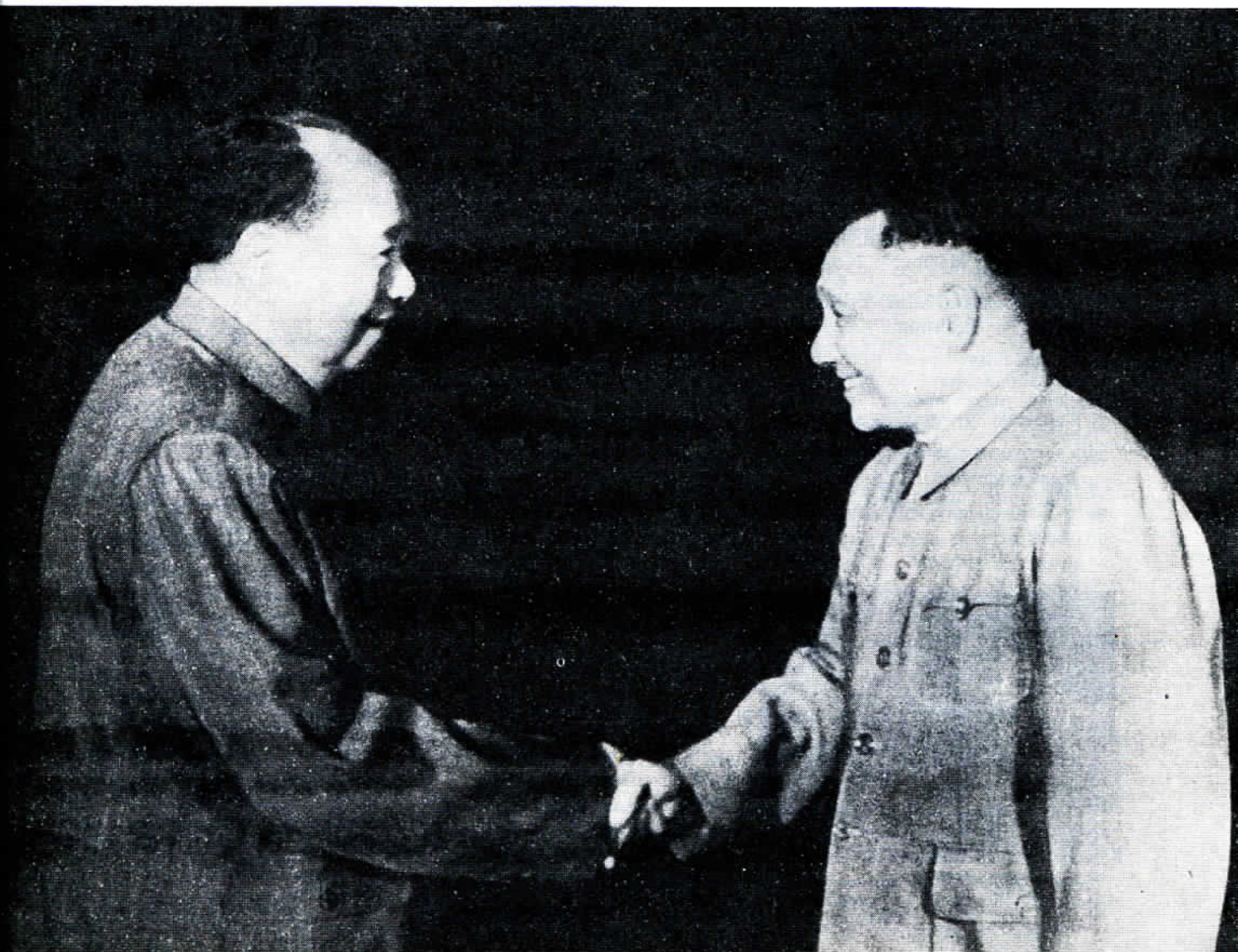


BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Inheriting & Developing Mao Zedong Thought
- Projects & Labour Co-operation Abroad



LETTERS

China's Stand in Disarmament

I enjoyed reading your article "China's Position at UN on Disarmament" (issue No. 44) with absolute concurrence as a professor of economics and as an American of Chinese ancestry.

According to the Centre for Defence Information, Washington, D.C., Vol. XII, 7, the US will spend \$65 billion on preparing for nuclear war this year and over \$450 billion in six years. Most of the nuclear war preparations contribute nothing to the defence of the US and are wasteful and dangerous. Former Defence Secretary Robert MacNamara stated in September 1983 that they are totally useless. We (the US) could save hundreds of billions of dollars through postponement or cancellation of unneeded nuclear weapons systems. The Reagan nuclear buildup will precipitate a corresponding Soviet buildup, leaving both superpowers less secure. A halt in the production of new nuclear weapons by both the US and the Soviet Union is urgently required.

Francis Shieh
Upper Marlboro, MD, USA

'Notes From the Editors' Column

I carefully read the "Notes From the Editors" in each issue, because they answer questions which crop up in the French media's coverage about China.

I am interested in the "National Symposium on Mao Zedong

Thought" (No. 43), which keeps me abreast of the ideological changes of the Chinese people, and the "Economic Newsletter (2): Responsibility System Revives Jiangsu Countryside" (No. 48) which explains the important problems concerning grain and the combination of theory with concrete practice.

Dorin Lucien
Miribel, France

After Retirement

Once more I write to commend your good article "When Leaders or Professionals Retire" in issue No. 19. We can really see what life is like in China from all perspectives.

Taken as a whole, in each issue of your weekly your techniques are further perfected. Your readers are given much food for thought.

Miguel Ramon Bauset
Alberaia, Spain

Specific Examples

I am most interested in "theoretical" and "philosophical" articles. When I read this type of article, I would like to see specific examples, particularly in those articles that deal with the Party rectification issues of "ideological pollution" as discussed at the 2nd Plenum of 12th Party Central Committee.

Lawrence Mielniceuk
Shanghai, China

Chinese People's Life

I believe that from *Beijing Review* I can know what is happening in the world, and especially

in the life of the Chinese people. I like to read all articles in your review which tell me the road you are taking.

Please continue your work.

Mulunda-Kena
Kananga, Zaire

"Five Goods" Families

In your article "Shanghai Families Cited" (No. 29, July 18, 1983), I found your discussion of the "five goods" families very interesting, and read it carefully.

The picture on page 27 of that issue of a Miao pole-climber is very well done.

Your art page is also very good, showing some of your beautiful scenes.

I'd like to see colour pictures in *Beijing Review*, if possible.

Jariq Mahmood
Pakistan

A New Column on Law

I suggest that in your format, you include a permanent column on law, and another on musical theory and performance. As a law student, I'm most interested to know everything about the legal system in your country.

Holger Lopez Yabar
Arequipa, Peru

Martial Arts

I would like to see you publish more articles on the martial arts.

I also congratulate you for your pages dedicated to our liberator Simon Bolivar. ["Latin America: Carrying Forward Bolivar's Spirit" in issue No. 32. — Ed.]

Hernando Restrepo Hurtado
Santander de Quilichao, Colombia

Reports on Latin America

Your magazine has given excellent reports on the great political and economic achievements of your country. But there is a problem in distribution. In the remote areas of Latin American countries, where the avenues of communication are poor, there is always a long delay before we receive your magazine.

Because your magazine is well regarded in Latin American countries, it would be good to give more detailed information on the political development in these nations.

Jose del C. Barbosa C.
Pailitas, Colombia

Announcement

At the request of many of our readers, beginning with issue No. 1, 1984, we will have a colour cover and more photo features. Your criticisms and suggestions are welcome. — Ed.

BEIJING REVIEW

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Mao Zedong's Letters

To mark Mao's 90th birthday, *The Selected Letters of Mao Zedong* is being published in Beijing. Written between 1920 and 1965, many of these 372 letters will be made public for the first time. We offer a small selection, and a brief introduction to their significance (p. 14).

Inheriting and Developing Mao Zedong Thought

In commemorating Mao's 90th birthday, we offer a special article by Party history researcher Wang Qi, which discusses how the Chinese Communists have upheld Mao Zedong Thought as the Party's guiding ideology and developed it in many ways after Mao's death (p. 20).

Economic Quotas Exceeded

Despite disappointing trends at mid-year, China's national economy is doing far better than expected, according to Vice-Minister Fang Weizhong in charge of the State Planning Commission. All main economic quotas will be exceeded, agriculture had the fifth record harvest in a row, light industry has quickened its growth, and the state expects to basically balance its revenues and expenditures (p. 5).

A Return of "Chinese Coolies"?

Cao Guanlin, Deputy Director of the International Economic Co-operation Bureau, explains the principles China observes in undertaking foreign construction projects and entering into labour co-operation with other countries (p. 27).

Moscow Bugged Down in Afghanistan War

Despite the growing burden of war, the Soviet Union did not relax its military activities on the Afghan battlefield in 1983. Meanwhile, the Afghan resistance forces are getting stronger, controlling about 80 per cent of the mountainous regions and villages (p. 10).

A Historical Film

Liao Zhongkai, a Left-wing Kuomintang leader who co-operated closely with Sun Yat-sen, is featured in a film depicting the last three years of his life (1922-25), when Chinese history was at a crossroad (p. 30).



Comrade Mao Zedong with
Comrade Deng Xiaoping
(in 1974).

Photo by Xin Huafa

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Xianggang and Taiwan

Both Xianggang (Hongkong) and Taiwan are parts of China's territory. In order to reunify China, we must solve the problems of Xianggang and Taiwan.

With regard to Xianggang, the question is one of China resuming the exercise of its sovereignty through negotiations with the British Government, while in Taiwan we must achieve reunification through negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, or through consultations among the Chinese themselves.

Xianggang is China's territory. It includes Hongkong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories. In the 19th century, British imperialists compelled the Qing government of China to sign three unequal treaties in succession by which China was forced to cede or lease the three areas. After the founding of New China, the Chinese Government repeatedly stated its stand that Xianggang is part of China's territory, and that the Xianggang problem, which is left from history, will be solved through consultations between the Chinese and British Governments in due time.

In recent years, and particularly since 1982, Chinese Party and state leaders Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang have again stressed the Chinese Government's consistent position concerning Xianggang while meeting people of all walks of life in Xianggang and representatives of the British public and Government, and while holding talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

They have also further elab-

orated the Chinese Government's basic principles for resolving the Xianggang issue:

- China is determined to resume the exercise of its sovereignty over Xianggang by 1997;

- After the exercise of sovereignty is resumed, the Chinese Government will, in consideration of the past and present circumstances in Xianggang, introduce special policies so as to maintain the region's stability and prosperity. Xianggang will remain a free port and an international financial centre.

In recent years, Beijing has on many occasions put forward its policies concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and the peaceful reunification of China. After the message to our Taiwan compatriots was adopted on January 1, 1979, by the NPC Standing Committee, Chairman Ye Jianying, in September 1981, put forward a nine-point proposal for Taiwan's return to the motherland, thereby accomplishing the peaceful reunification of China. And Deng Xiaoping again specified our policies at a meeting with Dr. Winston L.Y. Yang from the United States in June this year.

