

No. 23 June 8, 1981

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

## Eternal Glory to Soong Ching Ling



# LETTERS

## Condolences on Soong Ching Ling's Death

Deeply grieved to hear sad news of passing of Madame Soong Ching Ling. We have all lost a great woman who was an indefatigable worker for the active participation of women in the progress of New China.

Donna Walker, Jonathan Zarkin, Jerry Zarkin, Tanya Zarkin  
Cable from San Francisco, U.S.A.

## Economic Readjustment

When the talk about the "problem concerning whole sets of equipment" between China and Japan went around, your magazine published an article by your correspondent Zhou Jin entitled "Further Economic Readjustment: A Break With 'Leftist' Thinking" in issue No. 12 and Liu Guangdi's article entitled "Answering Our Readers: Why Is China Striving to Wipe Out Its Deficit?" in issue No. 15. I read those two articles with great interest.

I fully understand China's viewpoints on "economic read-

justment," which are absolutely different from the Keynesian policy of stimulating economic development by resorting to financial deficits and inflation.

Wish you would publish more articles explaining why the situation has developed the way it had.

Hideobu Murakami  
Yamato, Japan

The new column "Notes From the Editors" provides a better understanding of concrete events in China, especially in relationship to China's policy of readjustment and suspension of contracts with other countries. Now I have a deeper understanding of this policy. From the column "Letters" I realize I am not the only one who was a little confused about your "slowdown" in economic construction. Maybe you can better understand why some of us outside China were somewhat disappointed about China's new policies. This is a result of the information for many years under the gang of four. Recalling the articles in your magazine over the past few years, I find they were all about building up water conservancy and doing other large-scale economic construction projects. But now things are different. Your answers are good. Naturally, too high an accumulation rate might have

destructive effects on working morale. I have come to know that metaphysical communism overlooks this fact and ignores the psyche of the people.

Peter Romen  
Lochau, Austria

## Financial Deficit

The article "Report on the Readjustment of the 1981 National Economic Plan and State Revenue and Expenditure" in issue No. 11 is convincing. The report explicitly elaborates on the cause of the 1980 financial deficit, which came to 12,000 million yuan. The figure is larger than expected. It can be seen as an unavoidable factor in the modernization process. We look forward to and follow with interest your reforms and policies in the future.

Tsuyoshi Seki  
Chiba, Japan

Your letters are welcome. Because of space limitations, we can only print a selection. Condensations are made for the sake of brevity or clarity. —Ed.

## BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

Published every Monday by  
BEIJING REVIEW  
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing  
The People's Republic of China

Vol. 24, No. 23 June 8, 1981

## CONTENTS

LETTERS	2
EVENTS & TRENDS	3-5
The Nation Mourns Soong Ching Ling	

Belgian King Visits China

## ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

Memorial Speech by Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping	6
The Great Life of Soong Ching Ling	9
Pictorial — Soong Ching Ling (1893-1981)	14-17
Nature of Chinese Society Today — Feng Wenbin	20

## INTERNATIONAL

Gulf Co-operation Council Founded — "Beijing Review" news analyst Yi Ming	
Missile Crisis Diplomacy — Ren Wenhui	
Gonsalves' Untimely Remarks — Lu Tong	

Belize Soon to Gain Independence — Guo Weicheng

Third World: Niger Grows Enough Grain

## CULTURE & SCIENCE

## BOOKS

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

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

Subscription prices (1 year):

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



## POLITICAL

# The Nation Mourns Soong Ching Ling

THE death of Soong Ching Ling, Honorary President of the People's Republic of China, was mourned across the nation. The memorial meeting held on June 3 in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing climaxed a series of memorial activities in honour of this great woman who dedicated her life to the cause of the Chinese people. On that day, the national flag was flown at half-mast all over the country and recreational activities were suspended.

## Memorial Meeting

The memorial meeting, attended by 10,000 people, was presided over by Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the C.P.C. Central Committee. Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Commit-

tee, delivered the memorial speech. The meeting was televised live to all parts of the country.

In the memorial speech, Deng Xiaoping praised Soong Ching Ling as "one of the founders of the People's Republic of China," "a leader whom the people of all nationalities in China, including Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese, love and respect from the bottom of their hearts, a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter known throughout the world, a long-tested vanguard in defence of world peace, and an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China." Deng Xiaoping recounted the magnificent deeds of Soong Ching Ling in various periods of the Chinese revolution over the past 70 years.

Noting that she had devoted all her life to the cause of people's democracy and socialism and to the cause of world peace and progress of mankind, he said that she will live for ever in the hearts of the people of all nationalities in China and in the hearts of the Chinese Communists. (For full text of the speech see p. 6.)

Soong Ching Ling died of chronic lymphocytic leukemia at her residence in Beijing at 20:18 hours on May 29 at the age of 90. She became critically ill on May 14, and she failed to respond to medical treatment in spite of emergency treatment by the doctors. During her illness, 11 announcements on her condition were issued, and Party and state leaders in the capital visited her at her residence.







A procession along Changan Boulevard on June 2 escorting the body of Comrade Soong Ching Ling to a crematorium.

Upon receiving the news of her illness, her grand-daughters Pearl Suiying Sun Lin and Rose Suihua Sun Tchang residing in the United States and Venus Shing Kung Tai residing in Aomen (Macao) and other relatives came to Beijing to see her and look after her.

The C.P.C. Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council decided to hold a state funeral for the Honorary President as a tribute to her and an expression of the profound grief of the people of the whole country.

A funeral committee, made up of 393 people, was set up. It included Party and state leaders, responsible persons of various areas, departments, democratic parties and people's organizations, and friends and relatives of Soong Ching Ling as well as foreign friends. Concrete arrangements for the memorial activities were announced by the committee.

