress of the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association last March, General Secretary of the Secretariat Hu Yaobang pointed out that the four modernizations underscored the importance of science and technology and management skills. On behalf of the Secretariat, he invited veteran scientists to give lectures to leading personnel and said that the Secretariat would take the lead in answering the Party Central Committee's call for the march on science. He expressed the hope that other comrades throughout the country would follow suit.

N.P.C. Standing Committee Members on Inspection Tours

Since mid-July, members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress have been on inspection tours in their

respective provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

Ye Jianying, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, sent out a circular earlier concerning this matter.

Before the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the circular said. N.P.C. Standing Committee members will go on inspection tours. Problems discovered during the inspections should be reported to the standing committees of the local people's congresses or the local people's governments and be dealt with accordingly. They can also be reported by letter to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

On July 18 when Luo Qingchang and two others on the N.P.C. Standing Committee inspected the Beijing Automobile Factory, they were accompanied by as many as 50 to 60 people, including leading members of the Beijing municipality and the factory. Luo suggested there and then that a change be made with regard to these inspections. He said: "When comrades from the N.P.C. Standing Committee inspect the grass-roots units, there shouldn't be so much bustle. Just sent someone to show them around and give them a briefing."

The leading comrades concerned expressed their agreement and decided to improve their reception work in the future.

From June to mid-July, over 260 members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference toured the country and put forward many suggestions for improving the work of the various localities.



N.P.C. Standing Committee members inspecting a newly built residential area in Beijing.

Towards the end of July, the Tenth Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. was held in Beijing. It heard reports from some investigation and inspection groups.

Many questions were brought up. Some members suggested that legislation concerning economic matters be enacted, some proposed reforms in the structure of secondary education, and some proposed that the training of youngsters and the reforming of juvenile delinquents be taken up without delay.

The session also put forward proposals to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council on the protection of cultural relics.

Selecting Cadres From Among College Graduates

Cadres who do not take part in production will from now on be selected mainly from among graduates of universities and secondary technical schools or youths with the same educational level instead of from among workers and peasants with a little education.

This statement was made by Song Renqiong, Head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in a letter dealing with the source of cadres, the full text of which was published in *Renmin Ribao*.

The ranks of Party cadres, Song said in his letter, inevitably undergo a metabolic process. Where will our new cadres come from? This question was discussed at a meeting sponsored a short time ago by the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee. The stress was on selecting cadres from among outstanding young and middle-aged people. The participants pointed out that to meet the needs of socialist modernization, it is imperative to have a greater number of younger cadres with professional knowledge, and selections should be made in line with the qualifications set for cadres in the new period.

Song recalled that during the time of war and in the early post-liberation years, most Party cadres were from the ranks of workers and peasants and there were few intellectuals. That was necessitated by the historical conditions at that time. Since the founding of New China, the Party and state have trained several million graduates of uni-

versities and colleges; those coming from workers' or peasants' families occupy a large proportion and many have become cadres not taking a direct part in production. Many of these cadres have mastered one or several kinds of special knowledge through study and long years of practice, and some have become specialists in certain fields.

This notwithstanding, the cultural, scientific and technological level of our cadres as a whole is still comparatively low today, and there are very few cadres in the prime of life who are well versed in modern science and technology and management skills. This is especially so among leading cadres, and falls far short of the demands of the current modernization drive.

To solve this problem, energetic efforts should be made to train those cadres whose cultural level is low and who lack vocational knowledge. Coupled with this, from now on emphasis should be laid on selecting qualified cadres with certain professional knowledge. Failing to do so, it will be impossible to fundamentally change the present irrational composition of cadres or raise the standard of our cadres. This is of course detrimental to our cause and is not in the interests of the workers and peasants and the nation as a whole.

In the new historical period, the Party demands that cadres must, in the first place, adhere to the socialist road; secondly, they should be competent, with professional knowledge and vocational skills; and, thirdly, they should be in the prime of life and able to shoulder heavy

tasks. These three requirements embody the principle of paying due attention to both political integrity and vocational proficiency.

Song Renqiong stressed that in the future cadres, no matter where they come from, will wherever conditions permit start working at the grass-roots level so as to gain practical experience in production and management.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

China Firmly Stands on the Side of Thailand

"The Chinese Government and people will firmly stand by Thailand if Viet Nam continues to create incidents on the Thai-Kampuchean border and make provocations against Thailand." Premier Hua Guofeng said this during his meeting on July 30 with Foreign Minister of Thailand Siddhi Savetsila who was visiting China. The Premier also said: "China is firmly opposed to Viet Nam's practice of hegemonism in Indochina."

Premier Hua said that he was looking forward to Prime Minister Prem Tinasulanonda's coming visit to China which he regarded as a major event.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua met the Thai Foreign Minister on July 29 and had a sincere exchange of views with him on the situation in Asia, bilateral relations and other issues of common concern. Their views were identical on many questions.

Primary Condition for Easing Tension in Southeast Asia. At

News in Brief

the banquet he gave in honour of the Thai Foreign Minister in Beijing on July 29, Huang Hua said: "At present, the international community is strongly demanding the implementation of the resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly at its 34th session, namely, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and letting the Kampuchean people solve their own problems free from outside interference. We hold that this is the only correct way to settle the Kampuchean issue and it is the primary condition for relaxing tension in South-east Asia."

Thailand Will Never Succumb to Pressure. Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila said that, to force others to accept what it has done in Kampuchea, Viet Nam has exerted pressure on Thailand. "But," he declared, "Thailand will never succumb to such pressure."

He added that the June 23-24 armed incursion into Thai territory by Vietnamese regulars was followed by the massing and deployment of more troops along the Thai-Kampuchean border. This, he said, attests to the fact that Viet Nam is ready to intimidate and force others to accept its wishes. At the same time, Viet Nam is resorting to deceptive and diversionary tactics in an attempt to put the blame on others.

"Thailand," Siddhi Savetsila said, "has on countless occasions been accused of colluding with other powers, namely, China and the United States, in opposing Viet Nam and the 'Indochinese peoples' and in fomenting unrest in the area. In fact, this 'title of honour' should be bestowed on none other than Viet Nam itself whose war machine in Kampuchea has been kept well-oiled by a big power."

Birth of Independent Republic of Vanuatu. Premier Hua Guofeng sent a message to Prime Minister Walter Hadye Lini on July 28, extending warm congratulations on the occasion of the independence of the Independent Republic of Vanuatu and his assumption of the office of Prime Minister. The Chinese Government has decided to recognize the new Republic.

French Revolutionary Communist Party (M-L) Delegation. During his meeting with the delegation of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of France led by its General Secretary Max Cluzot on July 21, Vice-Premier and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Ji Pengfei gave the French comrades an account of the experience and lessons gained by the Chinese Communist Party in leading China's socialist revolution and construction since the founding of New China in 1949. He also outlined the general tasks of the Party at present.

Colombian Revolutionary and Independent Workers' Movement. Li Xiannian, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier, on July 29 met Francisco Mosquera, General Secretary of the Colombian Revolutionary and Independent Workers' Movement, and exchanged views on the present international situation. Comrade Li Xiannian gave the Colombian comrades an account of China's experience and lessons in socialist construction. He said that the Chinese Communist Party is summing up the historical exper-

ience in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, mobilizing the enthusiasm of the whole Party and the whole nation for the socialist modernization programme, raising the living standards of the Chinese people, and strengthening socialist democracy and legal system.

Portuguese Military Delegation. Yang Dezhi, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, on July 26 met with Tomas Silva, head of the Portuguese military delegation. They exchanged views on many subjects, including the Soviet Union's practice of hegemonism in various parts of the world. They agreed that in order to deal with the Soviet Union's ambitions to achieve global supremacy, the armed forces of China and Portugal should strengthen their co-operation and contacts.

Sino-Japanese Friendship Hospital. The representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Health Ministry of China held talks last month and decided to co-operate in building a 1,000-bed modern hospital in Beijing. This hospital, which will be called the Sino-Japanese Friendship Hospital, will combine traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine, teaching and research with clinical practice, and will include a clinical medicine research institute, a school for training nurses and a building for recuperation.



A Victory for the Palestinian Cause

THE July 29 resolution on Palestine passed by the emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly (July 22-29) is a step forward compared with previous relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

The resolution declares explicitly that the Palestinian people have the right to the establishment of a state of their own. It unequivocally calls upon Israel to withdraw unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories forcibly seized and occupied by force. There can be no bargaining over the return of the Israeli-occupied territories, including east Jerusalem, because it involves a fundamental principle in international relations, that armed expansion is illegal and inadmissible. And the resolution for the first time sets a deadline for the Israeli withdrawal from its illegally occupied territories. It demands that such a withdrawal should start before November 15, 1980 and declares that if Israel ignores the resolution, then effective measures will be taken according to the U.N. Charter.

The resolution shows that the emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly on the Palestine question has performed its duty, brought the international community's just role into play for the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights and attained significant and positive results.

The armed struggle of the Palestinian people led by the

Palestine Liberation Organization has been accompanied by active political and diplomatic activities. Last year, President Arafat of the P.L.O. paid successful visits to a number of West European and Asian countries. There is a growing number of countries that now see the Palestinian question as more than a regional issue and that there must be a just solution to the Palestinian question if there is to be lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and their aggres-

sive thrust south to the Persian Gulf have highlighted the Palestinian issue and have made prescient politicians aware in the world context of the urgency of resolving this problem. The European Economic Community has called for closer relations with the Arab world and has declared that the Palestinian people are fully entitled to their national rights. In the United States, too, voices condemning the Israeli expansionists and supporting the Palestinian people have grown louder. Inside Israeli ruling circles, divisions over the Palestinian question have surfaced. It is not hard to see that support

Chinese Foreign Ministry on Israel Changing Status of Jerusalem

A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on August 5 strongly condemning Israel's illegal act of changing the status of Jerusalem.