The core of the Taiwan issue is the reunification of the motherland. For this reason, Beijing proposed talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party on an equal footing, so as to institute a third instance of co-operation between the two parties. After the country is reunified, Taiwan will be a special administrative region, with a different system from

that on the mainland. It may exercise independent jurisdiction and the right of final judgment need not reside in Beijing. Taiwan may also keep its own armed forces, so long as they do not constitute a threat to the mainland. The mainland will not station troops or administrative personnel in Taiwan. The political party, government and armed forces in Taiwan will all be administered by Taiwan itself. Seats in the Central Government will be reserved for Taiwan. Internationally, as a matter of course, the People's Republic of China is still the sole representative of China.

The Xianggang and Taiwan issues have many points in common:

- Both are parts of China's territory.

- While all the residents in Taiwan are Chinese, 98 per cent of the 5.5 million people in Xianggang are Chinese.

- The majority of people in the two regions long for an early reunification of the country.

- Both currently have a capitalist social system.

The Chinese Government will allow Xianggang and Taiwan to maintain their existing social systems and styles of life for a long time to come.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China says, "The state may establish special administrative regions when necessary. The systems to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress in the light of the specific conditions." Xianggang and Taiwan will enjoy a high degree of autonomy by establishing their respective special administrative regions.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

Examinations for managers and directors

In order to raise the quality of cadres and strengthen management, leaders from 5,000 large and medium-sized businesses will take a nationwide examination in June 1984. Those who do not pass can take the exam again, but unqualified factory directors will be removed, according to a decision by the State Council.

According to a recent government survey, the main cause of low efficiency in business is poor leadership. Factory directors are not familiar with modern managerial techniques. The State Council has therefore firmly decided that managers and directors who cannot turn their losing enterprises around will be removed, and only those intelligent and capable cadres with professional knowledge will be selected to replace them.

In order to realize this reform, the state has set up a committee to administer examinations. A list of topics covered on the test has been published in the newspapers in advance, for the reference of those who will take the test. Various training courses have also been set up.

Eighteen such courses have already been run for directors and managers, sponsored jointly by the State Economic Commission and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The Commission, together with the Ministry of Education and Commerce Department of the United States, also has a special training centre for modern enterprises, which has trained more than 750 people.

Other training classes of

various kinds are being run throughout the country. Colleges for managerial cadres and research societies of factory directors have been set up in some provinces. Experts and managers are also being organized to go abroad on study tours.

But the exams are just the beginning of a complete reform of China's personnel system. Nationwide rules and regulations concerning government staff and talented people, and legislature on personnel and administrative affairs are being developed. Anyone who promotes someone wrongly, stifles competent people, or violates the rules of the personnel system in any other way will be dealt with according to the law.

At the same time, various measures are being adopted to raise the standard of the country's workers. Statistics show more than half of the country's 100 million workers in 400,000 enterprises have only a junior middle school education or less. The state has taken measures to raise their educational, technical and scientific levels, in order to better run China's enterprises.

1983: The 5th record year

China's national economy is better than anticipated and all major quotas will be overfulfilled, despite natural disasters and an uncertain market, Vice-Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission Fang

Weizhong told the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC.

The first six months of 1983 gave cause for concern over economic development, Fang said. Many natural disasters could have seriously reduced the harvests. The rapid development of heavy industry might slow the growth of light industry, thus making market prices unstable. The state might also have trouble maintaining the balance of revenues and expenditures.

But thanks to the effective state policies and the hard work of all the Chinese people, the situation has changed dramatically since last July.

Chinese peasants overcame wind, hail, floods and a long drought which affected 800 counties, to reap the fifth record harvest in a row. They expect to reap 370 million tons of grain and more than 4 million tons of cotton, an increase of 4.7 per cent and 11.16 per cent respectively, over last year. These two crops have now surpassed the quotas set for 1985, the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. More sugar, pork, beef, mutton, milk, eggs and aquatic products were also produced than in 1982.

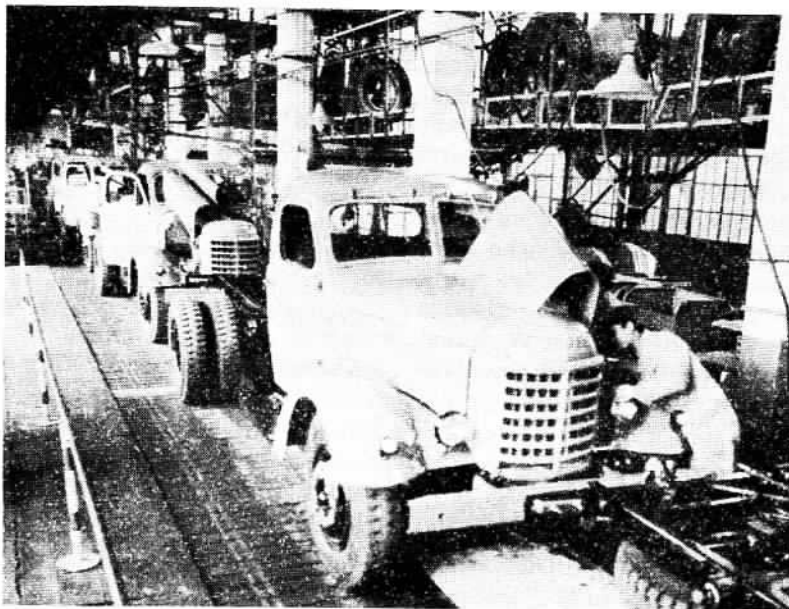
The growth of light industry has also quickened. Although in the first quarter of this year heavy industry output rose by 11.7 per cent, and light industry by only 2.5 per cent, by the end of November light industry output had gone up by 8.4 per cent and heavy industry by 13 per cent, as compared with the first 11 months of 1982. Total value of industrial output rose by 10.7 per cent in the same period.

The market for these industrial products is now thriving all over China. The retail trade is expected to have a 10 per cent higher turnover in 1983 than in 1982.

The state also expects to be able to balance its revenues and expenditures by the end of 1983. Units throughout the country have been instructed to increase revenues and reduce spending, and to concentrate financial resources on key projects. Good

results so far have been achieved.

But Fang said there are still some problems in the national economy. The quality of some industrial products is poor and their production is not geared to market demands, the scale of capital construction is still too large and consumption funds have expanded too quickly. He said these problems will be dealt with in working out next year's economic plans.



Five-ton trucks in production at the Changchun No. 1 Motor Vehicle Plant.

Economic news in brief

Coal. About 700 million tons of coal are expected to be produced this year, reaching the target set for the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85).

In the first 10 months of this year coal mines produced 35 million more tons of coal than the planned quota. China's mines are now averaging more than 1.9 million tons of coal per day.

Hydroelectric power. China's hydroelectric power stations

had already reached their target for this year, producing 68 billion kilowatt hours of electricity by October 18 — 74 days ahead of schedule.

According to the Chinese Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power, more than 81.25 billion kwh are expected to be generated by the end of this year, which is 19.6 per cent more than the planned target. The Gezhouba hydropower station, the largest on the Chang-

jiang (Yangtze) River, produced 2.2 billion more kwh during the first nine months of this year than it had in the same period last year.

Shipping. China's major coastal harbours have increased their handling capacity to 230 million tons, 21 times that of 1950. Container docks have been built at Tianjin, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Dalian and Qingdao harbours. In 1982, China's coastal harbours handled 160,000 standard containers and 1.15 million tons of cargo.

At present, ships over 10,000 tons and 3,000 to 7,000-ton passenger-cargo ships built in China are the mainstay of the coastal shipping fleet.

The ocean shipping fleet has more than 500 ocean-going vessels which now link China with 400 harbours in more than 100 countries and regions in the world.

China's inland water transport has also developed. While cargo was handled mainly by sailing boats in the past, motorized boats and barges now carry 88 per cent of all inland river cargo. In 1982, 290 million tons of cargo passed along China's rivers, almost eight times that of 1952.

Motor vehicles. Chinese factories produced 201,300 cars and trucks in the first 10 months of this year, meeting the year's production target two months ahead of schedule. It is estimated that 220,000 motor vehicles will be produced in the year, an all-time high. By the end of October, 183,900 motor vehicles had been sold, 20.3 per cent more than the corresponding period last year.

According to a market survey, 250,000 cars and trucks will be needed in China this year, increasing to 350,000 next year.

Shipbuilding. A 27,000-ton bulk cargo ship was launched at the Dalian Shipyard on November 7. This was the last of eight 27,000-ton ships ordered by firms in Xianggang. Four of them have been handed over to their owners.

Dalian Shipyard is the first in China to build ships for export, meeting international standards. The yard has also built two oil-drilling platforms for the US Baker Marine Company.

A multiple-purpose engineering ship built by the Hudong Shipyard in Shanghai will soon be handed over to its Singapore owners. The 1,200-ton vessel can carry 500 tons of cargo and 170 cubic metres of dry cement, and will be used to aid and supply offshore oil drilling operations. The Hudong Shipyard will be building nine such multiple-purpose vessels for Singapore firms.



Accompanied by President Li Xiannian, Samdech Sihanouk, Son Sann and Khieu Samphan review an honour guard.

Democratic Kampuchean unity praised

President Li Xiannian has commended the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for remaining united and pursuing correct policies.

Meeting with the coalition's

three top leaders on Dec. 15, President Li said Democratic Kampuchea's correct policies have resulted in a firm struggle against a powerful enemy for the liberation and indepen-

Resolute Support for Kampuchean Coalition Government

China firmly supports the resistance of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression. Hu Yaobang told a delegation from Democratic Kampuchea led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on Dec. 17.

Hu, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, said: "When Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea five years ago, there were predictions about future developments. You predicted, just as we did, that the Vietnamese invasion would end up in defeat, whereas the Vietnamese said that the fighting would come to a quick end."

"The events of the past five years prove that your and our prediction is correct, and the Vietnamese prediction is wrong. The fundamental reason is that theirs is an aggressive and unjust war while your struggle is just," Hu said.

When the Vietnamese saw they could not subdue Kampuchea by military means, Hu added, they resorted to "political ploys in an attempt to isolate and divide you. The visit to China by you three, the top leaders of Democratic Kampuchea, is itself a forceful blow against the Vietnamese scheme."

"China firmly supports the Coalition Government under the leadership of Samdech Sihanouk," Hu stressed. "We back your united struggle now, and in the future, when you win victory in your war of resistance, we will also support you in your united effort to rebuild your country. The better you unite, the sooner you will win victory. We support and aid you without reservation, so that you can win your struggle against Vietnamese aggression at an early date."

dence of their country, thus winning the support of the Kampuchean people as well as the sympathy and support of most countries.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, arrived in Beijing for an official goodwill visit, together with Prime Minister Son Sann and Vice-President Khieu Samphan. This is the first visit the three leaders have made to China together.

"This shows that our three parties are co-operating closely, that we represent one country and one government and that we are united, and very well at that," said Sihanouk.

He described as "a tremendous victory" the UN General Assembly's adoption by an overwhelming majority of 105 a resolution demanding that Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and cease all aggression and interference, so that the Kampuchean people might decide their own affairs.

The situation in Kampuchea is changing rapidly, Sihanouk also said. People in the Vietnamese-occupied areas are awakening and seeing through the aggressors' aim of colonizing Kampuchea and plundering its natural resources.