#### Cables to Close Relatives

The funeral committee cabled Soong Ching Ling's relatives in the United States, Taiwan and Xianggang (Hongkong), informing them of her death. The

relatives include her sister Soong Meiling, her daughter-in-law Chen Shuying, her brother T.L. Soong and his wife, her sisters-in-law Mrs. T.V. Soong and Mrs. T.A. Soong and her nephews Chiang Ching-kuo and Chiang Wei-kuo\*. The funeral committee invited Soong Ching Ling's relatives and friends in Taiwan to attend her funeral and made arrangements for flights of Taiwan's China Airlines to land at Beijing Airport or Hongqiao Airport in Shanghai.

#### Other Memorial Activities

From May 31 to June 2, Party and state leaders, leading members of various departments of the Party, government and the People's Liberation Army, democratic parties, people's organizations, the Beijing municipality, and representatives from all walks of life, diplomatic envoys and foreign friends in Beijing totaling 120,000 went to the Great Hall of the People to pay their last respects to the Honorary President. Draped with the flag of the Chinese Communist Party, the body of Soong Ching Ling lay in state amid flowers in a crystal sarcophagus. There were wreaths presented

by Soong Ching Ling's daughter-in-law Chen Shuying, grand-daughters Pearl Suiying Sun Lin, Rose Suihua Sun Tchang and other relatives. Party and state leaders, Soong Ching Ling's relatives and representatives of various walks of life stood vigil by the bier.

On the afternoon of June 2, nearly one million people in Beijing lined the streets to bid farewell to the Honorary President when the hearse drove slowly along Changan Boulevard from the Great Hall of the People to the crematorium.

#### Burial in Shanghai

Soong Ching Ling was great and modest woman. She never expressed the wish to be buried in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum in Nanjing as the wife of the great forerunner of China's democratic revolution. Recently, she made it known more than once that she wanted to be buried in Shanghai by the side of the tombs of her parents and her maid servant Li Sue who had been with her for 50 years and who had died recently.

In accordance with her wish, her ashes were taken to Shanghai by a special plane and buried in the Soong's graveyard in the Wangguo Cemetery.

#### An Example for All Generations

For days on end, articles in memory of Soong Ching Ling were published in the newspapers all over China and special programmes were broadcast over the radio and television network. Many Chinese and foreign public figures wrote reminiscences of the days when

\* The Beijing Bureau of Long Distance Telecommunications received an "urgent cable" from the Taipei Telegraph Bureau saying that the funeral committee's cables were "rejected."



they had worked together with her. In its editorial, the Party organ *Renmin Ribao* praised Soong Ching Ling as a gem of the nation and a revolutionary with high morality and integrity who had set an example for all generations to follow.

Soong Ching Ling's death had repercussions throughout the world. Messages of condolences were sent by the heads of state or government, leaders of congresses or parliaments, political parties, social organizations and individuals. Leaders of many countries went to the Chinese embassies to mourn the death of Soong Ching Ling.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Belgian King Visits China

King Baudouin I and Queen Fabiola of Belgium paid an official visit to China from May 25 to June 5.

King Baudouin is the first Belgian head of state to come to this country. In 1961 Queen Elisabeth, grandmother of the Belgian King, visited

China at the advanced age of 85 and made a great contribution to the promotion of mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries. The tour of King Baudouin I marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of bilateral relations.

**International Situation.** Peng Zhen, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, hosted a banquet given in the name of Chairman Ye Jianying for the distinguished guests. Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang met with the king and had talks with him on separate occasions. The Chinese side expressed the opinion that because of the increasingly serious threat to world peace and security posed by hegemonist aggression and expansion, opposition to war has become the urgent task of peace-loving countries and people the world over. The Chinese leaders paid tribute to Belgium for its efforts over the years in helping build a united and strong Europe and in safeguarding world peace.

**Bilateral Relations.** Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1971, governmental and non-governmental friendly

exchanges between the two countries have increased, scientific and technical co-operation has developed rapidly and trade has been growing. The prospects for economic co-operation are bright. In the talks, the Chinese side expressed its appreciation of the positive stand taken by the Belgian Government to develop bilateral relations. China is willing to strengthen its co-operation with all of Europe including Belgium.

King Baudouin I expressed the wish to further develop bilateral relations in the fields of science, culture, technology, trade and industry.

### News in Brief

**Condolences on President Rahman's Death.** Chairman Ye Jianying and Premier Zhao Ziyang on May 31 sent a message to Abdus Sattar, Acting President of Bangladesh, extending deep condolences on the death of President Ziaur Rahman. The message paid tribute to President Ziaur Rahman for his contributions to the development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Bangladesh. It expressed confidence that the Bangladesh people will carry out the behests of the late President and continue to work for the building of an independent and prosperous Bangladesh.

**Condolences on President Aguilera's Death.** On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Premier Zhao Ziyang on May 26 sent a message extending condolences to the Ecuadoran Government and people on the death of Jaime Roldos Aguilera, President of the Republic of Ecuador, in a plane crash.



Premier Zhao Ziyang with the Belgian King and Queen.





## Memorial Speech By Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping

WITH deep grief, we pay tribute today to the memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, one of the founders of the People's Republic of China, Honorary President of the People's Republic of China, a leader whom the people of all nationalities in China, including Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese, love and respect from the bottom of their hearts, a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter known throughout the world, a long-tested vanguard in defence of world peace, and an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China.

Despite all treatment, Comrade Soong Ching Ling died of chronic lymphocytic leukemia at 20:18 hours on May 29, 1981, in Beijing at the age of 90.