Full text of the statement reads:

On July 30 the Israeli Knesset brazenly passed a bill proclaiming Jerusalem to be the "eternal and indivisible capital" of Israel, and the Israeli Foreign Minister announced that the Prime Minister's office would soon be moved to east Jerusalem. This unbridled move by the Israeli authorities right after the U.N. General Assembly adopted at its emergency special session resolutions on the Palestine question is an extreme instance of contempt for the international community and a gross violation of the U.N. Charter and the relevant U.N. resolutions. We hereby strongly denounce this act.

We fully understand the feelings of the Arab and Islamic countries and peoples towards Jerusalem and sympathize with them on this point. We are firmly opposed to the Israeli authorities' illegal act to change the city's status. The question of Jerusalem is part and parcel of the Middle East question. Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. The national rights of the Palestinian people must be restored and there must be a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East question.

for the Palestinian people is on the increase and the Israeli aggressors are becoming ever more unpopular. The recent U.N. resolution on Palestine passed by an overwhelming majority is illustrative of this trend.

Superpower Rivalry

The Palestinian question remains unsolved mainly because the Israeli authorities have refused to give up their expansionist policy and the occupation of the Arab territories. After the U.N. emergency special session adopted the resolution on Palestine, the Israeli parliament passed a bill making Jerusalem the "eternal capital of Israel" and Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir arrogantly declared that the West Bank of the Jordan River belonged to Israel and was inseparable. All this shows that Israel has no intention of modifying its stand to pave the way for a fair resolution to the Palestinian question. It shows Israel wanting to continue its hostility vis-a-vis the Palestinian and other Arab people.

All the world knows that Israel's faith in force and its aggressive and expansionist stand cannot be separated from superpower support and connivance. The United States still refuses to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and its clear bias for Israel is seen in its opposition to the recent U.N. resolution on the Palestinian question passed by a vote of 112. The Soviet Union tries hard to maintain a state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East so as to gain strategic positions and control of

Middle East oil resources. That would allow it leverage against the West, outflank Europe, overtake the United States and ultimately dominate the world. So it can be seen that a comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East question necessitates Israel abandoning its policy of aggression and expansion and requires that the world oppose superpower rivalry and expansion in the Middle East at the expense of the Palestinian and other Arab people.

China's Support

The Chinese people have always supported the Palestin-

ian and other Arab people in their just struggle for the recovery of their lost territories, the restoration of their national rights and the finding of a comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East question. In getting Israel to withdraw from its occupied territories completely and unconditionally before the deadline as the recent U.N. resolution demands, the Palestinian and other Arab people have the sympathy and firm support of the Chinese Government and people.

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 1

No Glory in the Game

DURING the 16-day Moscow Olympics the Soviet propaganda machine never let up. It told the world that the Moscow Olympics were the "largest international sports meet," of "the highest standard," full of "genuine Olympic atmosphere," embodying "sporting fraternity" and reflecting the lofty Olympic ideal of "sports for peace."

What were the facts?

Moscow tried to turn the Olympics into the biggest-ever international sports meet so as to offset the damage done to its image by its hegemonistic policies. In Afghanistan it has itself made mockery of the Olympic spirit. The Moscow Olympics were the smallest in 20 years. Of the 147 members of the I.O.C., 66 countries and 50 individual sports associations of more than 10 countries either did not participate or they boycotted the games. According to Vladimir Popov, vice-president of the Moscow Olympic Games organizing committee,

5,928 athletes participated in the games. The planned figure was 12,700. Only 58,233 foreign visitors went to Moscow for the occasion, when 300,000 had been expected.

During the competitions, 33 new world records and 70 Olympic records were established. The weightlifting results were most outstanding. However, since many countries leading in sports, including the United States, West Germany, Japan, Canada and Kenya boycotted the Moscow games, many top-rate teams and sportsmen did not attend, reducing competitions in certain events to a low standard. The results of ten events in the U.S. swimming championships held on August 2, for example, were better than those of the same events at Moscow. To many, the competitions at Moscow were disappointing.

As to the atmosphere prevailing in the Moscow Olympics, Robert Van de Valle of Belgium mentioned "constant pressure,

security checks, soldiers, police, rigid regulations" that turned the whole thing sour. Comparing the last four games, he said, "The Soviet capital surely takes the prize for the worst atmosphere."

Three members of the International Organizing Committee left Moscow before the official opening of the games and 16 countries withheld their national flags as a token of protest and members of ten of these participating countries refused to attend the opening ceremony. The mayor of Montreal, venue of the previous Olympics, was not there to hand over the I.O.C. flag. The United States, the host country of the next games, did not allow its national flag to be flown at the closing ceremony. The city flag of Los Angeles, the site of the next games, was hoisted instead.

The shadow of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan hung heavily over Olympic village. Heavily armed police both inside and outside the village added to the tense atmosphere.

Endless controversies arose when Soviet judges and athletes resorted to unethical means to win medals for the host country. Papers in Romania protested the biased Soviet judges in the women's gymnastics competitions, pointing out that they had stained the Olympic spirit.

The Soviet Union tried hard to create an image of "sports for peace." Foreign athletes and tourists were greeted with peace angels, rose petals and little "Misha" bears. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was dispatching reinforcements to crush Afghan Moslem fighters and rebellious Afghan government troops and Soviet planes were bombing and strafing

Afghan mountain villages and killing their innocent inhabitants.

Like the 11th Olympics held in Nazi Germany in 1936, the

Afghanistan

Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces

AFGHAN resistance forces are meeting and merging, (and this is taking place despite stepped-up repression by the Russians) while factional rivalries rend the Russian-installed regime. It augurs well for the Afghan forces fighting the Soviet occupation and is indicative of the flow of support away from the Karmal regime.

Anti-Aggression Widespread. Opposition to aggression has grown in Afghanistan and Soviet suppression is helping to bring different tribes and nationalities and classes together. Armed resistance has proliferated and guerrillas are now operating in most of the countryside and in more and more cities and towns. Even in Kabul and some provincial capitals, the members of the ruling regime and the Russians are frequently attacked and shot at.

Although these resistance fighters are a heterogeneous force, they have this in common: they want the Russians out of their country. Opposition to foreign occupation is fast becoming a patriotic duty, even among some who had supported Karmal. This anti-aggression centripetal force grows stronger and evidence of it at work is the setting up of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan consisting of five Moslem organiza-

22nd Olympics in Moscow was not a glorious page in the history of the Olympic movement.

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Guo Ping

tions headquartered in Peshawar, Pakistan, and the merging of ten Moslem groups based in Iran into the Afghan Revolutionary Front. At the end of July, the Islamic National Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan (INRCA) was set up in Peshawar. This organization has two representatives from each province and one from each special district and was set up to co-ordinate measures and to step up the fight against the Soviet aggressors.

These are factors for Afghan independence and sovereignty.

Kabul Regime Disintegrating. The Soviet Union is in a fix, with the Karmal regime it installed torn by factional rivalry and the forces fighting to throw them out growing in strength and in number. Inside the ruling People's Democratic Party itself, the Parcham and the Khalq factions are engaged in internecine feuding and the division is growing wider and more open.

Although the Soviet Union flatly denies that the Kabul regime is tottering, there is nothing it can do to conceal the bloody factional clashes within the regime. Some 70 People's Democratic Party officials were killed in fighting between the factions in one week in June. In May, commanders of seven army units stationed around Kabul

refused to give way to Parcham commanders sent to replace them. The governor of the eastern province of Nangarhar has also ignored the order telling him to step down for a Parcham appointee. Karmal recently reshuffled his government again to strengthen his Parcham faction, downgrading the influential Khalq faction leader, first deputy prime minister Sarwari, from second in command to just being another of the dozen deputy prime ministers. Interior minister Gulabzoi and communications minister Watanjar, also Khalq leaders, have almost become non-persons since the execution of ten former Afghan officials charged with opposing the Soviet invasion two months ago. In the reorganization, the interior ministry was incorporated into the newly established "general presidency for guidance" directly under Karmal. Three days before the reorganization, Radio Kabul announced the dismissal of top finance officials of nine provinces and their replacement by Karmal's Parcham supporters.

As if this were not enough to trouble the Karmal regime and its Soviet backers, a number of people within the two factions, Parcham and Khalq, are disturbed to some degree by the indefinite Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and the severity of suppression of the population. Some Khalq members have separated themselves from the People's Democratic Party and gone over to the guerrillas. Some avowed Parcham members are reported to have torn up their party cards in protest against the regime's bloody suppression of the students.

At the end of July, many Afghan government troops of the 14th division were reported to have defected to guerrilla

forces in a major uprising in Ghazni, 100 kilometres southwest of Kabul. Desertions and defections among Afghan government troops are routine.

Oceania

Vanuatu, Newest Pacific Republic

A minute after Tuesday midnight on July 30 Walter Lini and George Sokomanu were sworn in as the first Prime Minister and the first President of the new Independent Republic of Vanuatu before a crowd of 500 gathered outside the national assembly building in Vila. This ended 74 years of British and French rule in the New Hebrides, an island archipelago some 1,000 miles east of Australia. Among representatives from 34 countries taking part in the official ceremony marking the birth of the 11th independent nation in Oceania was Chinese representative Mi Guojun.

Prayers for Peace and Unity. Both the Prime Minister and President in their inauguration speeches appealed for unity. They were referring to the 2-month-long rebellion on Espiritu Santo by a small French-speaking group who refuses to acknowledge the new government. This presents the new country with serious problems that could wreck hopes for a stable government.

The rebellion began after last November's elections, when Walter Lini's English-speaking Vanuaaku Party won with more than 60 per cent of the votes. Jimmy Stevens, a planter on Espiritu Santo, seized Luganville, the chief town on the island, with outside backing and declared himself prime minister of an independent state of "Vemarana."

This is not a sign of support for the Karmal regime, nor of stability within it.