"Now many people come to the liberated areas from the enemy-occupied areas," he said. "As a result, the population in the liberated areas is increasing. The people, young people in particular, support our three patriotic armed forces and oppose the Heng Samrin puppet regime."

Sihanouk also outlined his conditions for any reconciliation with Viet Nam. He said: "Viet Nam must pull out all its troops from Kampuchea if it wants to reconcile itself with us.

Withdrawal of 80 or 90 per cent of its troops will not be accepted. The UN General Assembly's resolution must be carried out and Kampuchea's independence be restored. We love peace, but we cherish our country's liberation dearly."

Son Sann said that the Vietnamese are oppressing the Kampuchean people brutally. They do not want to simply kill Kampuchians, they intend to commit genocide. Viet Nam is speeding up emigration to rich areas in Kampuchea and pursuing a policy of assimilation.

These acts show the Kampuchean people the true features of the Vietnamese aggressors, who call themselves "liberators," Son Sann said.

"Although we have difficulties in our anti-Vietnamese struggle," Khieu Samphan said, "the situation is developing in our favour. Most countries in the world support Democratic Kampuchea. Final victory belongs to us."

China hopes end to Iraq-Iran war

President Li Xiannian has reiterated China's hope for an early end to the war between Iraq and Iran.

"As the Chinese saying goes: Both would benefit from peace while neither would remain unscathed in fighting," said Li as he met with Iraqi Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz on Dec. 14.

"An early conclusion of the Iraqi-Iranian war would benefit the economic development of the two countries and their people," he said. "China, as a friend of both Iraq and Iran, would also be happy about it."

Li also stressed the importance of Arab unity, which he said would lead to victory, while dissension would lead to defeat. "We hope," he said, "that the Arab people would unite to oppose Israel's policies of aggression and expansion."

Aziz said that Iraq is willing to stop fighting with Iran and achieve a just and honourable peace. He also said that Iraq, like China, supports the Palestine Liberation Organization and its legitimate leadership under Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Meeting with Aziz on Dec. 14, Premier Zhao Ziyang said China attaches importance to friendly, co-operative relations with Iraq, and will continue to strive for further economic and technical co-operation, and trade between the two countries.

Strengthening ties with Yugoslav Party

A Member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists has been told by Hu Yaobang that the Parties of both countries should make further efforts towards inter-Party friendship and co-operation.

"The relationship of our two Parties is one of mutual trust," said Hu, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, at his meeting with Andrej Marinc on Dec. 12. "We highly respect the domestic and foreign policies which the Yugoslav League of Communists has worked out according to its actual situation."

Recalling the rousing welcome he received in Yugoslavia last May, Hu said that the Chinese and Yugoslav Parties, to promote friendship and co-

operation, should have more contacts and frequent exchanges of views.

He invited other leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists to visit China whenever convenient.

Marinc, on his first visit to China, said the Yugoslav League of Communists would strive to further relations with the Chinese Communist Party.

The two leaders also exchanged views on international issues of common interest.

Yao Yilin, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, also held two rounds of talks with Marinc.

Viet Nam's rumours called 'groundless'

A senior Chinese official has refuted rumours spread by the Vietnamese authorities that there had been "secret contacts" recently between China and Viet Nam.

At his weekly news briefing on Dec. 14, Qi Huaiyuan, Director of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department, said that rumours spread repeatedly by the Vietnamese authorities about "secret contacts" between China and Viet Nam were a groundless concoction aimed at deceiving public opinion, easing international pressure for a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, and alleviating the Vietnamese people's discontent at home.

In fact, said Qi, the Vietnamese authorities have worsened Sino-Vietnamese relations by constantly violating China's border areas, carrying out armed provocations and hijacking China's fishing boats on the high seas.

So long as Viet Nam does not act to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea and cease its pursuit of a general anti-China policy, Qi said, it will be impossible for China to improve its relations with Viet Nam.

Religious faith is protected by law

China's policy of opening to the outside world will not change, President Li Xiannian told Dr. Robert Runcie, the 102nd Archbishop of Canterbury, and his entourage on Dec. 16. This policy may bring in some unhealthy things which must be opposed. However, that will not affect China's efforts to carry out this policy, he said.

"Religion and the effort to clear away cultural contamination are two entirely different things," Li added. "China's Constitution provides for citizens' freedom in religious belief. We protect lawful religious activities."

"In opposing cultural contamination, we aim to clear away erroneous ideas, words and actions in the theoretical, literary and art circles by the method of presenting facts and reasoning things out. But we firmly oppose pornographic works," he added.

Dr. Runcie agreed on this point, saying he recently made a speech at the British Parlia-

ment against such corrupting influences.

He also told the Chinese President that during his two-week visit to China he had the opportunity to move around the country and see many aspects of life. He said he appreciated the vigorous efforts of the Chinese people to build their future.

This visit, he added, could definitely increase the mutual understanding and friendship between Christians and other people in Britain and China.

Meeting with Dr. Runcie on Dec. 14, Deng Yingchao, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, also spoke of China's policy on religion. She said, "Religious faith must be voluntary. We neither force people to believe in religion nor force them not to believe."

However, Deng, who is also Honorary President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, added, it is impermissible in China to use religious activities to undermine the interests of the country and the people or disrupt national construction. "This policy has not been changed," she said.

For a time, Deng admitted, there were violations of this policy due to internal turmoil. "Such a practice is being corrected," she added.

Dr. Runcie appreciated the fact that the Chinese Christian Church "has a more Chinese character." "This is good because it enables the Chinese Christians to bring their wisdom to the world Christian community," he said.

*Afghanistan***Moscow stubbornly remains put**

FOUR years have elapsed since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and the ensuing war has saddled it with growing burdens. However, it seems that Moscow has no intention of getting out.

Despite the expectations of some observers, the Soviet Union did not relax its military activities on the Afghan battlefield in 1983. This came as no surprise. In late 1982, the Soviet news agency TASS had reported: "The Soviet Union will carry out its internationalist duty to defend Afghanistan against foreign armed intervention to the end."

Since January, Moscow has stepped up the construction and expansion of airfields, military camps and missile sites in Afghanistan, along with other permanent strategic infrastructure such as highways, railways and underground oil tanks. It has sent in more advisers to strengthen its control of important government departments and shore up its colonial domination of the country.

Moscow also dispatched additional troops to assist in the fourth spring offensive against the guerrillas. A three-month "scorched earth" campaign was mounted in an attempt to wipe out the guerrillas and create a no-man's land. Supported by helicopters, the Soviet troops shelled guerrilla areas in Paktia, Kandahar and Herat Provinces.

But these attempts at annihilation have failed. The guer-

rillas, keeping close contact with the Afghan people, have firmly rebuffed the enemy attacks by exploiting strategic positions and using flexible tactics. And importantly, the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen was fully unified following the establishment of a central leadership on May 22 and the dissolution of the seven member parties. This is sure to mean improved tactical co-ordination in the fight against the aggressors.

During the summer and autumn, the guerrillas frequently ambushed Soviet trucks and armoured cars, destroyed bridges and highways, and bombed air bases and military strongholds. They also struck against the Soviet Embassy in Kabul, damaged the residence for Soviet advisers and raided Karmal's Defence Ministry. They shot down helicopters carrying senior Soviet and Karmal-regime officers, and with the arrival of winter they have launched more daring raids on Soviet bases and supply lines.

The war, however, has been deadlocked for the past year. The Soviet-Karmal regime troops cannot annihilate the guerrillas; nor can the guerrillas, without modern weapons or equipment, deal their opponents a death blow. But the guerrillas hold the favourable position and are getting stronger, while the aggressors are becoming more isolated.

With the support of the Afghan people, the guerrillas, now 100,000-strong, control about 80 per cent of the moun-

tainous regions and villages, establishing revolutionary bases and local governments in some areas. The 110,000-strong aggressor troops control only several major cities, military bases and major communications points. There were an estimated 10,000 Soviet casualties, either dead or wounded, in 1982, and the estimate for 1983 surpasses 15,000.

Moscow has made hints that it is ready for a "political solution" to the Afghanistan question, but these are mere gestures. It has stubbornly stood by its hegemonic policy and ignored successive resolutions by the UN General Assembly calling for a withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan.

At the second and third rounds of indirect talks on the issue, held under the auspices of the United Nations in Geneva last April and June, Moscow proposed: "Guarantee first, then the withdrawal of troops." That is, before it will withdraw any troops, it demands an end to alleged interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs by foreign countries and a guarantee that such interference will never occur in the future. It has even said that the withdrawal of troops concerns only itself and the Karmal regime and has nothing to do with other countries. It is obvious that Moscow wants the international community to legitimize its aggression and occupation of Afghanistan.

When the UN General Assembly discussed the matter in late November, representatives from many countries, including China's representative, Ling Qing, denounced the So-

viet tricks included in the so-called programme for political settlement. They pointed out that the key to a political settlement was a troop withdrawal, for which they demanded Moscow draw up a timetable. The General Assembly also adopted its fifth resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, which was carried 116 to 20 with 17 abstentions.

The recent Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference in New Delhi and the 14th Meeting

of Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference Organization held in Dhaka also condemned the invasion and called for the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops.

Despite its current predicament arising from its military failures during the year, the Soviet Union is not likely to end its aggressive policy. Combined with the tense situation in the Middle East and Gulf region, what the Soviets do in the new year will bear close watching.

— Liu Zhengxue

US-Soviet Relations

After Geneva talks, what next?

FOLLOWING Moscow's walk-out from the Geneva arms negotiations, relations between the two superpowers have chilled noticeably, with the United States deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe and the Soviet Union adopting counter-measures. The nuclear arms race appears to be entering a new phase.

Looking into the new year, one may expect an intensified global rivalry between the two biggest nuclear powers to result in growing tensions. An easing, however, seems likely later next year as the US presidential election draws near. Several other factors indicate that a complex, seesaw situation could emerge, with each superpower trying to gain an offensive position in their nuclear competition.

First, the suspension of the Euromissile talks has not only accelerated the deployment of medium-range missiles by both sides, but is quickening the pace of the overall arms race. Taking advantage of the Euromissile crisis, the Reagan administration persuaded the US Con-

gress last month to pass a record US\$249,800 million military appropriations bill for 1984. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger took a further step recently by telling a group of congressmen that the defence budget for 1985 would reach US\$321,400 million, up 24.5 per cent from 1984.

On the other side of the fence, Moscow, which has long been building up its military might, is mobilizing the Soviet public to deal with the "US threat," saying it will never allow the United States to possess military superiority.

Second, although Washington regards the scheduled deployment of the first batch of new missiles in Europe as a great political victory, this development might adversely affect its relations with Western Europe, which are fairly harmonious at present. With most people in the Federal Republic of Germany already opposed to the deployment of new missiles in their country, the anti-nuclear peace movement is likely to grow elsewhere in Western

Europe. Because of national interests and pressure from the peace movement, some of the other countries will probably hesitate to deploy more missiles as planned by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In that situation, the Soviet Union is certain to use the carrot and the stick, exploiting the peace movement to drive a wedge between the United States and its West European allies. Europe will be the scene of an escalating diplomatic and propaganda war between Moscow and Washington.