A native of Wenchang County, Guangdong Province, Comrade Soong Ching Ling from her early years followed the great revolutionary, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and devoted herself to the cause of the democratic revolution. In 1913 she became Dr. Sun Yat-sen's secretary, taking charge of his vast correspondence, including confidential letters from China and abroad, and other day-to-day work. She married Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1915. She was firm, loyal, prudent and modest, and always remained Dr. Sun's close comrade-in-arms and able assistant. In May 1921, Dr. Sun Yat-sen took office as the Extraordinary President of the Republic of China. In June the following year, Chen Jiongming turned against the revolution and bombarded the presidential mansion. His rebel forces pressed on and the situation became critical. Comrade Soong Ching Ling refused to leave the mansion before the others. She said to Dr. Sun: "China can do without me, but cannot do without you." She insisted that Dr.

Sun be evacuated from the danger area before her. Then escorted by guards, she broke through the battle lines. As a result, her health was irreparably impaired. This heroic action is but one indication of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's staunch will and outstanding courage that underscored her dedication to the cause of revolution.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling did a great deal of active and practical work during Dr. Sun Yat-sen's consultations with representatives of the Communist Party of China on matters of co-operation and in his discussions with envoys sent by Lenin. She firmly supported the Three People's Principles, of which Dr. Sun Yat-sen made a new interpretation in the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China, namely, the new Three People's Principles of alliance with Russia, alliance with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and the workers. In order to solve the problems of the unification and construction of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, despite grave dangers and against all advice to the contrary, travelled to north China in November 1924. Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied him with great resolution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen died of illness in Beijing on March 12, 1925. It was Comrade Soong Ching Ling who publicized Dr. Sun Yat-sen's testament to China and the world. Shortly afterwards, speaking with the force of justice, she denounced the Right wing of the Kuomintang and plunged into the work of preparing for the Northern Expedition.

During the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang of China in January 1926, Comrade Soong Ching Ling resolutely implemented Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three great policies, worked in close co-operation with the Chinese



Communists, and struggled against the Right wing of the Kuomintang. After the April 12, 1927 counter-revolutionary coup in Shanghai, Comrade Soong Ching Ling and many Kuomintang Left wingers as well as the Chinese Communists Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Yun Daiying, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang issued a joint message in denunciation of Chiang Kai-shek. On the eve of the open betrayal of the revolution by the Wang Jingwei government in Wuhan, she again issued a Statement in Protest Against the Violation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Principles and Policies, declaring that she would sever all relations with those who were renegades to the cause of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. On August 1, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, Comrade Mao Zedong and 20 others issued a declaration in the name of Central Committee members of the Kuomintang, solemnly exposing the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. On the day of the Nanchang Uprising, a revolutionary committee composed of Zhou Enlai and 24 others was formed and, though Comrade Soong Ching Ling was not in Nanchang at the time, she was elected to the seven-member presidium of the revolutionary committee. In August 1927, she made a long and arduous journey to the Soviet Union to seek the road to victory for the Chinese revolution.

During the first two years of the 10-year civil war, Comrade Soong Ching Ling participated in a series of important international anti-imperialist activities in the Soviet Union and France and, in 1929, she was elected honorary chairman of the second congress of the anti-imperialist league. She subsequently became one of the principal leaders of the world anti-fascist movement.

After Comrade Soong Ching Ling returned to China, she gave wholehearted support to the political stand of the Chinese Communist Party and resolutely rejected any post offered to her on the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and in the government. This action served to defy the KMT threats and lures. She time and again stated her profound yearning for the cause of socialism. She solemnly pointed out in an article she wrote in 1931 that the Kuomintang had long since betrayed its revolutionary policies and that its various factions, backed by warlords, were all trying to curry favour with the imperialists and slaughtering the Chinese masses. "Only a revolution based on the masses and serving them can smash the power of the warlords and politicians, shake off the yoke of imperialism and realize socialism." In the 1930s, when she was engaged in revolutionary activities in Shanghai, she established a profound revolutionary friendship with the great communist Lu Xun. Together with Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei, Yang Xingfo and others, she organized the China League for Civil Rights, and waged tit-for-tat struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries, protecting and rescuing a large number of Chinese Communist Party members and patriotic democrats who opposed Chiang Kai-shek. Thus she made important and unique contributions to the cause of revolution.

After the September 18th Incident in 1931, Japanese troops invaded and occupied China's three northeastern provinces and the Kuomintang government pursued a policy of non-resistance. In 1934, the Chinese Communist Party put forward a Six-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation which was promulgated over the signatures of Com-



At the memorial meeting.



rade Soong Ching Ling and others. On August 1, 1935, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the August 1 Declaration which called on the people of the whole country to work together as one to stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression. Comrade Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi, Jing Hengyi, Chen Shuren as well as Yu Youren, Sun Fo and others were the first to respond. Their response produced a tremendous public impact. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Soong Ching Ling refused to go to the place where the Kuomintang government seat was; instead, she went to Guangzhou and Xianggang (Hongkong) where she founded the China Defence League for collecting donations from prominent foreigners and overseas Chinese sympathetic to China's War of Resistance Against Japan. She unremittingly supported the anti-Japanese struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party and exposed the Kuomintang reactionaries' policies of compromising with and capitulation to Japan and opposition to the Communist Party and the Chinese people. The Kuomintang government therefore exerted pressure on Comrade Soong Ching Ling through foreign forces, but the allegations used as pressure against her were refuted by her and by Comrade Chen Hansheng who was working with her at the time. After the Southern Anhui Incident in 1941, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi and Peng Zemin came out boldly to denounce the Kuomintang's perfidious acts. Comrade Soong Ching Ling arrived in Chongqing at the end of December 1941. She managed to meet or maintain contact with George Hatem, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley and other foreign friends who were sympathetic to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and they worked closely with her, making important contributions to the Chinese people's cause of resistance to Japanese aggression.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Soong Ching Ling founded the China Welfare Fund in Shanghai and, under very trying conditions, provided concrete assistance to the working masses. During the War of Liberation, she rendered great material help to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army under its leadership.