— "Beijing Review"
news analyst Yu Pang

There were hurried exchanges between Britain and France and the pre-independence government to try to find a solution. Armed police and marines were dispatched and withdrawn without incident or result. Then the separatists proposed four-way talks between Britain, France, the government and the separatists. They all met on June 19 but nothing was accomplished.

South Pacific Forum. On July 14 at Tarawa, capital of another new Pacific nation, Kiribati, heads of state of a dozen nations met for the annual South Pacific Forum, during which a resolution was adopted calling for Vanuatu independence on July 30 as scheduled. The resolution expressed concern over the threat posed by the small secessionist group to the elected government and to the integrity of the country and bluntly pointed out that the duty of the two joint trustees, Britain and France, was to transfer power wholly to the elected government of a united, stable and independent nation. These two countries were urged to help restore law and order in the islands and do whatever they could to maintain peace and stability after the islands became independent. Then the forum formally admitted Vanuatu as its 13th full member.

In mid-July British Minister of State Peter Blaker and French Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and

For Your Reference

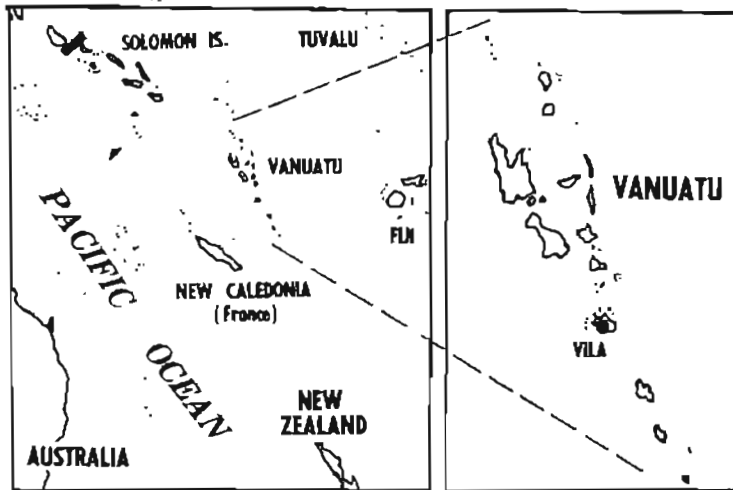
The Independent Republic of Vanuatu

Territory: 11,880 square kilometres of some 70 islands.

Population: circa 110,000, Melanesians making up 90 per cent.

Capital: Vila, on Efate Island.

Language: The official languages are English and French, but the people speak pidgin.



Territories Paul Dijoud met and finally reached agreement on settling the issue of transferring power to the elected government. The secessionist issue appears to have been tem-

porarily settled by a joint Anglo-French force which landed on the rebel island on July 24.

— Wei Yuqin

South Africa

Growing Resentment and Resistance

THE Republic of South Africa has the only white and racist regime on the African continent. Its history is a history of systematic violence against the majority of the people, the blacks. The repressive regime has promulgated 350 decrees in the past 70 years directed against the blacks and other non-white people and designed to keep this majority in subjection and suffering. It

has progressively tightened up measures subjecting the non-whites to great hardships and indignities in all aspects of their lives. Resistance to the regime's ugly racist policies has been savagely suppressed.

But however ruthless the repression, the South African people have never wavered in their resistance. Opposition has only grown stronger, more stubborn and more widespread with the

years. The conflict between oppressors and oppressed is moving rapidly in the direction of harsher measures by the authorities being matched by broader unity and more active and better organized resistance.

Since the beginning of this year, popular resistance has erupted first here and then there. Resistance is bloodily put down, but it breaks out anew elsewhere. The authorities are feeling the blows and the desperateness of their position. The Botha government has told its police: "Shoot to kill," and they did. Within a month some 40 black and coloured demonstrators against the authorities' continuing cruelties of apartheid were killed.

New Developments

The confrontation in South Africa today is different from earlier years. It now has added dimensions.

1. Until now, blacks have been the principal fighters against official racist discrimination. This year, the coloured (mixed-race) masses including ethnic Indians have joined the fight, presenting the racist regime with a more formidable front. The massive April-May demonstrations against racial discrimination in the school system are illustrative. Protests by pupils and students in the coloured ghettos about Cape Town and Port Elizabeth spread quickly to black schools and universities throughout the country. At one point more than 100,000 blacks and coloured students were involved.

2. The student protest has the support of the black and

coloured majority in all walks of life. Despite the ban on meetings imposed by the Botha government, meetings and demonstrations were held in all major cities to mark the fourth anniversary of the Soweto massacre and in support of the students. Black and coloured workers have struck for higher pay, better working conditions and in support of the protesting students. Some 3,000 workers of a Cape Town meat processing factory, the biggest in South Africa, were out on a month-long strike. They were not alone. Some 7,000 auto workers in Port Elizabeth also walked out, bringing the automobile industry almost to a standstill. This growing co-operation between blacks and coloureds, between students and workers, has worried the South African authorities.

3. Urban guerrilla activities are becoming more widespread and more frequent. In January, guerrillas attacked a bank in Pretoria, the capital. In April, guerrillas slammed rockets into a police station in an all-whites' suburb in Johannesburg. In June, guerrillas blew up eight fuel tanks at the country's vital oil-from-coal conversion plants. Pretoria lost an estimated over seven million U.S. dollars in minutes.

Strikes, school boycotts, urban guerrilla action have been accompanied by intensified rural guerrilla attacks against military outposts in the border areas.

An Old Trick

The reactionary South African authorities have had to acknowledge that the growing resistance and the series of successes of the anti-racist forces stem from two factors: the victory of the neighbouring Zimbabwean people and the

continuing cruelties perpetuated by the official policy of apartheid. To counter this, to undermine the people's strength, the Botha government is now trying to split unity and demoralize the coloured and black people. The recently introduced "power-sharing" legislation "designed to open a dialogue with coloured and Indian people," is one trick the authorities are trying. The legislation would set up a 60-member "president's council" made up of coloureds and Indians "to discuss potential constitutional changes." It appears to be an offer to "share power"

with the coloureds and Asians, but its ultimate goal is to shore up white control. Of course, the non-white majority will not fall for this old, old white tactic of "divide and rule" in Africa.

The South African authorities can try but they cannot stamp out popular resistance; not as long as the majority is kept as an enslaved nation. The people's struggle has the support of public opinion all over the world. Pressures from abroad are growing, just as they are growing inside the country.

— Shi Fang

Why Memories of 1939?

TH**ERE** are only two decades left of the 20th century. Will there be another world war written into the annals of world history? How is mankind to avert being embroiled in another world catastrophe?

Statesmen and political commentators all over the world are looking with growing apprehension into this issue affecting the security of all mankind and the fate of the world.

The danger of war does exist, and the danger comes from Soviet social-imperialism, consumed by its ambition to dominate the world. One ominous sign and proof of this is the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The factors causing war and peace in turns are extremely complicated. If we examine the two world wars of this century and international relations during the period of peace between the wars, we can see that at one time, when people were thinking that peace was being sought at any price, the aggressor's

appetite was actually being whetted to hasten the outbreak of war; and at another time, when people decided to stand up to aggression, it turned out to be an excellent policy that stopped aggression and won peace.

A Leaf From History. In the autumn of 1938 when war seemed imminent in Europe, the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned from Munich, waving the infamous "Munich agreement." "Peace in our time," crowed Chamberlain. How grateful were Britain and Europe to this "peace-maker." There was even a move to establish a "Chamberlain peace foundation" and France offered to set aside a park for the angler British Prime Minister "to fish happily."

But history returned a totally different verdict. Chamberlain's name is inseparably and eternally associated with appeasement to aggression. How many British, French, Polish,

Jewish and other European lives were lost to Hitler's bombs and shells and in Nazi gas ovens. The Nazis jackbooted into Paris through the Arc de Triomphe. Europe was plunged into calamity of unprecedented proportion.

When U.S. President Roosevelt wanted to extend a helping hand to the Anglo-Saxon brothers, isolationists in the United States, who were concerned only with keeping themselves safe, bitterly accused him as a "warmonger" and fought to keep their electorate's sons from being sent to die in Europe. Only later, with the Lend-Lease Act, could Roosevelt ship arms to Britain and it was not until after U.S. ships had been repeatedly attacked by German submarines that the United States on December 11, 1941, formally declared war on Germany.

So it can be seen that neither war nor peace hinges only on the ambitions of an aggressor, but also on the determination and counter-measures taken to fight aggression. History says World War II should be considered to have begun on September 1, 1939, when Hitler blitzkrieged Poland. But in drawing a lesson from history, shouldn't the start of World War II be placed earlier, when Hitler swallowed up Austria, the Sudeten area and then all of Czechoslovakia? If Hitler had been given a head-on blow earlier, would he have dared to be so arrogant and belligerent and done as he wanted?

How to Deal With Threats. The reason why the Western press is comparing the situation today with that in 1939 is be-

cause the world today is again, as in 1939, confronted with the threat of war and the question of how to counter this threat. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is not an isolated issue. It is the continuation of Soviet aggression and expansion in Angola, the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea and Indochina in recent years. It is also the result of the West's appeasement policy towards Soviet expansion and of not daring to make an effective counter response. The Afghan issue is not a regional one. It is an inevitable step in the Soviet strategy for global expansion. A local action is frequently linked with overall strategy and overall strategy starts from a local action. The Soviet Union's strategic goal is world domination. To do this, it does not hesitate to resort to armed subjugation. If each Soviet expansionist attempt is not countered, the Soviet Union will occupy this today and take that tomorrow, and go on to grab other strategic passages and areas, until one day there will be a fundamental change in the world balance of forces and global line-up. But by then, when confrontation becomes inescapable and counter-action is taken, the map of the world

would already be vastly altered and the favourable factors would already be irretrievably lost.