Third, despite worsening East-West relations in general, trade between the two blocs will continue to develop because of each side's economic needs. In 1982, the volume of Soviet foreign trade with Western industrialized countries was 37.700 million rubles, or 31.7 per cent of all Soviet foreign trade. Through trade and economic co-operation with the West, the Soviet Union has gained not only the funds and technology it badly needs, but political and military benefits as well. It can be expected that Washington and Moscow will carry out the grain accord they signed last summer and will further develop trade and agricultural co-operation.

Fourth, it seems unlikely that the United States and the Soviet Union will resume the Euromissile talks in Geneva soon, even though the West European countries wish them to. However, in a gesture intended largely to ease the anxiety of its European allies, Washington has shown its readiness to return to the negotiation table at any time by having its chief negotiator, Paul Nitze, remain in Geneva.

In response, Moscow has set a high bargaining price, saying

that it will not go back to the talks unless the NATO countries agree to restore the conditions which existed before the latest deployment of US missiles. However, it has not yet closed the door on negotiations. At the moment, channels of dialogue are still being kept open between the US Secretary of State and the Soviet Ambassador to Washington.

Some observers say that the United States and the Soviet Union might resume, in one form or another, their talks on intermediate-range nuclear weapons next summer when the first batch of Pershing II and cruise missiles has been deployed and the prospects for US President Ronald Reagan's reelection have become clearer. The possibility that political considerations, both at home and abroad, may force both sides to reach certain compromises cannot be ruled out.

OPEC

Further efforts to stabilize prices

THE oil ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have agreed to stick to the benchmark oil price and production ceiling established last March. This follows their three-day meeting in Geneva, the 13-nation body's 69th, which ended on Dec. 9. Their decision indicates their determination to safeguard the interests of third world oil producers and their desire for mutual assistance and accommodation to tide over the current period of uncertainty.

Last March, at the 67th OPEC meeting, the oil ministers decid-

All in all, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will become increasingly strained and their contention for world domination is bound to become fiercer. The years of detente may be a thing of the past, but a new cold war cannot be said to have yet begun. In military strength, the two superpowers are roughly on a par, with neither one having a distinct superiority. They both face challenges at home and abroad. It is probable they will adopt relatively cautious attitudes so as not to meet each other head on.

Nevertheless, one cannot rule out the possibility that the two superpowers may become embroiled in regional conflicts. In this connection, developments in such hot spots as the Middle East and the Gulf cannot but arouse concern.

— Chen Si

ed on an unprecedented reduction in the benchmark price, from US\$34 a barrel to \$29, and set a daily production ceiling of 17.5 million barrels. This halted the slide in oil prices and averted a price war. At the 68th OPEC meeting, held in Helsinki in July, they maintained this decision and further strengthened the results already achieved.

Since autumn, however, oil prices have sunk as supply surpasses demand — a result mainly of the following factors:

■ Current daily demand worldwide is down 13 per cent

from 1981 despite the economic recovery in the Western countries.

■ OPEC's production during the third quarter exceeded the ceiling by more than 1 million barrels a day.

■ Non-OPEC producers, such as the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and Norway, have markedly boosted their output, which in 1980 was 20.5 million barrels a day, and has now reached 22.2 million barrels. Britain's output has increased more than 10 per cent over the last year.

■ The Soviet Union, disregarding the interests of other oil producers, cut its price twice in November to earn more hard currency.

These factors gave rise to new dissension among OPEC members at the latest meeting. Iran and Algeria argued that March's price reduction has not stimulated demand and that a price freeze now would only lead to a drastic price increase in the future. Iran pressed for a return to the US\$34-a-barrel benchmark price, while Algeria suggested a moderate increase. The majority, however, including Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and Indonesia, maintained that the price should remain unchanged because it generally matches demand.

Iran, Iraq and Nigeria, which are strapped for revenue, also asked that their production quotas be raised, and Iran demanded an even lower OPEC production ceiling and a cut in Saudi Arabia's share of production.

After weighing the pros and cons, the oil ministers eventual-

ly agreed to abide by the existing benchmark price and production quotas, and urged non-OPEC producers to refrain from destabilizing the market.

Over the long term, the price of oil is not on what the Western press has described as "an irresistible decline." Despite efforts to exploit alternative sources of energy, oil is still expected to provide 38 per cent of the world's energy needs by 1990. Western countries, if they want to develop their economies, must turn increasingly to oil as their industrial lifeblood. Hence OPEC, which possesses

65 per cent of the world's known reserves, can control the market. The Arab oil producers, with surplus revenue of about US\$500,000 million, are prepared for any contingency.

In the short term, however, supply will continue to outstrip demand and oil prices are capable of sliding further because of large Western inventories of petroleum and increased output by non-OPEC producers. The situation calls for greater unity and co-operation if OPEC members are to safeguard their common interests.

— Ren Zhengde

Egypt

Better ties among Arab countries

AS a year of turbulence in the Middle East draws to a close, we see that the Egyptian Government has spent 1983 stressing unity among the Arab countries and persisting in opposing the Israeli policies of aggression and expansion.

Kamal Hassan Ali, Egypt's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, recently pointed out that his country's relations with other Arab countries had risen during the year to a level of practical and co-ordinated specific policies on national and international issues from a level of mere consultations.

Many Arab countries had severed their political and diplomatic ties with Egypt in 1979 at the summit in Baghdad, after Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has repeatedly appealed to leaders of other Arab countries to

put aside differences and face the enemy in unity.

Egypt has further expanded its ties with the Sudan, Somalia and Oman, with whom relations were maintained despite the Baghdad resolution. In particular, steady progress has been made in Egypt-Sudan integration.

What merits special attention is that ties between Egypt and the other Arab countries have also been increasing. At the 7th Non-Aligned Summit in India last March, President Mubarak met with the heads of state of Jordan, Lebanon, Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain and with the Vice-President of Iraq, exchanging views with them on the Middle East situation.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister paid visits in 1983 to Iraq, Jordan, Morocco and other countries. Top Egyptian government officials have also visited

Lebanon. In July, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz visited Egypt, and the two sides reached an agreement on developing bilateral relations. Meanwhile, Syrian and Egyptian officials have had contacts with each other.

The steady restoration of ties between Egypt and other Arab countries is the result of the pro-Arab policy pursued by President Mubarak since succeeding Anwar Sadat. The policy has been favourably received by the Arab world.

Last February, Egypt dissolved the Organization of Solidarity Between Arab and Islamic Peoples, which was meant to counter the Baghdad resolution. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Egypt recalled its ambassador from Tel Aviv. It insists, despite enormous pressures from the United States and Israel, that before its ambassador returns to Tel Aviv, Israel must withdraw all its troops from Lebanon, show sincerity regarding the Palestinian issue, and end its occupation of the Egyptian territory of Taba.

The other Arab countries, on their part, need the help of Egypt, a country of 46 million people. They hope that Egypt will return to the Arab fold and play its due role.

Some Arab countries expect that a resolution would be made at the next Arab summit to enable all Arab nations to freely decide the type of relations they will have with Egypt.

Observers have noted that an improved relationship between Egypt and the other Arab countries will serve the interests of the Arab world and the Palestinian cause, and help promote peace in the Middle East.

— Yu Mingbo



Six Letters From Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong practising calligraphy.

"The Selected Letters of Mao Zedong," compiled by the Central Committee's Research Centre of Party Literature, will be published in Chinese on December 26 to mark the 90th birthday of this great Marxist. Here, "Beijing Review" presents its own English translation of several letters chosen from the book. The facsimile and translation of the letter to Zang Kejia are taken from the English-language book "A Selection of Letters by Mao Zedong With Reproductions of the Original Calligraphy," which will appear on the same date. — Ed.

To Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen)

[September 18, 1936]
Fifth anniversary of the
"September 18th" Incident

Dear Mme. Ching Ling,

Almost 10 years have passed since we last bade each other good-bye in Wuhan. Every time we learn — from the newspapers or from comrades from the outside — of your statements and activities in the cause of revolution and national salvation, we feel immense respect and love for you. In the years since 1927, you and our comrades are the only people who have truly carried on in the spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, making revolution to save the nation. Today, the call for ending the civil war and uniting to fight Japan resounds throughout the

country, yet Chiang,¹ who is in command of the army, and the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang have shown no sign of repentance. This conduct, which goes against the revolutionary Three People's Principles and the Three Great Policies² laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, is intolerable to the majority of the Kuomintang membership and should be changed immediately. I think that if we want to awaken the principal leaders of the Kuomintang to the horrors that would follow from national subjugation and to the fact that they cannot defy public opinion, and thus persuade them to change their wrong policy soon, we must rely on your practical work as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. I am sending Comrade Pan Han-nian³ to present our views on forming a united front and to consult you, Madame, on ways of conducting open activities. Would you be so good as to receive him and give him your

guidance? For your reference, I enclose a copy of our letter to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.⁴ Meantime, I would be most grateful if you would kindly arrange for Comrade Hannian to meet and talk with the principal Kuomintang leaders whom you are close to, such as Wu Zhihui, Kong Xiangxi, Song Ziwen, Li Shizeng, Cai Yuanpei and Sun Ke.⁵

With cordial greetings,

Mao Zedong

NOTES:

1. Chiang Kai-shek.
2. The Three People's Principles were nationalism, democracy and improvement of the life of the people. The Three Great Policies were alliance with the Soviet Union, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers.
3. Pan Hannian (1906-77) was then one of the representatives of the Chinese Communist Party in its negotiations with the Kuomintang authorities in Nanjing.
4. Letter of August 25, 1936, from the Chinese Communist Party to the Kuomintang. In this letter the Party announced its policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front and renewing its co-operation with the Kuomintang.
5. Wu Zhihui (1865-1953) was then a member of the Kuomintang's Central Supervisory Committee.

Kong Xiangxi (H. H. Kung) (1880-1967) was then Vice-President of the Kuomintang Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance.

Song Ziwen (T. V. Soong) (1894-1971) was then Chairman of the Kuomintang government's National Economic Commission and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of China.

Li Shizeng (1881-1973) was then a member of the Kuomintang's Central Supervisory Committee and President of the National Beiping (Beijing) Academy.

Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) was an opponent of the feudal autocracy of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) in his youth and later one of the founders of the Guang Fu Hui (Society for Breaking the Foreign Yoke). At this time, he was President of the Academia Sinica in Nanjing.

Sun Ke (Sun Fo) (1891-1973) was then President of the Legislative Yuan of the Kuomintang government.

To Qin Bangxian¹

August 31 [1944]

Dear Comrade Bo Gu:

I have made some changes in this article.² At first I thought we should publish it, but finally I decided against it because I felt the

changes I had made did not fit in well with the original piece. Instead, I asked the paper to write and publish another editorial that didn't involve a lot of fundamental issues. As regards the defects of the original piece, I would say the following. It emphasized the need to transform the family, but it didn't say much about linking the transformation with the mass movements (this was also true of the substitute editorial that was finally published³). However, the central point is precisely that there must be such a link. The mass movements I have in mind include the activities of local organizations, which do not require participants to leave the family — for example, participation in the work-exchange teams, co-operatives, self-defence corps, militia, township assemblies, primary schools, literacy groups, *yangge* folk dance troupes and mass meetings held on short notice. But they also include activities away from the family and even far from the rural areas — for example, joining the army (otherwise there would be no revolutionary army), entering the factories (otherwise we would not have an adequate labour force), going to school (otherwise we would have no intellectuals) and other activities which do demand that the participants leave their families behind. The central aim of the democratic revolution is to liberate the peasantry from the yoke of foreign invaders, landlords and compradors, and to establish a modern industrial society. "Consolidate the family" is a revolutionary slogan only when it is integrated with the various kinds of revolutionary movements mentioned above. Peasant families are bound to be disrupted. When people join the army or go to work in factories, they "walk out of the family," and that in itself causes a major disruption. Actually, what we advocate is the dual policy of "walking out of the family" and also "consolidating the family."