After Beijing was liberated, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was delighted to accept the invitation from the Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party addressed to her to participate in the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and she left Shanghai and made the trip north. When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government. She was elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in 1954, and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China in 1959 and again in 1965; she was elected once more Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee in 1975. As an important state leader for the past 32 years, she was involved in numerous state activities in the cause of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Comrade Soong Ching Ling made highly successful visits to the Soviet Union, India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia and Ceylon. In 1957, Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied Comrade Mao Zedong to participate in the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and other comrades often exchanged views with her on major international and domestic issues and, during the long period in which they collaborated, they confided in each other, and forged a profound, close and comradely friendship.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling always paid attention to women's work in New China, devotedly watching over the health and education of children and young people. For many years she presided over the work of the People's Relief Administration of China and the Red Cross Society of China. Comrade Soong Ching Ling was an outstanding leader of Chinese women and an affectionate grandmother to all the children of China. She always showed great solicitude for old friends and acquaintances who had been followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in their early years, and deep concern for the future of Taiwan. She ardently hoped that peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would be conducted at an early date so as to accomplish the great cause of the reunification of the motherland, to which she made invaluable contributions.

In recent years, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elated by our Party's successive smashing of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and staunchly supported the series of principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. She was full of enthusiasm for the so-



cialist modernization of the motherland to which she devoted all her energy and strength in her later years. She ardently hoped for the growing prosperity of the motherland which has entered into the era of socialism after thoroughly realizing Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideal of the revolutionary Three People's Principles. Comrade Soong Ching Ling made brilliant contributions to the cause of China's revolution and construction and won the heartfelt respect and love of the people of all nationalities in the country.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elected a leading member of the World Peace Council in 1950 and Chairman of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions in 1952. In the international sphere, she conducted courageous and fruitful struggles to oppose wars of aggression, defend world peace and advance progressive culture, strive for social progress and the well-being of mankind and promote understanding and friendly exchange among the people of all countries. She enjoyed the high esteem of people of all strata in China and other countries, and was acknowledged internationally as one of the greatest women of the 20th century.

For the past 70 years, Comrade Soong Ching Ling spared no effort in performing her duties and devoted all her energies and strength to the people's democratic and socialist cause of China, to world peace and the cause of progress of human society. Under all circumstances, she

retained her unyielding revolutionary principles, and was neither intimidated by force, nor subdued by wealth or rank. Her noble spirit and integrity will be remembered throughout history. What we treasure most is the fact that Comrade Soong Ching Ling kept up with the pace of history and, starting as a great revolutionary democrat, became a great Communist. The Chinese Communist Party and its leaders Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and other comrades had long accepted her as a close comrade-in-arms, a comrade and a respected proletarian vanguard fighter. Shortly before her death, she was accepted as a full member of the Communist Party of China, and her long-cherished wish was thus fulfilled. This was an honour for Comrade Soong Ching Ling and also an honour for the Communist Party of China. Comrade Soong Ching Ling will always live in the hearts of the people of all nationalities in China and in the hearts of the Chinese Communists.

In mourning Comrade Soong Ching Ling, we will turn grief into strength and, rallying still more closely around the Party Central Committee, work hard to accomplish the great and sacred cause of the reunification of the motherland and build China into a modern, powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization!

Eternal glory to Comrade Soong Ching Ling!

□

## The Great Life of Soong Ching Ling

SOONG Ching Ling, Honorary President of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, died on May 29, 1981, at the age of 90 according to the traditional Chinese way of calculating age. She was known throughout the world as a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter.

### Close Comrade-in-Arms of Sun Yat-sen

While her family came from Wenchang County, Hainan Island, Guangdong Province, Soong Ching Ling herself was born on January 27, 1893 in Shanghai. She received her early education at the McTyeire School for girls in Shanghai and went to the United States at the age of

15 to study at Wesleyan College for women in Macon, Georgia, where she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1913. While there, she received the new national flag, which her father had sent her after the success of the 1911 Revolution, and immediately threw away the dragon flag of the Qing Dynasty to hail the birth of the republic. During her senior year she wrote an article for the college journal entitled "The Greatest Event of the 20th Century," hailing the victory of China's 1911 Revolution. The article stated that the 1911 Revolution signified the liberation of 400 million people from monarchic slavery, under which people had been deprived of their lives, freedom and the pursuit of happiness. Upon her return to China in 1913, she became the secretary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the



great forerunner of the Chinese revolution, thus beginning her revolutionary career.

On October 25, 1915, she married Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In the following years she accompanied him on trips between Shanghai and Guangzhou (Canton), in order to promote the revolutionary cause. During the May 4th Movement in 1919, she worked hard to help those students who had been arrested in Beijing.

In May 1921, Dr. Sun Yat-sen took office as the Extraordinary President of the Republic of China. On the early morning of June 16, 1922, warlord Chen Jiongming turned against the revolution and surrounded and bombarded the president's office in Guangzhou. Soong Ching Ling insisted that Dr. Sun Yat-sen leave immediately, but she herself did not leave until 8 o'clock that morning. Escorted by two bodyguards and an aide-de-camp, she broke through the encirclement and was out of danger on the following evening. By that time she was in a state of exhaustion, her health seriously impaired.

In August 1922, Sun Yat-sen began a major overhaul of the Kuomintang leadership in Shanghai. Soong Ching Ling worked very effectively in the consultations on co-operation between Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and during his conversations with the special envoys sent by Lenin.

In 1923, those troops loyal to Sun Yat-sen expelled Chen Jiongming from Guangzhou, and Dr. Sun and Soong Ching Ling returned to Guangzhou where they continued the work of overhauling the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang held its First National Congress in 1924. Soong Ching Ling firmly supported the Three People's Principles, thereafter known as the new Three People's Principles, which were newly explained in the manifesto of the congress as the three great policies of alliance with Soviet Russia, co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

In November 1924, Soong Ching Ling accompanied her husband north to Beijing at the invitation of military and political leaders there to solve the problems of China's reunification and construction. Sun Yat-sen died on March 12, 1925, in Beijing. After his death, Soong Ching Ling made known to China and the world Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political will and dedicated herself to the great revolution of the Chinese people.



Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching Ling in Japan in 1915.

### Upholding the Three Policies

After the May 30th Incident in 1925, Soong Ching Ling issued a press statement sternly protesting the atrocities of the British and Japanese powers. She deemed the incident as a suppression of the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese people and encouraged the Chinese citizens to shoulder the task of saving the country by uniting to resist the violence of the British police.

During the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang in January 1926, Soong Ching Ling resolutely upheld Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three great policies and worked in close co-operation with the Communist Party to carry on the struggle against the Right wing of the Kuomintang. At the congress, she was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. In November of the same year, the Northern Expeditionary Army captured Wuhan in central China and the national government in Guangzhou prepared to move there. Soong Ching Ling therefore went to Wuhan and was included in the membership of a united committee, which was formed by members of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and of the national



government in Wuhan following a meeting on December 13.

During the first six months of 1927, she ran a women's institute of political training in Hankou, Hubei Province. When Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang Right wing, launched a counter-revolutionary coup in Shanghai on April 12 of that year, Soong Ching Ling and many members of the Kuomintang's Left wing as well as Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Yun Daiying, Lin Boqu, Wu Yuzhang and other Chinese Communists issued an open message denouncing Chiang Kai-shek. On July 14, 1927, on the eve of the open betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang government in Wuhan headed by Wang Jingwei, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement in which she declared: "Some members of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang are doing violence to Sun Yat-sen's ideas and ideals." Therefore, she expressed the view that she would no longer participate in executing the new policies of the Kuomintang. She stated with supreme confidence in spite of the serious crisis in the revolution: "Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles will eventually succeed; the revolution in China is inevitable." She also said, "There is no despair in my heart for the revolution. My disheartenment is only for the path along which some of those who had been leading the revolution have strayed."

On August 1, 1927, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, Comrade Mao Zedong and 20 other persons issued a declaration exposing the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. She supported the Nanchang Armed Uprising launched by the Chinese Communist Party on the same day. A revolutionary committee composed of Zhou Enlai and 24 others elected Soong Ching Ling to a seven-member presidium, although she was not in Nanchang during the uprising.

Soong Ching Ling left for Moscow in late August to seek the road for the Chinese revolution. Upon her departure she issued a public statement, again expounding Sun Yat-sen's three great policies. She said: "The reactionary forces led by the fake leaders of the Kuomintang who have betrayed the revolution endanger the three great policies"; "they are bound to fail, as they are taking the road of those who attempted to rule the people in the same way." She returned to China by way of Berlin in May 1929 to attend the state funeral of Sun Yat-sen in Nanjing. On the eve of her return to China, she issued a statement saying: "I can-

not participate directly or indirectly in the work of the Kuomintang until its policies are in complete conformity with the basic principles of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen."

---

### Against Imperialist and Fascist Persecution

---

During her stay in the Soviet Union and Europe from 1927 to 1929 and 1930 to 1931, Soong Ching Ling took an active part in the international movement against imperialism and in defence of peace. She was elected honorary chairman at two conferences of the anti-imperialist league held in Belgium in December 1927, and in Germany in August 1929. She subsequently became one of the principal leaders of the world anti-fascist movement.

After returning to China in 1931, she enthusiastically supported the Chinese Communist Party's proposal to end the civil war and form a national anti-Japanese united front and resolutely opposed the capitulationist policy of Chiang Kai-shek. In an article published on December 19, 1931, in Shanghai, she exposed the reactionary nature and the capitulationist activities of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government. She wrote: "Only a revolution based on the masses and serving them can smash the power of the warlords and politicians, shake off the yoke of imperialism and realize socialism."

On January 28, 1932, the Japanese militarists invaded Shanghai and the Kuomintang's 19th Route Army counterattacked. Soong Ching Ling raised money and set up a 300-bed hospital for the wounded patriotic soldiers. She told correspondents at that time that she would fight the Japanese invaders to the end. She declared that setting up a hospital was only her way of paying respect and giving thanks to the revolutionary fighters of the 19th Route Army, the vanguard of the anti-imperialist revolutionary armed forces who were fighting under very difficult conditions. In December of the same year, with Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei (Tsai Yuan-pei) and Yang Xingfo (Yang Hsing-fo), she organized the China League for Civil Rights to oppose Chiang Kai-shek's fascist massacre. In elaborating the task of the league, she said: "Either the revolution will triumph in China, or imperialism will conquer and dismember China. There is no alternative. Believing in the final victory of the masses in China, I am sure that the revolution will establish its own right, establish the unity, independence and integrity of China, and the right of the masses to govern



themselves. And my conception of the China League for Civil Rights is that it is one of the instruments which will move us towards this goal." The league protected and rescued many Communists and patriotic democrats by struggling against the Kuomintang reactionaries and made extraordinary contributions to the revolutionary cause.

On April 1 of 1933, Soong Ching Ling published a message to the Chinese people, opposing the Chiang Kai-shek government's persecution of patriots who opposed imperialism and resisted Japanese aggression, and the illegal arrest of the Communists Luo Dengxian, Liao Chengzhi and Chen Geng. She called on the Chinese people to rise up in struggle to protect the arrested revolutionaries.

In an article entitled "Unite, Chinese Workers" published in Shanghai in May 1933, Soong Ching Ling pointed out: "The Chiang Kai-shek government cannot unify China, cannot lead the armed people in a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism and cannot give the peasants land." She called on the people of the whole country to "unite, get organized, and struggle for China's liberation, unification and territorial integrity."