Therefore, the West and the world as a whole have to decide. Is it not better to stop the Soviet momentum for expansion now than to resist later after things have become unfavourable? Stopping the Soviets now means countering every aggression they commit, giving them tit for tat and not letting them gain an inch. Thwart them, make them pay dearly, if they dare to risk making trouble and committing aggression. Even if it is impossible to change their strategic orientation, their strategical deployment must be held back so as to win time to co-ordinate anti-hegemonic measures and to build up the forces against hegemonism. To do everything possible to delay war breaking out. Indecision, fence-sitting, hoping against hope that Moscow has got all it wants and is satisfied or throwing the weak and the small to it as a sop, then history is certain to repeat itself and catastrophe will overtake the world. If recalling memories of 1939 is to prevent another 1939, then it is extremely helpful.

— Chen Youwei

What Does Moscow Want?

BREZHNEV'S message to the NATO countries conveyed by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in early July is both tempting and confusing. On the one hand, it seems that the Soviet Union has backed down, withdrawing its previous preconditions on talks

on the limitation of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe. That could mean it has expressed its willingness to negotiate with the United States. On the other hand, it declared that the limitation of the U.S. "forward base system" in West Europe must be included in the talks

and that an agreement on the issue cannot be reached until the SALT (strategic arms limitation talks) II treaty becomes effective.

What Moscow's Proposal Means. The response to the new Soviet proposal from the NATO countries is not very enthusiastic. Expressions of "cautious welcome" were soon followed by "confusion." Last December, in order to repair its nuclear disadvantage, NATO decided to deploy 572 new U.S.-made medium-range missiles in Western Europe, starting in 1983, and proposed talks with the Soviet Union. Moscow insisted that negotiations could be held only when NATO rescinds its decision to deploy new missiles and the U.S. Congress ratifies the SALT II treaty. Now, however, the Soviet Union wants negotiations. Has it really changed its position? And why has it added new "qualifiers" to the negotiations? What is Moscow up to?

For one thing, Moscow has been stung by the NATO resolution on the deployment of medium-range missiles adopted last December and has attempted to prevent its implementation. *Pravda* said on July 16 that the Soviet Union was willing to reduce its intermediate-range rockets in Europe on condition that NATO would not deploy new U.S. missiles there. Now the Soviet Union has turned its preconditions for holding negotiations into prerequisites for its restriction of theatre nuclear weapons. Moreover, Moscow's definition of "forward base system" includes all U.S. ground, sea and air theatre nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe,

weapons indispensable to NATO maintaining the balance of nuclear forces pending the deployment of new missiles and heavily relied upon by the NATO countries. However, Moscow now wants to include them in the negotiations in an attempt to get what it has not achieved in the SALT talks. Moscow's reasoning, apparently, goes like this: What you do not have now, you are not allowed to make, and what you have now, you must cut down. This would tie its opponent's hand, but allow it to keep and enlarge its own advantage. As to its making the ratification of the SALT II treaty a precondition to a new agreement, the aim is to shift the responsibility for failing to reach an agreement on to the United States and drive a wedge between the U.S. and its West European allies.

Marathon Negotiations. Under such circumstances, NATO circles predict that the forthcoming negotiations, like all previous ones, will be a "talkathon," talking on and on about "making definitions," "counting numbers," "drafting the agenda" and "working out formulas."

Such Marathon-type negotiations are what the Soviets want. First of all, they want them to divert world opinion from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and enable Moscow to suppress local resistance and consolidate its military occupation of that country. Secondly, the Soviet Union, making itself out to be the one who has "salvaged" "detente," would try to show, through the negotiations, that "detente" is not only "necessary and pos-

sible," but also not "indivisible" even when East-West relations are at a low ebb. Thirdly, the Soviet Union would attempt through the negotiations to weaken further the determination of some NATO countries on the question of deploying new-type missiles and disintegrate the NATO alliance by sowing dissension among its member states in the talks. Fourthly, while apparently engaged in negotiations, the Soviet Union would try to consolidate its own theatre nuclear deployment composed mainly of SS-20 medium-range missiles and Backfire bombers in order to strengthen its means of military deterrence and political blackmail. No wonder NATO sources regarded the Soviet package proposal as "a skilful manoeuvre to delay the negotiations while adopting the posture of speaking for peace." Even as NATO members are busily holding consultations among themselves, the United States has already assured them it would strengthen co-operation with them. It is generally held that the U.S. and the West European countries will adopt more or less similar policies since the negotiations directly concern NATO's European defences. At the same time, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan will certainly have its influence on such negotiations. A correspondent from the West commented that the biggest obstacle now is the strain on East-West relations posed by the Soviet Union's venture in Afghanistan, which "casts a visible blight on the spirit of accommodation necessary for such talks."

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Tang Liuyi

On the Role of the Individual In History

Who creates history? The people or some great men? What are the consequences of exaggerating the role of the individual in history, spreading the personality cult or going so far as to deify an individual?

THE Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which was held last February, raised and solved many issues of far-reaching significance, such as succeeding to the central leadership as a collective, ending the practice of being a cadre for life, and adopting the method of working as a collective but with a division of labour. This is a direct continuation and logical development of the spirit of the Third and Fourth Plenary Sessions. A guiding thought underlying the resolution of these questions is the Marxist scientific principle concerning the role of the individual and the people in history.

The People Are the Creators of History

Proceeding from the basic principle that the mode of production is the basis for the existence and advance of various societies, historical materialists hold that the masses are the creators of history. Historically, the slave-owners, the landlord class and the bourgeoisie all once played a progressive, positive role. But, in the last analysis, the development of society is determined by the development of the productive forces. The history of human society is the history of the development of production, the history of the producers.

Then what about the role of great characters in history? Marxism not only does not negate the role of great characters in history, but considers that they play a big role. In the course of history, it is impossible for the masses to carry their struggle to victory in the absence of outstanding thinkers, statesmen or military commanders who organize the masses, enhance their awareness, point out the course

of advance and direct the struggle in the van of the movement. The role of great men is an objective necessity of historical development. In the present era when the people are creating history ever more consciously, we should, while fully confirming the people as the creators of history, emphasize the important role of proletarian leaders who are well versed in the art of politics and familiar with the laws governing social development. Otherwise, consciously or unconsciously, we are undermining the significance of the materialistic view of history.

Although revolutionary teachers have fully expounded, and elaborated in many of their writings the important principle of historical materialism that the masses are the creators of history, still it is not easy for people in the course of their revolutionary activities to remain clear-headed on this question. This has been proved by the history of the communist movement in the past 100 years or more. It is the result of the complexity of the question itself and the confusions that rulers, idealistic philosophers and historians have caused on the question.

The idealistic conception of history holds that great characters are the arbiters of the destiny of history and that the course of historical development is determined entirely by the will and activities of certain great characters, or that everything in the world is arranged divinely. Both viewpoints negate the role of the masses as the creators of history. In actual life, these two viewpoints are often mixed up. This can often be seen in Chinese history. The first emperor of a dynasty was always hailed as the sole creator of history. In addition, this emperor was said to be acting on behalf of god and have a unique origin—he was born because his mother had swallowed a pill given by god or he himself was some sort of deity. All these idealistic viewpoints that great characters create history have far-reaching influence.

In China, people often unconsciously and sincerely exaggerate the role of an individual in history. How does this happen? Apart from the social causes — influence of the old ideology of the exploiting classes and the traditional concepts and the distortions spread by those with ulterior motives — it stems from the people's lack of a proper understanding of the truth.

People often overlook the basic causes of the historical development of society which lie hidden behind the phenomena and they see only the role of great characters whose activities are conspicuous on the stage of history.

Leaps in social advance and the development of historical events are determined by political, economic and other factors. The chief cause is the development of productive forces. Only on the basis of these objective conditions can great characters make their contributions. In addition, great characters themselves are products of these social and historical conditions. But since the basic causes and objective laws of historical development are covered up by multifarious and complicated social phenomena, they can be known and mastered only through scientific abstraction. As to the great men active on the stage of history, their characteristics, activities and roles (including the role played by their personalities, hobbies and various other accidental factors in historical development under certain social conditions) are noticeable. Therefore, people often observe the role of great characters one-sidedly without reference to particular social and historical conditions. They even regard history as nothing more than the wilful activities of emperors, kings, generals, ministers or heroes. Some believe that if one follows a certain great man closely, he can reverse the tide of history. In reality, this outlook means that an individual can do whatever he wants regardless of the objective historical conditions.

The wishes and demands of the people are expressed through outstanding figures. Historical movements are launched and organized by leaders. Thus it often happens that people credit a great man with all the achievements of historical movements. It must be admitted that under the same historical conditions, great characters stand on a higher plane, see things further ahead and have better organizational ability than ordinary people. They are starters and organizers of historical movements. Their contributions are very obvious during periods of historical "storms."

In the past or in present-day society, there

has often been the situation in which although the objective conditions are ripe for a change in the economic development of a society, the unorganized masses cannot unite their forces to effect the change because no suitable starter or organizer has emerged at the time. But a great figure can only promote or retard historical development and determine in part the external appearance of a historical change. What really decides the fate of history or the outcome of a particular situation as a whole is the strength of the people.

However, the masses of people seem to be negligible because they are numerous without fame, position or title — silent "cogs in the wheel." On the other hand, great figures — starters and organizers of historical movements who represent the demands of the era and the people's interests — are widely known for their meritorious services. Especially in a victorious situation, the praise and acclaim lavished on leaders by the people are often excessive. This leads to another mistaken conception which attributes to leaders what should be credited to the masses who play the decisive role in shaping the fate of history. There are also some people who always attribute all the successes and achievements to an individual and not, primarily and mainly, to the masses of people, thereby exaggerating the role of the individual.

During the course of a great historical movement, there will emerge a group of outstanding people who, centring around one or two great characters, display special abilities and create an aura of splendour around themselves. Of course, it is also likely that a certain great character may eclipse other able people or hinder the display of their abilities. This may lead to the exaggeration of his wisdom and role.