In expanding the army, getting the former soldiers to return to their units, recruiting workers for factories and enrolling students in schools (these last two activities will inevitably increase as time goes on), resettling people in other places, and getting people to work for the revolution or do other jobs away from their villages — in all these our slogan is "walk out of the family." Quite a large number of people are now involved in all these activities in areas behind the enemy lines, and there will be just as many after the war. The slogan "consolidate the family" applies only to people who stay in the villages. During the civil war, the

Facsimile of Mao Zedong's letter to Zang Kejia.

people left behind in Xingguo County [Jiangxi Province], to whom our slogan "consolidate the family" applied, were only a minority of the county's population. If any major change takes place in the general situation — if, we take Beiping [Beijing], say — then in the border areas where we are staying and where there have been few changes so far in the rural household population, many people will "walk out of the family." As a matter of fact, what we need is to constantly "walk out of the family" and at the same time to constantly "consolidate the family." Therefore, we should not — we cannot — categorically negate the slogan of the May 4th Movement [1919] [The slogan of democracy and science — Tr.] and categorically object to people's "walking out of the family."

The family can never be transformed in the absence of social actions (such as fighting the war, entering factories, struggling for reduction of rents, and organizing work-exchange teams). The transformation of the family of Li Laicheng in Xiangyuan County [Shanxi Province] was achieved precisely in the thick of a social mass movement. The feudal family in the countryside can never be transformed into a democratic one by its own members acting in isolation on the basis of what they have learnt from books or newspapers. Rather, this can be done only through mass movements.

Furthermore, factory production (social production, whether the enterprise is publicly or privately owned) and co-operative production (including production by work-exchange teams), rather than a scattered, individual economy, constitute the foundation of the new-democratic society. The scattered, individual economy — household farming and household handicrafts — is the foundation of the feudal society, rather than of the democratic society (including the old-democratic, new-democratic

and socialist). This is where Marxism differs from Narodism [populism — Tr.]. In a nutshell, production by machine instead of hand-work serves as the foundation of the new-democratic society. We have not yet obtained machines, so we have not yet been victorious. If we never obtain machines, we will never win victory, and we will be ruined. The countryside today serves as our temporary base area; it is not, nor can it ever be, the main foundation of the entire democratic society of China. To change the foundation from agriculture to industry — this is precisely a task of our revolution.

Please show this letter to Comrades Ai, Lu and Yu.⁴ Let me know if you have any comments.

With best regards,

Mao Zedong

P.S. In revising the article, I added the liberation of individuality, which I think is inevitably included in the democratic revolution against feudalism. Some people say that we ignore individuality or even suppress it; this is not correct. Unless individuality is freed from its fetters, there will be neither democracy nor socialism.

NOTES:

1. Qin Bangxian (1907-46), also known as Bo Gu, was then Director of *Jiefang Ribao* (*Liberation Daily*) in Yanan.
2. The draft of a *Jiefang Ribao* editorial entitled "Make the Family the Foundation of the New-Democratic Society."
3. An editorial published in *Jiefang Ribao* of August 25, 1944, on the new-type family established by Li Laicheng, a peasant in Xiangyuan County, Shanxi Province. The editorial was entitled "Develop the New-Type Family in the Base Areas."
4. The noted philosopher Ai Siqi (1910-66), Lu Dingyi (1906-) and Yu Guangsheng (1906-78) were at the time respectively director of the department in charge of the features page, Editor-

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To Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Others

February 19, 1956

To Liu [Shaoqi], Zhou [Enlai], Chen [Yun], Peng Zhen, Xiaoping, Chen Boda and Dingyi:¹

In my opinion, such free discussion² should not be banned because, after all, it involves differing opinions concerning academic ideas, about which everyone can have his say without diminishing anyone else's authority. Therefore we should not mention this matter to Yudin.³ Differences of opinion in China concerning such academic issues or any of the leaders should not be prohibited. Any attempt to ban them would be entirely wrong.

Mao Zedong

NOTES:

1. Chen Yun was then a member of both the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Peng Zhen was then a member of the Political Bureau and First Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Party.

Deng Xiaoping was then a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary-General of the Central Committee.

Chen Boda was then Director of the Political Research Centre under the Party Central Committee.

Lu Dingyi was then Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

2. This refers to the remarks of a Soviet scholar, then lecturing in China, who had told his Chinese escorts how his opinion of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's world outlook differed from Mao Zedong's, as expressed in the latter's essay *On New Democracy*.

3. Pavel Fedorovich Yudin, then Soviet Ambassador to China.

To Huang Yanpei¹

December 4, 1956

Dear Mr. Renzhi:

I have received your letter.

Congratulations on your successful meetings!²

December 26, 1983

It is very good news that the method of criticism and self-criticism has worked well in your Association, among industrialists and businessmen all over the country and among senior intellectuals, and that it is being improved. Human society is always fraught with contradictions. This is also true of socialist and communist societies, only that the contradictions are of a different nature from those in a class society. Since contradictions exist, they should be exposed and resolved. There are two ways of exposing and resolving them. One is used for contradictions between the enemy (special agents and saboteurs) and ourselves, and the other for contradictions within the ranks of the people (including inner-party and inter-party contradictions). The former is the method of suppression and the latter the method of persuasion, i.e., the method of criticism. In our country, class contradictions have been *basically* resolved. (That is to say, they have yet to be completely resolved, and ideological contradictions will continue to exist for a long time to come. Moreover, also for a long time to come, there will continue to be a small number of special agents.) So all the people should close ranks. On the other hand, problems among the people will continue to crop up one after another. The only way to solve them is to start from the desire for unity and arrive at unity through criticism and self-criticism. I was glad to learn that this was the way the China Democratic National Construction Association conducted its meetings. I hope the same method will be adopted wherever problems exist.

There is no lack of knotty international problems, but they can always be solved one way or another. I am an optimist, and I believe you are one too.

With fraternal greetings,

Mao Zedong

I wrote a poem last year and another this year.³ I'm sending you copies herewith — you may wish to look them over and correct them — hoping in this way to repay your kindness in sending me your poems.

NOTES:

1. Huang Yanpei (1878-1965), also known as Huang Renzhi, was then Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association.

2. The enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association held in October 1956, and the Second Plenary Session

of the First Central Committee of the Association held in November of the same year.

3. Here, "last year" should read "the year before last," i.e., 1954, when Mao Zedong wrote the poem *Beidaihe* — to the tune of "Lang Tao Sha." The poem he wrote "this year," that is, in 1956, was *The Changjiang River* — to the tune of "Shui Diao Ge Tou," which was later published under the title *Swimming* — to the tune of "Shui Diao Ge Tou."

To Zang Kejia¹

December 26, 1961

Dear Comrade Kejia,

Thank you very much for the letters you sent me. I am rather keen on the question you raise. Unfortunately, I'm busy with work and cannot find time for it. Besides, I have no right to speak on the question of poetry unless I make a study of it. So I'm afraid you will have to wait for a little while.

With sincere regards,

Mao Zedong

NOTE:

1. Zang Kejia (1905-), a celebrated poet, was then Editor-in-Chief of *Shi Kan* (Poetry Magazine).

To Lu Dingyi and Others

July 18, 1965

To Comrades Dingyi, Kang Sheng, [Zhou] Enlai, [Liu] Shaoqi, Xiaoping and Peng Zhen:¹

This should be changed. To draw from nude models — men and women, old and young — is a basic skill indispensable to painting and sculpture. It would be wrong to be influenced by feudal ideas and forbid the practice. Even if some bad things happen, it doesn't matter. We should be willing to make some small sacrifices for the sake of art. Please think about this matter and come to a decision.

Mao Zedong

NOTE:

1. Lu Dingyi was then a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Director of its Propaganda Department.

Kang Sheng was then a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Deng Xiaoping was then General Secretary of the Central Committee.

Peng Zhen was then a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

A Revolutionary's Outlook

This is a brief introduction to "The Selected Letters of Mao Zedong" by the study group of Mao Zedong's works and life under the Central Committee's Research Centre of Party Literature. — Ed.

TO mark the 90th birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Central Committee's Research Centre of Party Literature compiled *The Selected Letters of Mao Zedong*. The 300,000-word (plus notes) collection comprises 372 of Mao Zedong's letters from 1920 to 1965. Most of them are published for the first time.

Rich in content, the letters were written in a lively and terse style and deal with a broad range of subjects, including politics, theory, methods of thinking, methods and style of work, study and the cultivation of Party spirit. There are also letters relating to Mao Zedong's personal contacts with his Party comrades, non-Party friends, relatives and old ac-

quaintances. A precious historical literature, the collection shines with the brilliance of Marxist thought and reflects the revolutionary outlook of a Communist. It also provides rich social and historical information.

The first letter in the collection, which Mao wrote to Cai Hesen on December 1, 1920, clearly showed how Mao Zedong

in the course of seeking a revolutionary road to China's liberation, definitely chose Marxism. In the letter, he rejected anarchism and the idea of transforming China by the peaceful method of education. He favoured a dictatorship of the proletariat, the use of the Russian-type methods to transform China and the world, and the founding of a Communist Party. This letter marked Mao Zedong's change from a radical democrat into a Communist.

Mao's letters on theoretical problems and theoretical work compose an important part of the collection. Among the questions he discussed are philosophy, economics, history, sociology and jurisprudence. In the three letters he wrote to Zhang Wentian and others, he analysed the philosophical thinking of Confucius and Mo Di (Mo Ti). For instance, he said Confucius' concept of "the rectification of names" was idealist in the framework of his philosophy. But, in terms of the theory of knowledge and sociology, in addition to its essential metaphysical aspects, it also had dialectical elements. These statements are of great inspiration and value in studying the history of China's ancient philosophy.

Comrade Mao Zedong was good at putting Marxist philosophy into practice. In a letter he wrote to Liu Shaoqi in 1948, he explained the relationship between policy and experience, from the perspective of the theory of knowledge. He pointed out: Whether a policy is correct and how correct it is must all be tested by experience. Any experience (practice) is gained in the process of carrying out a policy. A negative experience results from the practice of an erroneous policy, and a positive experience results

from the practice of a correct policy.

The basic idea running through the letters Mao wrote to Guo Moruo, Fan Wenlan, Wu Han, He Ganzhi and other historians is that one should use the viewpoints and methods of historical materialism to study social history, including the history of the classical thought. Mao also stressed that historical study should serve the practical struggle and that we should criticize national capitulationism and educate the people in patriotism.