In September 1933, she convened the Far East conference of the world anti-imperialist war committee in Shanghai and delivered a speech in which she said, "The present era marks the birth of a new social system — socialism"; "reactionary armed forces can be confronted only with revolutionary armed forces"; "we are against imperialist war, but for a national revolutionary war waged by the people who take up arms."

### **Fighting for National Salvation**

In 1934, the Chinese Communist Party put forward a Six-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation which was published over the signatures of Soong Ching Ling and other democrats.

In 1935, as the Chinese people's efforts to resist Japan and save the nation surged in the face of increasing Japanese aggression, Soong Ching Ling fought unceasingly for the formation of an anti-Japanese national united front and for the protection of the people's democratic rights.

On August 1 of 1935, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a declaration calling on the people of the entire nation to unite to end the civil war and resist

Japanese aggression. Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi, Jing Hengyi, Chen Shuren as well as Yu Youren and Sun Fo responded immediately, exerting a tremendous influence.

Shen Junru, Zou Taofen and other democrats established the All-China Federation of National Salvation Associations in Shanghai in May 1936, demanding that the Kuomintang government stop the civil war, release political prisoners, negotiate peace with the Red Army and establish a unified government of resistance against Japan. Soong Ching Ling was a member of the executive committee of the federation. When the Kuomintang government arrested Shen Junru, Zou Taofen, Li Gongpu, Sha Qianli, Shi Liang, Zhang Naiqi and Wang Zaoshi of the federation in November of that year, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement on November 26, protesting the arrest of the seven Champions of democracy. She declared that the illegal arrest was the result of Japanese influence which would "further arouse the wrath and patriotic indignation of the people against them [the Japanese]." She thought that the people of the entire nation would not forgive the Kuomintang government's criminal illegal arrests of these patriots. During the trial of these seven leaders of the democratic movement, she went to the "higher court" in Suzhou and, following their imprisonment, asked the court to imprison her as well for the "crime of patriotism."

When Kuomintang generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, who thought China should be resisting Japanese aggression, arrested Chiang Kai-shek in the famous Xian Incident of December 12, 1936, Soong Ching Ling was among those who advocated that Chiang Kai-shek be released on the condition that he agreed to end the civil war and oppose Japanese aggression.

Along with Feng Yuxiang, He Xiangning and others, Soong Ching Ling proposed at the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee in February 1937 Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three great policies of alliance with Soviet Russia, co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers be restored. She delivered a speech at the meeting, asking the Kuomintang government to end the civil war and mobilize all forces, including the Communist Party, to defend China's territorial integrity. In November of the same year, she issued a statement supporting the formation of an anti-Japanese national united front.



Soong Ching Ling initiated and organized the China Defence League in June 1938 to publicize the anti-Japanese movement among people abroad and collect medical and other supplies from around the world. To provide first-aid to wounded soldiers, the league introduced medical teams organized by foreign friends to the anti-Japanese base areas set up by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. The team led by the Canadian surgeon, Dr. Norman Bethune, was one of these.

After the Southern Anhui Incident in the spring of 1941, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and others sent a joint message denouncing Chiang Kai-shek and demanding that he "stop using armed force to attack the Communist Party." After the Japanese militarists launched the Pacific War in December 1941, Soong Ching Ling arrived in Chongqing from Xianggang (Hongkong) and immediately resumed the activities of the China Defence League. During this period, she worked together with George Hatem, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley and other foreign friends for the Chinese people's cause of resisting Japanese aggression.

---

### Building a New China

---

Soong Ching Ling returned to Shanghai in 1945 after the victory of the anti-Japanese war. Late that year she set up the China Welfare Fund, a successor to the China Defence League established in Xianggang (Hongkong) during the war. It continued to support progressive organizations and democratic forces and completed projects under extremely difficult conditions which were beneficial to the labouring masses. During the Liberation War, the Fund provided substantial material assistance to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army under the Party's leadership. At a time when Chiang Kai-shek was continuing his anti-Communist and anti-popular civil war with the assistance of U.S. imperialism, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement in Shanghai on July 23, 1946, calling for the formation of a coalition government and urging the American people to stop the U.S. Government from giving military assistance to the Kuomintang. This statement produced wide repercussions around the world.

In 1948, a number of Kuomintang members who had broken away from that organization, including Li Jishen (Li Chi-shen), He Xiangning and Feng Yuxiang, set up the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang in

Xianggang (Hongkong), and Soong Ching Ling was named its Honorary Chairman.

On July 1, 1949, Soong Ching Ling published an article in Shanghai, "Salute the Chinese Communist Party," acclaiming that the people's victory was already in sight. She wrote, "Welcome our leader—the leader who was born in Shanghai, grew up in the mountains of Jiangxi Province, was tempered in repeated struggles under harsh conditions during the 25,000-li Long March and matured in the rural areas. Salute the Chinese Communist Party!"

In September 1949, at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Soong Ching Ling came to Beijing to attend the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. She delivered an impassioned speech at the session, stating, "Let's get down to work right now and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, strong and prosperous New China, and unite with the people of the world to bring about lasting world peace." On September 30, she was elected Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government. From that time onward, Soong Ching Ling engaged in numerous state activities as a major state leader, and Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi often exchanged views with her on major domestic and international issues.

In October 1950, Soong Ching Ling made an inspection tour of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang Provinces in northeast China where she visited factories, rural areas and army units. She was very glad to see that the construction of the country had begun quickly soon after the founding of the People's Republic and that frontier defence had been strengthened. She encouraged people to continue to make progress.

---

### International Activities

---

As an official representative of China, Soong Ching Ling frequently took part in international activities, making outstanding contributions to the fostering of friendship among peoples, the promotion of progressive culture and the defence of world peace.