Personality cult and deification start with exaggerating the role of the individual. Lin Biao and the gang of four spread modern superstition by taking advantage of mistaken conceptions among the people and exploiting their simple sentiments of respect for their leader.

Profound Lessons Drawn From Deification of an Individual

The communist movement and our own experience show that an extreme exaggeration of a leader's personal role will give rise to the personality cult.

For many years, it has become a practice to use superstition to explain the history of our struggle; we should now, as Marx said, use history to explain superstition. That is, we should see how, historically, a man becomes a "god" and how people come to deify and put blind faith in him. Only in this way can we learn the necessary lessons from our mistakes. This is quite a complicated, arduous task. A few examples can illustrate the point briefly.

1. Mystifying Revolutionary Theory

Chinese Communists integrated the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, thereby developing revolutionary theory and forming Mao Zedong Thought. The Seventh Party Congress held in 1945 established Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our Party and this was a big historical contribution both to the development of the Party and to the victory of the Chinese revolution as a whole.

It is correct to call the development of Marxism-Leninism in the course of the Chinese revolution Mao Zedong Thought because Comrade Mao Zedong made the greatest and most outstanding contributions to this development. However, Mao Zedong Thought is not the product of Mao Zedong's personal wisdom alone. It is a crystallization of the experience gained in both the Chinese revolutionary struggles and in the construction of a new society over the last half century; it is also a crystallization of collective wisdom. Like the creation of other great ideas and doctrines, the emergence of Mao Zedong Thought was an historical necessity and there is nothing mysterious about it.

In this connection, the formation of Mao Zedong Thought is similar to the discovery of the materialist conception of history. Around the time of the founding of our Party, Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Deng Zhongxia, Zhou Enlai and other leaders did their best, in the course of struggle, to use the Marxist world outlook to study the Chinese revolution and probe into its laws. In many of their articles and documents, they made quite a number of correct expositions on basic problems of the Chinese revolution, such as the nature of the revolution, the targets of the revolution, the leadership of the proletariat, the peasant question and the armed struggle. It can be said that Mao Zedong Thought is the revolutionary theory which is bound to appear in the historical process of the Chinese Communists' collective

struggles. But for a long time in the past, people often described the revolutionary theory as the work of an individual genius, departing from the objective basis for the formation of theory and ruling out the factor of collective effort. It seemed as if the people were groping in the dark until a certain omniscient and omnipotent individual suddenly lit up a beacon. This gave a very mysterious character to the creation of the revolutionary theory. If the theory were created by a genius with boundless wisdom, his every word and sentence would be, of course, correct and therefore should be acted upon. It is by no means surprising that many people devoutly believed it when Lin Biao preached that "every sentence [of the leader] is a truth."

2. Attributing the Party's Line to an Individual

Our Party is organized on the principle of democratic centralism. According to this principle, the Party's line must be discussed and formulated by the Party's National Congresses or the central organ of power. Though the Party's line was sometimes put forward by a certain individual, it became the Party's line after a decision was made. It could not be attributed to an individual or called so-and-so's political line. To contrast and analyse opposing political lines in summing up historical experiences, we describe them separately as something worked out by certain persons. Of course, this helps us distinguish right from wrong and educate the whole Party. Nevertheless, this is only an exceptional case. In so far as the principle of organization is concerned, the requirement inside the Party is that all Party members must carry out the Party's line, and not the political line of a certain individual.

But for a period of time in the past, people often attributed the Party's line to an individual. They also raised every personal opinion and view of the leader to the level of a political line, or considered that whatever he advocated personally had the same authority as the Party's line and must be carried out unconditionally by the whole Party. As a result, certain abnormal standards in fact gradually took shape in Party life: Following the Party's leadership meant obeying a certain person's words; implementing the Party's line meant acting upon what someone said. Moreover, there was the notion that as long as one "acted upon every sentence" he would be ever-victorious. This, in reality, amounted to regarding

an individual as a sacred authority standing above the whole Party.

3. One-Sidedly Interpreting the Relationship Between Leaders, Party, Class and Masses

In his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* written in 1920, Lenin pointed out: The masses are divided into classes; classes are led by political parties; political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members who are elected to the most important positions and are called leaders. At that time, the "Left-Wing" Communists of Germany, detesting the opportunist leaders, totally negated the leader's important role and indiscriminately opposed all leaders. Dealing specifically with this infantile disorder that negated leaders, Lenin stressed the important role of revolutionary leaders from the angle of the mutual relationship between leaders, party, class and masses. This was entirely necessary and correct.

In the same work, Lenin emphasized that the revolutionary party of the proletariat "will not deserve the name until it learns to bind the leaders with the class and the masses into one single indissoluble whole." However, people often neglected this extremely important thesis of Lenin's, and failed to scientifically expound the concepts of leader, party, class and masses and their inter-relations. They not only described the leadership as being given by only one person, but, by inference, claimed that he decided everything. They based themselves on this logic when they described and explained our history of struggle and appraised an individual's contribution and role. Thus they raised the position and role of the leader to an incredible pinnacle.

If a leader's wisdom were boundless, his theory absolutely correct, his plan absolutely effective and his role all-decisive, then, he would no longer be a man of this world; he would be a "god." If the security of the country, the destiny of the Party, the future of the nation and the people hinge on a leader, then pledging loyalty to and defending the leader would be the most sacred duty of the entire country, the whole Party and the entire people; and it would be the supreme moral standard, the highest political principle and, naturally, the supreme legislative principle as well. Fundamentally, isn't this just modern superstition and personality cult?

As the personality cult was prevalent for a long time in the past, things seemed to be bound by an iron-like logic: Since everything was being planned and arranged by a leader who was absolutely infallible, then, the task of others was to implement the leader's intentions and instructions. Their practical work was to carry out these intentions and instructions mechanically. Theoretical work consisted of annotating and explaining the leader's doctrines. To use one's own brains, think independently and study problems became unnecessary and would not necessarily be regarded as a good thing. The result was a widespread ossification of thinking and a stifled Party life.

Placing their blind faith in the individual, people held that all principles and stipulations of the Party and state had no binding force on the leader because he was an exception. They not only recognized or accepted these prerogatives but held that concentrating power in one man's hand was in the supreme interests of the Party and the people. Once this precedent was set, the system of democratic centralism became a mere formality and sometimes even this formality did not exist. If everything were decided by an individual, then the political life of the Party and state would be controlled by his will; even his temperament and personality would influence the overall situation. If this were the case, mistakes could not be avoided and disaster would be inevitable. As the system of democratic centralism was undermined, it was very hard to correct such mistakes without the necessary means and power.

The personality cult will inevitably be exploited by careerists and conspirators. Lin Biao began his conspiratorial activities by spreading the personality cult. He fired the sugar-coated bullet at the leader. If the leadership of a ruling party is hit by a conspirator's sugar-coated bullet, the Party and state will be thrown into an extremely dangerous position.

How is it that the personality cult can emerge inside a proletarian party? This question needs to be studied and discussed thoroughly. As already mentioned above, the personality cult has its social and ideological origins. Under given conditions, the cult of the personality grows and spreads inside the proletarian party and becomes a serious problem. Like everything else, victory has a dual character. If a leader acts blindly, if he becomes conceited and arrogant because of great victory and overconfident because of repeated successes, he will overestimate his own role and lose his sensitivity

to and vigilance against the attempts to glorify and deify him. The broad masses and cadres usually give unconditional support and respect outstanding figures who have made great historic contributions. In the absence of clear-cut, firm democratic convictions, and a well-developed, strict democratic system, there is bound to be a system under which a person can hold a leading post for life. In a country where the economy and culture are relatively backward, where the influence of feudalism is deep-seated, and where there is a lack of a democratic tradition, this system usually becomes integrated with the existing patriarchal system ("What I say goes" is its outstanding manifestation). One of the specific features of this system of lifelong tenure and the patriarchal system is to uphold personal authority and reject collective authority. Under the circumstances described, the personality cult will become increasingly prevalent along with the rising of an individual's authority.

The personality cult existing inside our Party did not emerge overnight; it underwent a process of growth and development over a long period of time. Motivated by their counter-revolutionary aims, Lin Biao and the gang of four viciously promoted the development of this phenomenon and carried it to an extreme. Glorifying an individual, deifying him and putting blind faith in him will exist for a long time as a social phenomenon. Therefore, the important thing now is to try to avoid repetition of this tragedy by setting things right ideologically and theoretically, summing up experience and drawing lessons politically and organizationally.

(A slightly abridged translation of the first two parts of an article by "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator on July 4. Subhead of the third and last part is "Establish the Viewpoint of the Masses and Collective Leadership.")

Forum on Youth

Opening Up More Outlets for an Up-and-Coming Younger Generation

by Zhong Peizhang

Public opinion varies in its views regarding China's younger generation which grew up in the ten years of great turmoil. Some people consider them a thoughtful generation, others say they are a traumatized one, still others like to refer to them as "lost." What in fact are the main characteristics of this particular generation? How can we bring their good points into play? How can they be educated and be useful citizens? What help should be given to those with problems that concern their personal interests, such as receiving a higher education and employment? On these questions, too, there is no consensus as yet. The following article is among the more representative ones published recently in the Chinese press. — Ed.

point, and its youth, as compared with those elsewhere, appear to vary more widely. Still, if we look at them carefully, we'll find a certain leitmotiv recurring from first to last.

The Leitmotiv

It all began with the Tian An Men Incident which took place in 1976, when China was once again plunged into a great struggle between two kinds of future, a bright future vs. a dark one. At this critical moment our young people came to the fore courageously. They condemned the criminal gang of four whose feudal autocratic deeds had brought untold suffering to the country and the people. This took the form of mourning the late Premier Zhou Enlai with poems and songs and

The author is deputy director of *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* (China Youth News).

white rosettes, to demonstrate the Chinese people's strong will to bring about the four modernizations. This revolutionary action which the Chinese young people took portended the ideological and political downfall of the gang of four.