Mao Zedong always attached importance to the learning and study of Marxist-Leninist theory, cadres' theoretical education and theoretical propaganda. For instance, in 1941 he wrote a letter asking some comrades to compile a reading list in order to "combine theory with practice," and organize and lead the Party's senior cadres to study for the rectification movement. In 1958, to correct the "Left" mistakes in our economic work, he wrote a letter to the leading central, provincial, prefectural and county comrades asking them to read two books by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin in the light of the economic construction at that time, in order to gain a sober mind and thus better guide our great economic work. He also wrote to some young people encouraging them to conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist theory. In a letter to some philosophers, he asked them to write popular works about the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge.

The collection also incorporates many letters relating to the united front, which span almost all historical periods. Many of these letters were written around the time of the Xian

Incident in December 1936, and in the period just before and after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

In 1936 and 1937, China was invaded by Japanese imperialists, and the fate of the Chinese nation was in peril. During this period, for the sake of uniting with all possible forces to fight against Japanese aggressors, Mao Zedong wrote many letters to people in the Kuomintang, ranging from such central leaders as Chiang Kai-shek and Song Ziwen to Kuomintang generals and senior local military commanders, and generals of the Northeast and the Northwest Armies. In these letters he explained that the nation would perish if internecine fights went on, and that the nation would survive only if everyone united to resist the enemy. He proposed the Kuomintang and Communist Party and their armies give up old grievances and join hands to deal with their common enemy.

At the same time, he wrote letters to various patriotic democrats and distinguished people, including Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Cai Yuanpei, Shen Junru and Zou Taofen, explaining the Communist Party's proposition to stop the civil war and unite to resist Japanese aggression. He appealed to them to urge the Kuomintang to give up its incorrect policies of yielding to the enemy while being tough with the people, and incriminating patriots while rewarding traitors, so as to save China from disaster. These letters played an important role in founding the broadest possible national united front against Japanese aggression.

Letters written around the time the People's Republic was founded mainly reflect how the Chinese Communist Party and

(Continued on p. 26.)

Inheriting and Developing Mao Zedong Thought

by Wang Qi

Overcoming one obstacle after another from both the "Left" and the Right after Comrade Mao Zedong's death in 1976, the Chinese Communists have scientifically established the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought and developed it in many ways. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said, "In many respects, what we are doing is what Comrade Mao Zedong suggested we should do but have failed to do; setting right what he mistakenly opposed and doing a good job in what he failed to do properly. We will continue to do so for a long time to come. Of course, we have developed and continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought."

A LEADING Marxist revolutionary, strategist and theoretician of contemporary China, Mao Zedong was the major founder and leader of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Although he committed grave mistakes during his later years, he is still held in high esteem among the Chinese people for his indisputably tremendous contributions to the Chinese revolution.

As we are commemorating the 90th birthday of Mao Zedong, I would like to discuss how, since his death, the Chinese Communists have persevered in upholding Mao Zedong Thought and promoting its continued development.

Removing Obstacles

The integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding thought of the Chinese Communist Party and the banner under which China has scored great victories in revolution and

The author is a leader of the Party History Research Centre under the Party Central Committee, and Secretary-General of the National Society for the Study of the History of the CPC.

socialist construction. For a time, however, the Party's guiding thought was confused, partly due to the "Left" mistakes committed by Mao Zedong in his later years and partly to Lin Biao and the gang of four instigating the Mao Zedong personality cult and turning Mao Zedong Thought into dogma. Then again, after Mao Zedong's death, and particularly after the overthrow of the gang of four in 1976, two erroneous tendencies occurred in the attitude towards Mao Zedong Thought, one "Left" and the other Right.

The "Left" tendency manifested itself in the erroneous policy of "two whatevers" (i.e., "We must resolutely support whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and consistently follow whatever directives Chairman Mao issued."). The Party leader then in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee formulated this policy and stuck to it, thereby hampering efforts to set things to rights and correct the "Left" mistakes committed by Mao Zedong in his later years. This caused the Party's work to move ahead haltingly.

At the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held towards the end of 1978, the erroneous policy of "two whatevers" was criticized, the trammels of "Left" mistakes

which had bound us hand and foot for so long were smashed and the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines were re-established. This was a turning point of far-reaching significance in the Party history since the founding of the People's Republic. Since then the Party has taken the initiative in correcting past wrongs, which actually began with our efforts to scientifically interpret Mao Zedong Thought.

When the Party set about correcting the "Left" mistakes committed during and before the "cultural revolution," a Right deviationist tendency appeared among a number of people, who doubted, and even denied Mao Zedong's historical role and the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought. Some of them, because of Mao's mistakes in his later years, objected to using Mao Zedong Thought to guide the Party, arguing that Marxism alone could serve that purpose. Some said they supported "correct Mao Zedong Thought" rather than "mistaken Mao Zedong Thought." Others said Mao Zedong Thought was only created by Mao Zedong himself.

Such ideological confusion continued until October 1980, when the draft of the Resolu-

tion on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China was submitted for discussion among 4,000 Party members. During the discussions, Deng Xiaoping, showing long-range political vision in his penetrating theoretical analyses, answered and explained many important questions. As a result, unity of thinking was reached on the following issues:

First, the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought lies in the fact that it has guided the Chinese people to the correct revolutionary road. Under its guidance, China won nationwide liberation in 1949 and basically accomplished the socialist transformation in 1956. This fundamentally changed the destiny of the Chinese people and altered the world situation as well. During his later years, Mao Zedong raised the strategic idea of differentiation of three worlds, which has enabled us to press ahead with our modernization drive in today's international environment. For this, we must bear in mind Mao Zedong's contribution.

We should firmly establish the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought. Denying the important role of Mao Zedong Thought is tantamount to negating the glorious history of our Party. Holding high this banner is in the interests not only of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese nation, but also of the international communist movement.

History shows that Marxism alone is not enough to serve as the Party's guiding thought. Because China's social and historical development has its specific characteristics, because the majority of the Chinese people are peasants, because China's culture and science are



Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen during a break at the enlarged working conference convened by the Party Central Committee in 1962.

underdeveloped, it is extremely difficult for us to convert Marxism from its European form to a Chinese form and systematically make it an ideology of China's own.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, an erroneous tendency to turn Marxism into dogma and deify the resolutions of the Communist International and the Soviet Union's experiences prevailed in the international communist movement and the Chinese Communist Party. This tendency almost put the Chinese revolution in hopeless straits. The revolution later advanced to victory at quicker pace only because the Chinese Communists, with Mao Zedong as their chief representative, successfully combined Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China. Mao Zedong Thought, as a scientific theory which has withstood the test of time, will continue to be our major guiding ideology far into the future.

Second, Mao Zedong Thought does not include Mao Zedong's errors, particularly the wrong theories and concepts he set

forth in his later years. What guide the Party are the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought, which have proved to be correct through long years of practice. It is essential to distinguish the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought from the mistakes he committed late in his life. The idea of supporting the "correct Mao Zedong Thought" instead of "mistaken Mao Zedong Thought" is a muddled idea. Those who hold this idea maintain that Mao Zedong Thought includes both Mao Zedong's correct and wrong theories. That is to say, all the articles, books, speeches, directives and letters written or made by Mao Zedong belong to Mao Zedong Thought. In this way they have confused the concept "Mao Zedong Thought," which has its specific scientific connotations, with the collection of all the statements of Mao Zedong himself.

Third, Mao Zedong made the greatest contribution in making Marxism-Leninism into an ideology typically Chinese, but he was not alone in this. His comrades-in-arms, the Party and the

people also share in the credit. This typically Chinese ideology, or Mao Zedong Thought, is the crystallization of the experiences gained by the Chinese people in revolutionary struggles over half a century. Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and other revolutionaries of the older generation also made major contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought.

The theories formulated from the struggle against the erroneous "Left" and Right tendencies in interpreting Mao Zedong Thought have been written into the Party Constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress. Among other things, the Party Constitution says, "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it consists of a body of theoretical principles concerning the revolution and construction in China and a summary of experience therein, both of which have been proved correct by practice; it represents the crystallized, collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China." This is the comprehensive, accurate exposition of

the scientific connotations of Mao Zedong Thought.

Three Basic Principles

There had been many major achievements in the development of Mao Zedong Thought after it was established as the Party's guideline in 1945 at the Seventh Party Congress. However, the Party still had not comprehensively and scientifically summarized the basic contents of Mao Zedong Thought. In 1980, the Party Central Committee, while calling for making a correct appraisal of Mao Zedong Thought, pointed out the need to summarize its main contents, especially those which should continue to be implemented, and to explain the system of Mao Zedong Thought in all its aspects.

In summarizing the rich content of Mao Zedong Thought, the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in June 1981 says that Mao Zedong

Thought contains theories on the new-democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and construction, building of the revolutionary army and military strategy, policy and tactics, ideological and cultural work, and building the Party. All these components, which characterize the Chinese Communists' stand, viewpoint and method, express three basic principles: seeking truth from facts, following the mass line and maintaining independence. They are the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought and scientific principles with universal, long-term significance.

Seeking Truth From Facts. The Party Constitution says, "The Party's ideological line is to proceed from reality in all things, to integrate theory with practice, to seek truth from facts, and verify and develop the truth through practice. In accordance with this ideological line, the whole Party must scientifically sum up historical experience, investigate and study actual conditions, solve new problems in domestic and international affairs, and oppose all erroneous deviations, whether "Left" or Right. This description of the Party's ideological line correctly sums up the basic points of the dialectical materialist line of knowledge long advocated by Mao Zedong. These points highlight his outstanding contributions in developing the Marxist theory of knowledge.

Seeking truth from facts is, according to Deng Xiaoping, the essence of Mao Zedong Thought and its basic starting point. To seek truth from facts, one should first of all proceed from reality in doing everything; he should not start from his own subjective wishes or books, nor should he mechanically copy the directives issued

On October 1, 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China.



by the leadership at a higher level. All in all, one should act according to the actual conditions instead of books or instructions from his leadership — this is a basic requirement of dialectical materialism.

Deng Xiaoping said, "By holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, we mean that, at whatever time when one handles issues concerning various policies and principles, he should proceed from reality. Many favourable conditions are available today to achieve the four modernizations which did not exist during Comrade Mao Zedong's lifetime. If it had not pondered things over and made decisions in the light of what is actually happening today, the Party Central Committee would not have raised so many questions and solved them accordingly."

The Mass Line. The line of "from the masses, to the masses" advocated by Mao Zedong is unique to the Chinese Communists in their struggle against their strong enemies. In his report on revising the Party Constitution to the Eighth Party Congress held in 1956, Deng Xiaoping summarized the basic content of the mass line which involves the viewpoint of doing everything for the good of the masses and relying on them: it also includes the scientific methods of leadership and work as expressed in the wording of "from the masses, to the masses." In his report, Deng Xiaoping also emphasized how important it is for a ruling party to conscientiously carry out the mass line, thinking this as a decisive factor for ensuring a correct Party leadership. He also criticized the various forms of bureaucracy, which had been growing among those working in Party and government organizations, driving



Mao Zedong and Zhu De posing for a picture with members of democratic parties and personages without party affiliation. In the front row, from left, Li Jishen (second), Shen Junru (first) and Guo Moruo (third).

them apart from the masses. Sensing what harm a ruling party will bring to the cause of socialism once it is divorced from the masses, the Party Central Committee has once again called on the Party to restore its fine tradition of the mass line.