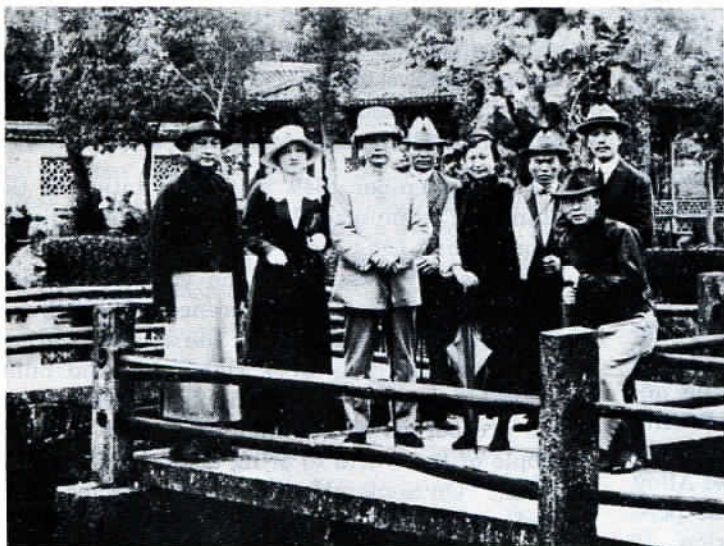
She was elected a member of the Executive Bureau of the World Peace Council at that organization's Second Congress in Warsaw on November 23, 1950.

On September 18, 1951, she was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize for 1950. She donated



# Soong Ching Ling

(1893-1981)



Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Madame Soong Ching Ling in September 1917 after he had assumed the post of Generalissimo of Navy and Army.



Dr. Sun Yat-sen (third from left) and Madame Soong Ching Ling (second from left) with members of the old Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary League) in Hangzhou in August 1916.

Madame Soong Ching Ling at her graduation in 1913 from Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, where she had gone to study in 1908.



Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Madame Soong Ching Ling on board the ship from Guangzhou to Tianjin after Dr. Sun Yat-sen issued a manifesto reiterating his opposition to imperialism and the warlords in November 1924.



Dr. Sun Yat-sen (fourth from left) and Madame Soong Ching Ling (third from left) at the memorial meeting mourning Lenin's death in Guangzhou in February 1924.





Comrade Soong Ching Ling gave a party in honour of British writer George Bernard Shaw at her home on February 17, 1933. In the front row from the left: U.S. journalist Agnes Smedley, well-known modern Chinese educator Cai Yuanpei, and China's renowned modern writer Lu Xun. In the back row from the left: George Bernard Shaw, Soong Ching Ling, U.S. journalist Harold Isaacs and writer of modern Chinese prose Lin Yutang.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling in Hankou in 1927 where she continued to uphold Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles and the three great policies, expediting the progress of the Northern Expeditionary War.



During World War II, Comrade Soong Ching Ling met with U.S. General Joseph Stilwell in Chongqing who was in charge of the Chinese-Indian-Burmese War Zone. The general held that all forces resisting Japanese aggression should be treated equally in order to ensure a victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.



Checking medical supplies collected by the China Welfare Fund in 1948 for the liberated areas under the Chinese Communist Party.





Chairman Mao Zedong visiting Comrade Soong Ching Ling at her Shanghai home in May 1961.



Comrades Soong Ching Ling, Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi on an official visit to Sri Lanka in February 1961.



Comrade Soong Ching Ling together with children in 1962.



Comrade Soong Ching Ling being awarded the 1950 Stalin Peace Prize. She donated the entire prize money to welfare institutions for Chinese women and children.





Comrade Soong Ching Ling at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress in April 1959. At this session she was elected Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Picture shows (from left to right): Comrades Soong Ching Ling, Liu Shaoqi, Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Zhou Enlai on the rostrum.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling chatting with Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Deng Yingchao at the tea party given on 1980 New Year's Day by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.



Dining with workers during an inspection tour of the Shanghai No. 17 State Cotton Mill in October 1958.



Comrade Soong Ching Ling with peasants during her inspection tour of the suburbs of Changchun in October 1950.



the entire 100,000 roubles to welfare institutions for Chinese women and children.

Early in 1952, in order to tell the world about the real conditions of the Chinese people who were struggling to build a new life so as to enhance the friendship and understanding between the people of China and other countries, she suggested that a new magazine, *China Reconstructs*, be started. For 30 years she gave clear directives on editing principles, the content and the launching of new language editions. In addition, she was concerned with the livelihood of the magazine's staff. She personally wrote more than 30 articles for *China Reconstructs*, which began with only one English edition. Now it has seven editions and is circulated in more than 140 countries and regions in the world.

On March 21, 1952, Soong Ching Ling, Guo Moruo and others initiated the convocation of a peace conference for the Asian and Pacific regions. Soong Ching Ling led the Chinese delegation to that conference, which was held in Beijing in October of that year, and was elected Chairman of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

She again headed a Chinese delegation to the World Peace Congress in Vienna in December 1952.

From December 16, 1955, to February 4, 1956, Soong Ching Ling visited India, Burma and Pakistan, and in August 1956 she visited Indonesia. All these visits were successful. During her visit to Pakistan, the University of Dacca conferred on her an Honorary Doctorate of Laws.

In November 1957, Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied Comrade Mao Zedong to the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.

In the capacity of Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Soong Ching Ling visited Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) along with Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi in February 1964.

### Respected State Leader

Soong Ching Ling was a respected and beloved leader of all the nationalities of China. In September 1954, she was elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at the First Session of the First National People's Congress.

In December 1954, she was elected Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the



At the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957.

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at the First Session of the Second National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.

In September 1956, at the invitation of the Party Central Committee, Soong Ching Ling attended the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Addressing the congress, she said, "Without the Party's leadership, our victory would have been impossible." "I am convinced that in the future, socialism and communism will ultimately become the social system practised throughout the world." "Such a social system can only be realized under the leadership of the Communist Party and it will certainly be realized."

On April 27, 1959, Soong Ching Ling was elected Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress.