This leitmotiv recurred when after the overthrow of the gang, our youth swiftly broke free from the shackles of contemporary blind faith and pseudo-socialism imposed on them by Lin Biao and the gang of four. They sought for truth, boldly explored the road to the further development of socialist democracy, the road leading to modernization.

It recurred again when the masses of young people, scornfully rejecting the type of illiterate roughnecks which the gang of four meant them to be, studied diligently to make themselves men of science and culture.

It also recurred in the self-defensive counter-offensive against Viet Nam. During the campaign they bade farewell to their dear ones and bravely went to the front to defend the security and honour of their motherland with their own blood and lives.

It also recurred on the production front where, for several years running, young people of different trades and professions have been taking part in contests to become shock workers and have become the main force in production. Together with the older generation, they have worked hard to restore the economy which suffered such heavy losses in the ten years of turmoil, bringing about a quick recovery and



Shen Hongsen (right), a young worker who designed automated parts for chemical plant meters, is on the editorial board of a chemistry journal.

development in both industrial and agricultural production.

This leitmotiv was also evident in the movement to restore the moral standards destroyed by Lin Biao and the gang of four, a movement our young people have taken part in heart and soul. In cities throughout the country, thousands upon thousands and, indeed, millions of teenagers and younger children have appeared in streets to render services to the public. The new moral code now gradually beginning to predominate among the youth is to help people in difficulty, to have good manners, and to observe discipline.

Such a leitmotiv speaks for the strong desire and quest for a highly developed socialist democracy and a highly advanced civilization.

Big Changes

Compared with the immediate past, this younger generation has undergone very great changes. Lin Biao and the gang of four once fooled thousands upon thousands of young people (that is, this younger generation and their elder brothers and sisters) by exploiting their political fervour, which has hurt them tremendously. That handful of men and women with wild ambitions, by pushing a policy of obscurantism and a feudal policy of isolating the country from the outside world, had also deprived numerous young people of the opportunity to study science and culture, so that the youth now strongly feel the gap between the tasks they are to shoulder and their ability to carry them out. With the battered national economy still in the process of undergoing readjustment, many problems that concern the immediate interests of large numbers of young people cannot for the time being be properly tackled, such as receiving a higher education, jobs, marriage, housing, recreation. After this country has increased its contacts with the people of other lands, our young people have broadened their vision and perceived the gap between their own country and a number of developed countries. All these social conditions have determined that this younger generation, compared with Chinese youth of the past, is more sophisticated and of greater maturity. They have the following characteristics:

- Interested in politics, anxious to achieve the four modernizations, realistic and loath to listen to empty talk, with a particular aversion to hackneyed political preaching;

- Dedicated to seeking the truth and to thinking independently; prone to mull over things, asking "why" and not being easily taken in; averse to following others blindly;

- Sensitive to new things, demanding reforms; dissatisfied with the status quo; set against cultural autocracy and "custodianism"; increasingly desirous of a better material and cultural life;

- Thirsty for knowledge, eager to know the outside world and ready to develop contacts and friendship with people of other lands.



Famous writer Wang Meng (2nd. left) chatting with young writers at a forum sponsored by the Chinese Writers' Association.

Naturally this younger generation also has its weak points. For instance, they do not look to the future with great confidence as they have suffered quite a number of setbacks and seen much of the seamy side. Sometimes they are prone to see things one-sidedly; they discredit the present and at the same time are uncertain what the future will be like, as they know little about the past and are not in a position to see the contrast between the new society and the old. They are not firm enough ideologically, sometimes even rather weak, as they lack education in basic knowledge as well as in a revolutionary outlook on life. But if we make an overall factual analysis of the younger generation, we can readily find in them a latent, immense enthusiasm for socialism. At every historical turning point, a few are bound to lag behind and invariably some individuals turn out to be black sheep. The generation as a whole is maturing and forging ahead.

The Main Problem

The main problem with the present-day youth, in my opinion, is that of arousing the great socialist initiative latent in them and bringing it into the orbit of the four modernizations.

The four modernizations will have to proceed from the fact that ours is a populous country with a very poor foundation to start with. When we say ours is a populous country, we mean mainly one with a big young population. Six hundred million people in our country were born after liberation. The nation's average age, only 26, is the youngest in the world. In view of the

fact that the birth rate in our country in the 1950s and 1960s was very high, it is estimated that up to 1990, every year there are over 20 million people entering adolescence. Last year, for instance, saw as many as 27.5 million children becoming adolescents.

This adolescence boom naturally gives rise to a number of problems, such as the chances for a higher education, job opportunities, getting married and becoming parents and housing. All these problems that touch on the personal interests of the youth have thus far remained unsolved; this is attributable to our poor economic foundation, the damage caused by the ten years of turmoil, and also to our failure to recognize the seriousness of these problems as well as to certain policies that were not properly worked out.

At the same time, as Lin Biao and the gang of four had disfigured the image of our youth and compromised their good name, many people in society to this day still point an accusing finger at our young people. Extraordinary circumstances have arisen: while the nation's average age is young, the leading bodies at various levels and the pillars in every field are aging; while young people have few job opportunities, a large number of retired workers are coming back to the scene, paid to make up the difference between their original wages and the old age pension they are receiving. While women in their 60s appear on the stage to play the role of sweet 16, young actors and actresses have no chance to do so. While many periodicals vie with each other in carrying articles by celebrities, young people find it difficult to have their literary works published.



Young women waiting to be assigned work organize a knitting group.

High school graduates are facing a special problem. Everyone focuses his attention on college entrance examinations and considers the matriculation as his only future, coaxed under pressure by his parents and the school authorities. But since only a fraction of high school graduates may enter college, many a young person who fails becomes dejected, at a loss because he does not know the true significance of receiving a higher education, nor can he tell what kind of future lies ahead of him.

Accordingly, how to deal with our country's young people, who are a huge source of energy, that is, whether to regard them as an asset or a liability, is a major policy issue in the four modernizations. The prevailing mood nowadays is to look more at the young people's negative side and less at their positive side; to do more dissuasion than persuasion; to tackle more of the current problems than going to the bottom of things. As the late Comrade Mao Zedong had pointed out, young people are the most active and vital force in society; this is especially so in the era of socialism. Our future achievements in socialist construction depend to a very large extent on how creative the younger generation is. In order to bring every ounce of the young people's initiative into play, there must be a readjustment of the present policies towards youth. Give every young person a chance, let him work hard to make himself a useful person, let everyone make his talents available to the cause of socialism. We must do everything to help train and educate our young people and arouse their enthusiasm for socialism.

Opening Up Outlets

At present there is the urgent need to open up the following five outlets for our youth:

More Ways for Studying. To develop young people's energies, it is first of all necessary to give them proper training. Thus far, we have been accustomed to treasuring materials rather than talents, thinking more about importing equipment and less about training people. If the bourgeoisie has seen the importance of "exploiting intellectual resources" and seen "education today as industry ten years later," should not we proletarian statesmen be even more farsighted than this? At a recent discussion by the Secretariat of

the Party Central Committee, big progress in China's educational undertakings was envisaged for this decade. This is a wise policy decision reflecting the burning desire of the whole population in general and of young people in particular.

Our present investment in education is insignificant and way out of proportion in the entire national economy. Moreover, this limited investment has not been made good use of, far from it. Why can't we multiply the number of our college students by opening up more universities to day students, more spare-time universities, correspondence universities and television universities? There is also a big waste in middle school education with more than 90 per cent of the high school graduates barred from college and at the same time lacking the necessary skills for the jobs available, so that they have to study and learn anew. Reforms in the structure of middle school education have become a must. Besides running the "key" middle schools well, we must make great efforts to develop vocational schools, schools for skilled workers, and other middle schools where students work part time in factories or farms, providing our young people with ample opportunities for studying, so that everyone has something to turn to and develop his talent in a certain field.

Great efforts must also be made to increase spare-time education for factory workers and staff members and general and technical studies in the countryside, and to get young workers and peasants organized in various ways to acquire more basic knowledge and learn new skills.

Their studies should be linked up with promotion and assessment of their proficiency so that our young people may set demands on themselves and make plans accordingly. Some communes have conferred technical titles of different grades on young people in the countryside who take part in study programmes, according to such an assessment; work-points paid are also divided into different grades, to the great satisfaction of the young people who "see immediate benefits and a future in the long run."

More Ways for the Talented. As a result of prolonged feudal rule and deep-rooted feudal ideas, progress by individuals has always been neglected in our country. The talents of the young, in particular, are often overlooked because of the traditional concept that seniority should come first. After liberation, we have, more often than not, tended to interpret one-sidedly "unified" as something socialist and personal freedom as something capitalist. Thus, we have unified patterns, unified national examinations, unified job allocation, unified action and so on and so forth. This has virtually become a way of thinking and a way of life people have adapted themselves to and it is believed that this is genuine socialism.

For many years running, the so-called road of "white and expert" and the desire to become famous and an authority have been repudiated to the point that some young people simply dare not talk about personal ideals. Hence, the narrow, backward, equalitarian mentality of small producers, which has been in control of public opinion for so long. It does not make a difference whether one does his job well or poorly. Studying diligently was not encouraged but discriminated against.