Independence and Self-Reliance.

The integration of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of the countries concerned cannot be realized by mechanically copying Marxist Leninist books or relying on any international command centre to work out all the answers for Communists of individual countries. Rather, this integration can only be achieved when Communists of various countries, guided by the general Marxist-Leninist principles and in the light of their specific conditions, constantly draw upon their experiences in mass struggle and choose their own path. Comrade Mao Zedong's axiom is, "We should rely mainly on our own efforts while seeking external assistance as an auxiliary." This is the road along which the Chinese revolution travelled to victory. This

principle will continue to be implemented in China's socialist revolution and construction, and in its relations with foreign countries.

New Development

Mao Zedong said, "Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth, but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice." This is determined by the scientific and revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism. Mao Zedong Thought should also be constantly enriched and developed with new practice and new theories. In this sense, upholding Mao Zedong Thought is identical with developing Mao Zedong Thought.

Recent developments in China show that in many respects, what we are doing is what Comrade Mao Zedong suggested we should do, but have failed to do; setting right what he mistakenly opposed and doing a good job in what he failed to do properly. In so doing, we have also developed Mao Zedong Thought.

The developments the Chi-

nese Communist Party has made in Mao Zedong Thought since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee at the end of 1978 are manifested in the following main aspects:

The general task of building socialism in all fields. This comprises the three closely related strategic objectives of modernizing industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology, attaining a high level of political democracy and strengthening ideological and cultural work. Mao Zedong had advanced all of these ideas separately, but he had never brought the three together as the Party does today, setting them out as the general task of building socialism. This is an important development in Mao Zedong Thought.

Effect socialist economic construction with Chinese characteristics. China has, in recent years, broken many of the old economic patterns it had followed for so long, making reforms with a view to promoting exchanges with other countries and enlivening the domestic economy. This includes instituting diverse economic forms of a rationally proportioned system of ownership while maintaining the leading position of the state economy, combining agricultural collective ownership with the responsibility system, and ensuring the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation. Much has already been achieved in all these areas.

On the subject of China taking its own road to socialist construction, Mao Zedong studied the question in the 1950s and advanced some important theories (see "Mao Zedong's Thought on Socialist Economic Construction" in our issue No.



Mao Zedong with friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

51). But, generally speaking, the experiences gained then were not adequate to resolve this question. In recent years, by drawing on the experiences and lessons of the past, the Chinese Communists have gained a better understanding of the objective laws governing our socialist construction and can, therefore, formulate fairly systematic theories and policies on building a uniquely Chinese socialism.

Today we are fortunate to have favourable conditions which did not exist when Mao Zedong was alive. For instance, to quicken the pace of our socialist construction, Mao once had the idea of expanding technological exchanges with foreign countries, including developing economic and trade relations with some capitalist countries. However, this was never put into practice because many countries inflicted an economic blockade on us at one time, and

conditions were not ripe for the plan at another. It was only when the international situation changed that we were able to make a breakthrough. Today, we still face many new circumstances and new problems which must be solved independently and creatively.

Correctly understand and handle the principal contradiction and class struggle which still exist to a certain extent in a socialist society. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the

ownership of the means of production, the Eighth National Congress of the Party held in 1956 declared that the principal contradiction within the country was no longer one between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but between the people's and state's ever-increasing demand for material and cultural well-being and the backward social productive forces.

Mao Zedong, however, later changed this correct assessment and, for a long time afterwards, he insisted that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction in a socialist society. He also raised the slogan, "taking class struggle as the key link," thereby neglecting the central task of developing social productive forces and speeding up socialist economic construction.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee resolutely discarded this

slogan which is inappropriate in a socialist society. Instead, it advanced the scientific view that class struggle still exists to a certain extent, and decided to shift the focus of the Party's and government's work to socialist modernization. In this way, the Party has corrected what Mao Zedong had wrongly opposed and has, simultaneously, greatly developed Mao Zedong Thought.

Extend socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system. The Chinese people realized from the catastrophic "cultural revolution" that without democracy there would be neither socialism nor socialist modernization. This is because one of the major causes of the "cultural revolution" was that power was too concentrated in the hands of an individual or a few people. This practice disrupted democratic life and the democratic centralism of the Party and state.

Today, the Chinese Communist Party considers building a high level of socialist democracy to be a fundamental task of socialist construction. It stresses that socialist democracy must have the leadership of the Party, and that a high level of inner-Party democracy and people's democracy will guarantee the correct leadership of the Party. In recent years, China has made tremendous efforts in this area. The new Constitution, which was discussed and adopted by the National People's Congress last year, fully reflects the great results we have achieved in stepping up our political development and strengthening democracy and the legal system. Today, our government has already implemented many new laws, decrees and regulations.

Building socialist ethics is important to a socialist society. The Chinese Communist Party

stressed that we must use communist ideology to educate the people, that we must adhere to the four cardinal principles of upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and that we must overcome the influences of feudal and bourgeois ideologies, foster the revolutionary spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and encourage people of all nationalities in China to imbue themselves with ideals, morality, cultural knowledge and a sense of discipline.

At the same time, the Party Central Committee declared that intellectuals are members of the working class. It stressed that the modernization of science and technology is the key link in the four modernizations, and that we must respect knowledge and learned people. The resolution of this major problem has great significance for building a powerful socialist country.

The reform of the leadership system of the Party and state, and the co-operation between and succession of old and new cadres. In his later years, Mao

Zedong raised the question of training successors, but he did not have a proper solution, and even made it quite confusing. In recent years the Party and government have resolutely carried out reforms directed against defects in the existing leadership system according to the following principles: 1) power should not be too concentrated; 2) a leader should not have too many posts; 3) there should be a division of labour between the Party and government organizations; 4) promote the co-operation between and succession of the old and new cadres (including the establishment of the Central Advisory Commission as an interim measure for the final abolition of life-long tenure of leading cadres).

All these problems were satisfactorily solved between the time of the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee in August 1980, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 12th National Party Congress. This has ensured the consistency and stability of the leadership of our Party and

Deng Xiaoping chatting with Hu Yaobang.



government. The Party Central Committee also decided that the ranks of our cadres should be made more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. This is a great development in Mao Zedong Thought regarding the building of the Party's organization.

Strengthen and improve the Party's leadership, perfect democratic centralism and overcome the personality cult. The tasks of the overall Party consolidation, which has already started and will be completed by the year 1986, are to achieve ideological unity, rectify the

Party's style of work, strengthen discipline and purify the Party organization. This is aimed at building the Party into a strong core of leadership in our socialist modernization drive. Such a leading body will guarantee realization of the general task of building socialism in all fields.

Build a regular, modern people's revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics. Given the current international situation fraught with the danger of war, we must strengthen the modernization of our defence. The people's army must take Mao Zedong Thought as its guide, carry forward its fine

traditions and consider education and training to be strategically important, to suit the needs of modern warfare.

The stand, views and methods running through each of the above aspects are the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought — seeking truth from facts, following the mass line and maintaining independence. In this way the Chinese Communists are ceaselessly enriching the three fundamental principles of Mao Zedong Thought with their new experiences and new theories, propelling the continuous development of Mao Zedong Thought under new circumstances. □

(Continued from p. 19.)

the patriotic democratic people together prepared for the opening of the New Political Consultative Conference on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic, how the Party worked in co-operation with them and how all sides sincerely supervised and helped each other in the early days of the People's Republic. These letters vividly record the constant consolidation and expansion of our people's democratic united front.

Mao Zedong's letters on cultivating Party spirit and carrying forward the Party's fine style of work are another important component of the collection. His letters to Chen Yi, Xu Teli, Lei Jingtian, Wen Yunchang and others approached the question of cultivating Party spirit. He asked the Communists, and particularly leading cadres, to "be ready at all times to stand up for the truth and to correct their mistakes," and try to "put revolution first, work first and other people first." He stressed that the Communist Party and the Red Army should enforce a stricter

discipline on its members than that on the common people.

Many letters Mao wrote after the founding of the People's Republic show that he considered the task of building the Party very important, since the Communist Party had become the one in power. He paid particular attention to preventing cadres from seeking personal privileges or divorcing themselves from the masses. In a letter he wrote to Comrade Zhou Enlai in 1952, he said as a first step, the boarding schools for cadres' children should all be put on an equal footing and should not be graded. The next step, he said, was to abolish this kind of "aristocratic" school and let the cadres' children mix with the children of the masses.

After liberation, many of Mao's relatives, friends and old acquaintances wrote to him asking for help with their problems in employment, Party membership and entering school. He wrote to these people sincerely that they should solve their problems in their own locality, according to the stipulations of the government,

and should not seek personal privileges.

The collection also includes some of Mao Zedong's personal letters to his revolutionary comrades-in-arms, people working with him, relatives, friends and old acquaintances. In these, he offered greetings and warm encouragement, talked about everyday matters, exchanged views, or commented on poems and paintings. Warm and sincere, these letters reflect Mao's revolutionary friendship, his amiable and easily approachable nature, and his concern and consideration for others.

The more than 900 notes in the collection provide important background information and include the first publication of some important historical documents reflecting Mao's views.

The collection is the important historical literature which reflects, from one aspect, Mao Zedong's thought, theories and revolutionary activities. Its publication is of great significance to the study of Mao Zedong's thinking and life and the history of our Party. □

Construction Contracting and Labour Co-operation Abroad

by Cao Guanlin, Deputy Director of the International Economic Co-operation Bureau

SINCE opening to the outside world in 1979, China has made advances in contracting for foreign construction projects and providing labour service abroad — important areas of international economic co-operation. The 42 contracting corporations in China have worked in 53 countries and regions in Asia, Latin America and Europe. The range of projects is getting wider and the scale is getting larger, covering water conservation, public buildings, petrochemical installations, machinery, textiles, agriculture and fishing. Specific projects have included power stations, highways, railways, bridges, ports, airports, hospitals, gymnasiums, hotels and convention halls. In the areas of technological and labour co-operation, China has sent engineers, construction workers, skilled workers, sailors and cooks to help with production

and management in other countries.

By the end of last year, China had signed 903 contracts worth a total of US\$1,300 million. During the same period it completed contracts worth US\$510 million (see table). Another 130 contracts were concluded in the first half of this year, 90 for construction projects and the rest for overseas labour service. This is up 29 contracts from the same period last year. These contracts were valued at US\$460 million, up 119 per cent from the first half of 1982. Contracts completed in the first half were worth US\$180 million, up 80 per cent.

Over the period from 1983-87, China will further expand its international contracting and labour co-operation with companies and governments abroad on the principle of equality and

mutual benefit. At present, it is carrying on these lines of business mainly in third world countries as part of South-South co-operation. This not only helps the countries concerned to develop economically but is conducive to breaking through the existing inequitable international economic relations and improving China's friendly relations and co-operation with other third world countries. By providing technology, equipment and labour, China supports national independence and economic development in other third world countries. In turn, it earns foreign exchange needed for its modernization and can gain advanced construction management experience and technological know-how.

In foreign construction projects and labour co-operation, China observes the following principles:

- China will honour contracts, abide by the laws and decrees of the countries concerned, and respect the habits and customs of the local people. Both parties will be expected to act strictly in accordance with a contract once it is signed and in force.