Now it is high time for us to open up outlets for everyone to be free to make progress, for the growth of a generation of talented people along the line of thought of scientific socialism. A series of effective measures should be taken to encourage our people to develop their talents with determination and clear the way for the emergence of new talents. This includes:

— Drawing up regulations to encourage young people to make inventions and turn out creative work, setting up scholarships to finance talented young people's further studies;

— Organizing conferences of young writers, young people's symposiums on theoretical studies, young artists' theatrical festivals and contests in science and technology, in culture and sports, to provide them with ample oppor-

tunities to show their talents and express their opinions; providing conditions for our young people to have more opportunities to take part in all kinds of international contests and activities;

— Reforming the existing way of recruiting workers, that is, the unified allocation of jobs "at random," to be replaced by open recruitment of workers through examination, on a voluntary basis and accepting the best of all;

— Establishing special agencies to recommend persons of talent, eliminating the phenomenon in which one is employed to do a job not in his line, in which one has no chance to apply the knowledge he has acquired in his work, and in which talents are "stockpiled" or buried in oblivion. Permission should be given for reasonable job changes; one should be allowed to recommend oneself for a job so that everyone is able to display his talent and everyone has the proper job;

— Instituting reforms in the college graduation examination system, allowing young people who have studied in various ways, including those who teach themselves, to take part in such examinations. Those who pass the examination should be issued a diploma, receiving equal treatment as other college graduates receive. They will be employed the same way as college graduates are.

The old habit of seniority coming first must be done away with; those who know where to look for talent should be encouraged to act as talent-scouts, and should be bold enough to employ and promote talented young people to higher positions. Those who have discovered



Wang Yunhua, once detained for stealing, has turned over a new leaf and is now an advanced teacher in a kindergarten.

talents will be rewarded; those who try to suppress talents will be punished.

More Ways to Employment. This has already aroused the attention of the general public. But to solve it well, still greater efforts must be made. What is important is to make inquiries in real earnest, work out job opportunities for young people according to the development of production in a locality and the social needs in the service trades, set up all kinds of vocational schools and technical training classes, organizing all young people waiting to be employed to study something so that they can be prepared, both in skill and mentally, to take up their posts. Efforts must be made to run labour service centres well, which take up the aforesaid tasks of providing various units with trained labourers they need. At the same time, an economy comprising different sectors, including individual labourers, will be developed to give young people the convenience of looking for outlets themselves.

More Ways of Cultural and Sports Activities. Cultural and sports activities promote the healthy upbringing of the teenagers and younger children and help their all-round development in morality, intelligence and physique. Due to backward feudal ideas, these important personal interests of the teenagers and younger

children have often been neglected. A big city like Beijing, for instance, to this day does not have a single palace for the young people; the only children's palace in the city has not been restored to its magnitude in the 1950s. Thus, our teenagers and young children have no place to go after school and they have no place to expend their surplus energy so that some of them tend to make trouble. Forces of various quarters must be relied on to provide facilities for the young people's cultural and sports activities with necessary financial, material and manpower support.

More Ways to Look at Life. The ten years of turmoil has made many young people feel disillusioned by the old political and moral concepts, and new concepts are nowhere to be found to fill the vacuum. Some young people easily fall into doldrums and are at a loss for a spiritual pillar to prop them up. To heal our young people's spiritual wounds, it is first necessary to help them set up a revolutionary outlook on life. This is an important question at this moment in strengthening ideological and political work. With a serious, revolutionary life outlook, it will not be difficult for young people to find the correct political outlook, with which, like petrels, they will be able to cleave the air and fly towards a great goal in defiance of big storms ahead.

How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

Following is the Chinese phonetic alphabet showing the pronunciation with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in brackets for reference.

"a" (a), a vowel, as in far;
"b" (p), a consonant, as in be;
"c" (ts), a consonant, as "ts" in its; and
"ch" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in church, strongly aspirated;
"d" (t), a consonant, as in do;
"e" (e), a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;
"f" (f), a consonant, as in foot;
"g" (k), a consonant, as in go;
"h" (h), a consonant, as in her, strongly aspirated;
"i" (i), a vowel, two pronunciations:
1) as in eat
2) as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;
"j" (ch), a consonant, as in jeep;
"k" (k), a consonant, as in kind, strongly aspirated;

"l" (l), a consonant, as in land;
"m" (m), a consonant, as in me;
"n" (n), a consonant, as in no;
"o" (o), a vowel, as "aw" in law;
"p" (p), a consonant, as in par, strongly aspirated;
"q" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in check;
"r" (j), a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;
"s" (s, ss, sz), a consonant, as in sister; and "sh" (sh), a consonant, as "sh" in shore;
"t" (t), a consonant, as in top, strongly aspirated;
"u", (u), a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German unlauded "u" in "Muenchen";
"v" (v), is used only to produce foreign and national minority words, and local dialects;
"w" (w), used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in want;
"x" (hs), a consonant, as "sh" in she;
"y", used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "i" or "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in yet;
"z" (ts, tz), a consonant, as in zero; and
"zh" (ch), a consonant, as "j" in jump.

● Best Stamps in China

Results of China's first vote for the best stamps issued in the 30 years after liberation were announced recently at a prize-giving ceremony in Beijing. Winning stamp designers, engravers and printing units were given awards

The poll was organized by the editorial department of *Ji You* (Philately). Song Xingmin, director of the Stamp Distribution Bureau under the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications and chairman of the committee for the best stamps, said that the results were based on 57,316

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, wrote an inscription for the selection of the best stamps, reading: "Develop philately to enrich people's cultural life and promote friendship."



Stamps designed by Sun Chuanzhe commemorating Guan Hanqing, a famous 13th century playwright.

Leading the best special stamps was *Galloping Horses* with a design based on a painting by the late Xu Beihong. *Beijing Scenes* ranked first among the best ordinary stamps. The stamp marking the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China was chosen as one of the best commemorative stamps. Designed from an oil painting, it shows Chairman Mao Zedong above the rostrum of the Tian An Men Gate proclaiming the establishment of New China. He is flanked by Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other Party and state leaders and it is the only stamp issued in China with the image of Liu Shaoqi, former Chairman of the People's Republic.

The 65-year-old stamp designer Sun Chuanzhe won top honours, as 10 out of the 30 best sets selected were designed by him. Moreover, he is the designer of New China's first set of stamps. In the 1930s he studied painting under Xu Beihong.

votes cast for the best 14 sets of commemorative stamps, 14 sets of special stamps and two sets of ordinary stamps.

Three hundred and sixty-nine votes were from Xianggang (Hongkong), Aomen (Macao) as well as Britain, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Tanzania, West Germany and the United States.

Soong Ching Ling, Vice-

● New Hotel on Sino-Nepalese Border

A new hotel with more than 50 air-conditioned rooms and suites has been completed in Zham Kouan, the Tibet Autonomous Region, just across a river from Nepal.

Lying at the foot of the Himalayas, the hotel helps promote Sino-Nepalese trade and develop tourism.

The hotel can accommodate about 100 guests. On each floor there is a reception room, which guests may use for entertaining. Banquets can be given in the restaurant on the first floor. A shop on the fourth floor sells daily necessities and native products. All the cooks and service personnel were trained in Shanghai.



The new hotel in Zham Kouan.

People in the News



A big change has taken place in the Shanghai Gaoqiao Chemical Works after Liu Jun was appointed director in November 1977. "He is the sort of director we want," the workers say of this Communist who is making the works run smoothly again.

When Liu took over, the place was in a shambles. Discipline was lax, rules and regulations were blithely ignored and machinery and equipment were badly looked after.

This led to production targets unfulfilled year after year.

Liu knew he had a tough assignment, but he also knew what he had to do. He first moved in to live with the workers in their dormitories so that anyone with a problem or a suggestion could easily reach him, and he could just as easily consult them. He made investigations and studied the situation. He set an example and insisted that every cadre should behave like a cadre. Rules and regulations were strictly enforced and work discipline was vastly improved.

A whole year was spent in reorganizing management and work procedures. In the process some 2,000 trouble spots in production were located and fixed up and 200 technical problems solved. In 1978 the total output value rose 37 per cent and profits went up 157 per cent compared with that of 1977.

Liu is a tireless "pupil," always studying ways to improve management and seeking other's views. He summed up after intensive study three general faults: working perfunctorily and shirking responsibility; departmentalism and lack of co-ordination; and ill-defined procedures and areas of responsibility.

To deal with these, Liu Jun proposed a system whereby everyone knew what he had to do, when and why, and what he was held responsible. The quantity and quality of work were specifically laid down. Standardization was introduced and proper, tightly co-ordinated procedures of work, too. These were studied and approved by the factory Party committee. Liu personally conducted classes on management. As he put things plainly and the topics were tied to problems his audience faced at work, they were easily understood and grasped and this helped improve management and production.

The first group of guests received in mid-June by the hotel were 70 scientists of different countries attending the 1980 symposium on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau. They were delighted with the hotel and its picturesque surroundings.

Four more buildings, including a hospital, a trade centre and a customs inspection building, are nearing completion there.

● **Peasants Sentenced For Maltreating Parents**

Eighty-year-old Cui Xingan and his 76-year-old wife from Taian County, Shandong Province, committed suicide by hanging at the end of last March because they could no longer bear the maltreatment of their sons and daughters-in-law. The old couple's two sons and a daughter-in-law were accused of mistreating their parents and all

three were recently found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment.

Cui Xingan and his wife had five sons, two daughters and several grandsons and granddaughters. Altogether there are 24 people in the family. Before liberation, he and his wife worked as farm hands or went begging in order to feed their children. After liberation, they worked hard and lived frugally, in order to build houses for their sons and find wives for them.

However, when the children had established themselves, they refused to take care of the couple when they were no longer able to support themselves. Repeated admonitions by the local Party organization fell on deaf ears. The old couple had to eat at their sons' houses by turns. They finally found the situation insufferable on March 24 when their third daughter-in-law refused their request for a bowl of noodles and reproached them for asking.

Cui Yuhui, the third son, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment; Cui Yuliang, the fifth son, to five years; and Hu Yulan, the third daughter-in-law was sentenced to three years with a three-year reprieve. As the second son was sincere in admitting his guilt, he was not prosecuted. Other sons, daughters and daughters-in-law were criticized and given instruction on social ethics.

It is stipulated in the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China that the children have the duty to support and assist their parents. And the Criminal Law clearly states that whoever mistreats a member of his family and, causes grievous injury or death, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for from two to seven years.