- China will guarantee the quality of all equipment, materials and labour, as well as design standards of a project. If shortcomings are found and after careful examination the Chinese party is found at fault, China will handle the problems

China's International Economic Co-operation

	1981 and Earlier	1982	First Half of 1983
Number of Contracts Signed (not necessarily completed)	590	313	130
Total Value of Contracts Signed (US\$ millions)	790	510	460
Value of Contracts Completed (US\$ millions)	160	350	180
Workers Abroad (at year-end)	18,000	31,000	unavailable



King Hussein meets Chinese technicians on the site of a project China has contracted with Jordan.

carefully and adopt a positive attitude to remedy them.

- China's foreign construction and labour is intended not simply for profit but for furthering the interests of the local people. As socialist enterprises, Chinese contracting corporations fix fair and reasonable prices, based on scientific economic analysis and accounting principles. These corporations have even concluded contracts that profit only the local people.

- China attaches great importance to good relations with friendly countries and people. It is concerned about their needs and will help them overcome their difficulties. It never operates solely at the expense of a developing country.

China's work abroad has been acclaimed by many governments and companies. The general manager of Bouygues Company of France, which worked in co-operation with China to construct the Bubiyan Bridge in Kuwait, praised the Chinese workers: "The new design of the bridge and the high level of technology made it difficult to

build. But the Chinese achieved far more than we expected. I'm completely satisfied with their work." He said his company was willing to co-operate with Chinese enterprises on any other projects in the Gulf region.

Chinese workers were also praised for their contribution to the An Nasiriyah Woollen Mill in Iraq, which increased its daily output of worsted and woollen fabrics by between three and four times. The number of varieties also increased to 14 from 2. "You can rely on Chinese workers when you want to increase your output or upgrade your product quality," said an Iraqi economist.

The Al Mukha-Mafraq Highway,

which China contracted to build for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, was completed ahead of schedule despite many difficulties. Abdul Ahmed al Heife, head of the Highway Bureau of the Ministry of Public Works, praised the accomplishment, calling the completed project northern Yemen's "second revolutionary road."

China's contracts for foreign projects fall into four general categories:

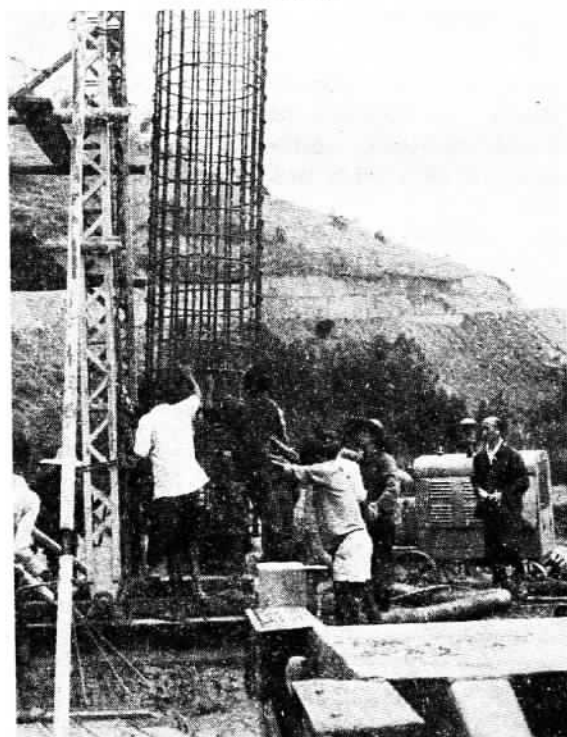
- Construction of an entire project, including provision of all necessary equipment, materials and labour.

- Construction of portions of a project, such as an excavation or the installation of equipment.

- Construction of projects using local materials.

- Joint ventures with foreign companies on construction projects.

Chinese and African workers putting reinforcing steel in place for a highway China is building for Rwanda.



Under labour co-operation agreements, skilled workers and technicians are sent abroad according to the requirements of the employers. Workers are paid for hours worked. Technicians may be sent to factories or mines to guide production, train workers or repair machines. They usually work at least a year, sometimes several years, but never too long. Every year they have a month's vacation with their salary and travelling expenses paid by their corporations. They earn a higher salary than they would in China and enjoy free housing and medical care while abroad.

Some foreigners do not fully understand China's system of international contracting and labour, and they worry about a return of the "Chinese coolies" of the 19th century. Their fears are unfounded. Under im-

perialism and feudalism, the Chinese people were oppressed and poor. With no way to make a living, some were forced to go abroad as indentured labourers, mortgaging their lives as virtual slaves. This is an indication of the great suffering of the Chinese people at the time.

Today, the Chinese people are masters of a new society. Labourers entrusted by the country and people are sent abroad in an organized manner under the guidance of good leaders. They contribute to developing friendly relations with other countries through their work.

Foreign companies can profit too from China's technical and labour co-operation, which is allowed by international practice provided it is equitable and beneficial to both sides.

Another worry of foreigners is that China has developed its

international labour force too quickly, and this could mean underemployment for workers elsewhere, especially in developing countries. This worry is also unfounded. Although China has a large population, its modernization drive requires most of these people. There are only 30,000 Chinese working abroad. The value of China's labour co-operation contracts is only 1 per cent of the world total. And the Chinese workforce in the Middle East is less than 2.5 per cent of that from Pakistan and 3 per cent of that from India.

As its economy develops, China will be able to contract for a greater variety of projects and will develop its labour service abroad. But it must be kept in mind that it will be impossible for China to contract for major projects abroad at the expense of cancelling large projects at home. □

Monetary statistics for third quarter

China had 12.67 million troy ounces of gold in reserve at the end of September 1983, the same as at the end of the second quarter of this year. Foreign exchange reserves were US\$14,066 million, 1,044 million more than the second quarter of this year, according to the People's Bank of China.

Deposits came to 242,479 million yuan (RMB) at the end of the third quarter of this year, 13,024 million more than at the end of the second quarter.

There are 311,418 million yuan outstanding in loans, 14,042 million more than at the end of the second quarter this year. Of this, loans to industrial enterprises came to 55,006 million yuan, commercial loans 171,759 million yuan, short- and medium-term loans for buying equipment 16,741 million yuan, industrial and commercial loans to collective and individual enterprises in cities and towns 14,806 million yuan and rural loans 24,990 million yuan.

At the end of the third

quarter of 1983, 46,728 million yuan was in circulation, and the operational funds of the People's Bank of China were 54,717 million yuan.

By the end of the third quarter 38,689 million yuan had been deposited in rural credit co-operatives, 1,571 million yuan more than at the end of the second quarter this year, and loans from credit co-operatives came to 24,395 million yuan, 279 million yuan more than at the end of the second quarter this year.

FILM

'Liao Zhongkai'

Liao Zhongkai, a colour feature film about one of the great Left revolutionary leaders of the Kuomintang, is inspiring patriotic feelings among audiences all over China.

Liao Zhongkai, father of the late Liao Chengzhi, was one of the vanguards of the Chinese democratic revolution. He was born into an overseas Chinese businessman's family in San Francisco in 1877. While studying in Japan during his youth, he met Sun Yat-sen, who was then engaged in revolutionary activities there. Liao joined the Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary League), one of the revolutionary organizations during the early years of the Chinese democratic revolution. He followed Sun Yat-sen's three great policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. As an assistant of Sun Yat-sen, he helped reform the Kuomintang and promoted the first instance of co-operation between the Kuo-

mintang and the Chinese Communist Party (1924-27), despite opposition from the Kuomintang Rightists. Liao made great contribution to China's democratic revolution, and was therefore hated by imperialists and the Kuomintang Rightists. In August 1925, he was murdered.

The two-hour film, produced by the Zhujiang Film Studio, is directed by 73-year-old Tang Xiaodan. Dong Xingji, a performing artist with the Beijing People's Art Theatre, took the lead as Liao Zhongkai. Unfortunately, he died after the film was completed.

Liao Zhongkai depicts the last three years of Liao's life (1922-1925), when Chinese history was at a cross-roads. In June 1922, Chen Jiongming, the commander-in-chief of the Guangdong army which Sun Yat-sen relied on, launched a rebellion. Liao Zhongkai, head of the Guangdong provincial finance department at that time, was trapped and imprisoned by Chen. Although Chen Jiongming plotted to kill Liao and his wife, helped by port workers, the Liaos escaped on a ship bound for Xianggang (Hongkong).

Trusted by Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai, overcoming untold

difficulties, went to Japan twice to talk with Soviet delegates. At the First National Conference of the Kuomintang in 1924, he supported Sun's revolutionary programme. He joined the struggle to quell the Kuomintang Rightists' rebellion in Guangzhou. After Sun Yat-sen's death in March 1925, Liao took an active part in the Xianggang workers' strike led by the Chinese Communist Party.

The grand scenes and numerous characters in the film recreate all of the major events in Liao's life, including his assassination.

Dong Xingji played the role of Liao Zhongkai in a very realistic style. To become familiar with Liao's habits, he read a lot of historical material and visited Liao's friends and relatives. He did not superficially imitate the revolutionary's behaviours, but painstakingly portrayed his noble morality, unyielding character and deep feelings.

Other important historical personalities such as Sun Yat-sen, Li Dazhao, Soong Ching Ling and Liao's wife He Xiangning, who seldom appeared in previous films, are also portrayed successfully.

Left: Sun Yat-sen (left) shares his ideas on reforming the Kuomintang with Liao Zhongkai.
Right: After escaping from Guangzhou, Liao Zhongkai and his wife sail into Shanghai from Xianggang.



Illustrations
By Zhang Shouyi



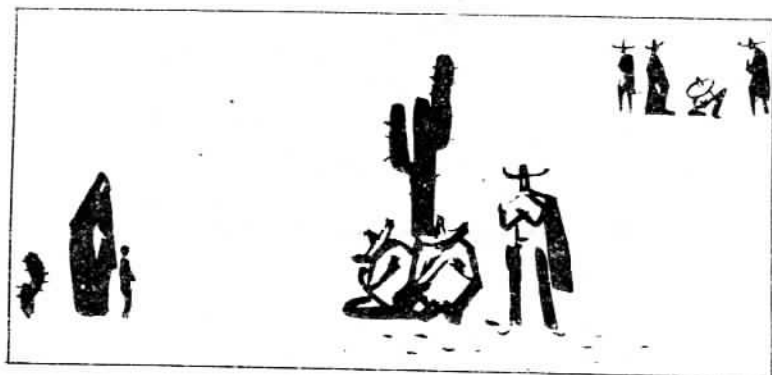
For Romain Rolland's
"L'ame enchantee."



For the "Collection
of Dostoyevsky."



For Charles Chaplin's
"My Autobiography."



For the "Selection of
Modern One-Act Plays
From Latin America."

Zhang Shouyi, born in Pingquan, Hebei Province in 1930, has been working in the People's Literature Publishing House and Foreign Literature Publishing House since the 1950s, when he graduated from the Central Academy of Fine Arts. As an art editor, Zhang Shouyi does binding, layout and illustrations for foreign literature, for which he has received many awards.



For Victor Hugo's
"Les Miserables."





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