TRADITIONAL PAINTINGS

Works Over the Last 100 Years

An exhibition showing the development of traditional Chinese painting over the past 100 years was held not long ago at the National Art Gallery in Beijing. On display were 165 works by 79 painters from Zhao Zhiqian of the late period of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) to Pan Tianshou who died in 1971. It is the first time the works of so many masters of traditional Chinese painting have been in one display.

The paintings, all originals, depicting landscapes, plants, flowers, animals and figures, show different styles. Some are characterized by fine brushwork and close attention to details; others, by vivid expression and

bold outline. Many are part of the permanent collection of the Palace Museum and are regarded as national treasures.

Peach Blossom and *Tricolour Amaranth* are two works by Zhao Zhiqian (1829-84) who was a fine painter and seal-cutter. His style is distinguished by natural, free, bold strokes and well integrated composition. His flowers are in a new mode without a hint of the conventional style.

The figures of the famous painter, Ren Bonian (1839-95), command a lot of attention for their vividness and flowing brush strokes. Prominent in the late Qing Dynasty, he was a man of great ability who specialized in painting figures, flowers, birds and landscapes. Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) was well-known for his flower paintings and had a great influence among Chinese painters. His

works in the exhibition, *Lotus*, *Red Plum Blossom* and *Magnolia*, are particularly remarkable for their vigorous and imaginative style. Zhang Shanzi, the elder brother of the well-known painter Zhang Daqian, excelled in painting tigers. One of his works exhibited was *Bamboo, Rocks and Two Tigers*.

On display was a painting of shrimps by the master painter Qi Baishi (1863-1957). Qi studied the movements of shrimps for 30 to 40 years in order to perfect his skills. He was also adept in painting flowers, birds and fish. He did not rigidly adhere to ancient forms but tried to conform to the natural reality. Also featured in the exhibition were his paintings of cicadas, crabs and flowers, all in bright colours, with a few simple brush strokes.

Corner of the Lingyanjian was a prominent piece by the modern painter Pan Tianshou (1897-1971), who was proficient in painting flowers, birds and landscapes. In addition, he studied calligraphy, seal-cutting and the history and theory of painting. He mastered traditional forms and then creatively developed them into a unique style of his own.

Traditional Chinese painting has a long history. Figure paintings matured in the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). Natural scenery and wildlife paintings appeared in the Sui (581-618) and the Tang (618-907) Dynasties. Many ancient painters were content to imitate their predecessors. In this century, some painters including Xu Beihong, Chen Shuren and Gao Lun have incorporated



"Corner of the Lingyanjian" by Pan Tianshou.

foreign sketching techniques and high contrast into their art works, thus significantly changing traditional Chinese painting.

The master painter Xu Beihong (1895-1953) was one of the creators of modern traditional Chinese painting. In 1919 he went to France to study and later toured Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium to become acquainted with their fine painting techniques. He excelled in drawing and painting animals. He succeeded in bringing the best features of the traditional Chinese painting into full play. His flowers, birds, landscapes and animals were painted with a few fine brush strokes and in a vivid style. He is known at home and abroad for his horses. On display at the exhibition were his *Horse*, *Geese* and *Sunflowers and a Rooster*. Xu's paintings show that modern traditional Chinese painting is an integration of Chinese and Western painting techniques.

PUBLICATION

Confucius Family Archives in Print

Important data for the study of Chinese feudal society has been furnished by the Qilu Publishing House. Recently, it published book one and the first volume of book three of *Selections From the Archives of the Confucius Family Manor*.

Confucian thought was used by Chinese rulers as an ideological tool for upholding the feudal autocratic order from the Han Dynasty of 2,000 years ago to the last feudal dynasty in China. In 1055 A. D. Emperor Ren Zong of the Song



A hall in the Confucius Family Manor.

Dynasty bestowed a title on Kong Zongyuan, a direct descendant of Confucius of the 46th generation, and from that time Confucius' manor in Qufu County, Shandong Province, became known as the "Confucius Family Manor." As a result the hereditary aristocratic status of the manor and the mass of archives housed there were well maintained despite the vicissitudes of the later dynasties.

The complete set of this work consists of four books with 30 volumes. It was compiled by the History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Shandong Provincial Institute of Social Sciences. Book one contains an index of the complete classified archives of the Confucius family. Book two consists of the records from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), book three, the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), and book four, the Republic of China (1911-1949). First-hand records of such magnitude from a single aristocratic feudal family are not only unique in China, but also rare in the world.

The first volume of book three centres on the patriarchal system of the manor and includes a list of Confucius' descendants, the clan's rules and family deeds. The selections are a study on the economy of the Chinese feudal system, especially of the landlord's manor.

Zhang Weihua, professor of history at Shandong University and the chief editor of the work, is of the opinion that the publication of the archives will be useful to the analysis of politics, economy, ideology and patriarchy in the feudal society, especially in its later period.





LETTERS FROM READERS

Concerning the Report on Oman

After reading the article "Oman's Defence Measures" in your issue No. 29, I would like to express my thanks for your efforts in telling the readers about the situation in Oman.

I'd like to take this opportunity to make a few comments about this report, and I hope you will publish them so as to correct the mistakes of the writer.

First, French President d'Estaing did not visit Oman last March.

Second, there is no "tension" between Oman and Iraq "over a territorial dispute" as described by the writer, because there is no common boundary between the two countries.

Third, Oman has never "proposed the formation of a joint armed force" in the Gulf region "to safeguard the free flow of oil supplies." Oman always holds that the Arab countries should unite to realize their common ideal and goal. With regard to "co-ordinating military affairs," it is the consistent policy of Oman to handle the matter in accordance with the treaty concerning the common defence of the Arab League.

Ibrahim Hamood Al Subhi
Omani Ambassador in China

We thank the Omani Ambassador for his correct criticism and we apologize for any possible misunderstanding that might arise from the above-mentioned errors. — Ed.

Grain Output for 1979

I am a student of Chinese society, and I have been a reader of *Beijing Review* since 1972. I appreciate very much the official publication of detailed and reliable statistics on China's econ-

omy in the last few years. These figures testify to some really impressive achievements. However, careful reading also reveals some confusion which merits attention. Take grain production in 1979 for example. In your issue No. 2, of this year, grain output for 1979 was 315 million tons, but in issue No. 16, Li Renjun, Vice-Minister in charge of the State Planning Commission, said in his report that output totalled 324.9 million tons, and in No. 19 the communique issued by the State Statistical Bureau put the figure at 332.115 million tons. So there are three entirely different and mutually contradicting figures within a few months. Why is there such a big discrepancy between the statement of a high official in charge of planning and the communique of the State Statistical Bureau? Would you please explain these differences and give the correct figure for your 1979 grain output and tell me the reliability of the other production figures for 1979?

Peter Sluiter
Amsterdam, Netherlands

The figures for the 1979 grain output published in Nos. 2 and 16 were estimates. Those published in the Communique of the State Statistical Bureau in issue No. 19 were the final figures. — Ed.

In Memory of Liu Shaoqi

I have read the special feature "In Remembrance of Comrade Liu Shaoqi" in issue No. 21. The Party has openly admitted that the persecution and criticism of Liu Shaoqi was wrong and groundless; this is a good thing for the dead, though it should have been so long ago.

However, it would be better to rehabilitate a person when he was alive. Many people, including me, cannot but express our regret. It takes time to determine the actual crimes of Lin Biao and the gang of four, still we hope that such a day will come soon.

A large amount of evidence was cited at the memorial meeting on May 17. This has attracted widespread attention. The memoirs written by people of various circles are very interesting. From them I can see the true image of socialist China and I feel very happy.

Tsuyoshi Seki
Chiba, Japan

Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure

With great interest I read the article on China's criminal law and law of criminal procedure in issue No. 23. What is of particular interest to me is that to guarantee direct supervision by the people over a trial, China is going to elect the people's assessors.

Uta Bles
Munich, W. Germany

I have read the article on China's criminal law in issue No. 23 very carefully. It is undoubtedly very important for a modern country to have a sound legal system. From what you have published, I can see how chaotic it was in this respect during the Cultural Revolution.

Peter Romen
Lochau, Austria

For professional reasons, I am very interested in China's laws. I had your articles on China's new criminal law and law of criminal procedure reprinted in the paper of our university's faculty of law. It would be a good thing if you could explain the difference between your law which aims at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and serving the people and our law which serves the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Thomas Klein
Bielefeld, W. Germany

China Is Not the Same As I Imagined

I have started reading *Beijing Review* since last May. I am very interested in this magazine, because it helps me understand China which, I find, is not at all the same as I imagined. I used to think that in China there was no religious freedom, the people were not allowed to talk about their personal income and there was no such thing as salary....

After reading *Beijing Review*, I find that China is just like any other country.

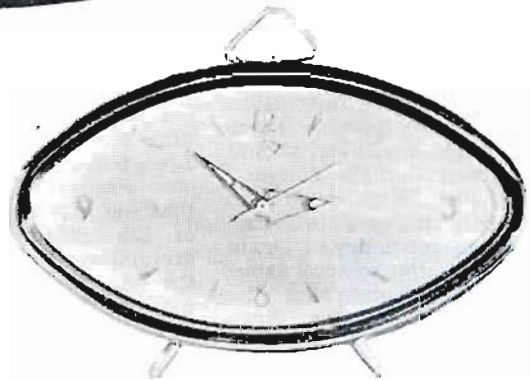
I appreciate very much the measures taken by the Chinese Communist Party to ensure a happy life for the Chinese people.

Lemec-Fidele Musengimana
Kigali, Rwanda

"Golden Cock" Alarm Clock



- Accurate
- Stylish
- Dependable
- In many models



CHINA NATIONAL LIGHT INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS IMPORT & EXPORT CORP.
Tianjin Branch

172 Liao Ning Road, Tianjin, China

Cable Address: "INDUSTRY" TIANJIN

Telex: 22506 TJLIP CN