On November 12, 1962, Soong Ching Ling's article "Sun Yat-sen and His Co-operation With the Chinese Communist Party" was published. In the article she pointed out, "For 40 years Sun Yat-sen engaged in political struggle for the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, which reached its zenith in his late years, cul-



minating in his decision to co-operate with the Chinese Communist Party to carry out the Chinese revolution together."

On January 3, 1965, she was re-elected Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress.

On November 12, 1966, at a ceremony held in the capital solemnly commemorating the centenary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Soong Ching Ling delivered a speech entitled "Sun Yat-sen — A Staunch, Indomitable Revolutionary," introducing the revolutionary life of Sun Yat-sen. She said, "We are proud of his 40 years of untiring struggle. His behest that 'We must arouse the masses of the people and unite . . . with those nations of the world which treat us as equals' sounds correct even to this date." "With unwavering determination in our objectives, with staunch faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, with unbounded confidence in our ability to win, we join hands to struggle with all who strive for a world without exploitation of man by man, without national oppression and without racial discrimination."

On January 17, 1975, at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress and again on March 5, 1978, at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Soong Ching Ling was re-elected Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee.

An outstanding leader of the women of China, Soong Ching Ling was always concerned with the women's work of New China. On April 25, 1953, she was elected Honorary President of the All-China Women's Federation at the First Session of the Second Executive Committee of the All-China Women's Federation. Later, at the First Session of the Third Executive Committee of the federation held in 1957 and at the Fourth National Congress of Chinese Women held in 1978, she was re-elected Honorary President of the All-China Women's Federation. Addressing the closing ceremony of the Fourth National Congress, she stressed: "Bringing up our children as the reliable successors to the revolution with meticulous care is a strategic task of the Party and the state and a noble duty of women in the new period."

Soong Ching Ling showed great concern for the healthy growth of the children of China and was their affectionate grandmother. She had been Chairman of the Chinese People's

National Committee in Defence of Children since its founding on November 26, 1951. She wrote articles and inscriptions on many occasions, hoping that the children would grow into a healthy new generation with rich cultural and scientific knowledge and socialist consciousness.

A forum to honour "June 1" International Children's Day was held on May 14, 1981. Earlier she had written a letter wishing the meeting success and explaining that she could not attend because of illness. In the letter she said: "Though I am unable to attend the meeting, my heart beats together with yours in love and concern for our children."

Soong Ching Ling was in charge of the work of the People's Relief Administration of China and the Red Cross Society of China for many years. She was elected Executive Chairman of the administration at the First Plenary Session of the Executors and Supervisors held after the organization was founded on April 29, 1950. In August of the same year, in the capacity of the founder and sponsor of the China Welfare Fund, she declared that after August 15, the China Welfare Fund would be called the China Welfare Institute. She had been the chairman of this organization since its founding.

Soong Ching Ling always concerned herself with those who had followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen in earlier years and with the future of Taiwan, and she sincerely expected that peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would be conducted at an earlier date, so as to accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland. She made valuable contributions to this cause.

On September 29, 1979, Soong Ching Ling published an article in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, entitled "The People's Will Is Invincible." The article said, "We have taken great strides along the bright road of socialism over the past 30 years under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The 900 million people have been unswervingly following this road. Although the road has been hard and tortuous, careerists and conspirators have been unable to defeat the strong will of 900 million people and it is impossible for them to do so. Moreover, all these careerists and conspirators were badly battered before the iron will of the people. This has always been the case in the past and will remain so in future. I am confident that the people's will is invincible." She

(Continued on p. 31.)



# Nature of Chinese Society Today

by Feng Wenbin

*The following is the first part of an abridged translation of an article entitled "Carrying Out Conscientiously the Line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and Marching Forward Along the Road of Scientific Socialism" by Feng Wenbin, Vice-President of the Party School of the C.P.C. Central Committee. The original article was published in issue No. 10 of "Hongqi." Subheads are ours.*

*The article points out that the basic features of socialist society are: Public ownership of the means of production; the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; the people being the masters of the country; highly developed intellectual life and the combination of patriotism and internationalism. It also explains that, with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, a socialist system was in the main built up in China and that only socialism can save the country. The article criticizes some wrong views on socialism.*

*The second and third parts of the article, which deal with historical lessons and changes since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, will be published in our coming issues. — Ed.*

**D**URING the first few years after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, our Party had a correct line and did a fairly good job. The socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production into public ownership was smooth, the economy was restored and developed quickly, the people's livelihood improved greatly, social order was excellent, and the people were full of confidence in socialism. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, our Party put forward some good ideas on how socialism should be built. But we did commit many mistakes, including some serious ones, as we lacked experience and there was little successful experience for us to draw upon. We were predisposed to rash advances in our guiding ideology and made an er-

roneous estimate of the situation of classes and class struggle.

From 1957 to the start of the "cultural revolution" in 1966, we made some "Left" mistakes resulting in some setbacks, but they were gradually corrected. Generally speaking, socialist construction advanced along a healthy course and we made great achievements. The people remained firm in their faith in socialism.

During the "cultural revolution," Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and the gang of four made use of the "Left" mistakes in our guiding ideology to carry out counter-revolutionary sabotage and brought an unprecedented calamity to the country. It was during the 10 years of great chaos in China that some capitalist countries made considerable progress in science and technology and in their national economies. This cast doubt on the superiority of socialism among some comrades, especially young comrades. These comrades are not good at analysing the reasons why certain problems have arisen and they easily put the blame on the socialist system itself. In order to solve these problems, we must make a scientific analysis of what socialist society is, why there have been some twists and turns in China's socialist construction and how we should carry out socialist construction in China in line with our actual conditions.

## Basic Features of Socialist Society

According to Marx and Lenin, socialist society is the first or preliminary stage of communist society. It differs in essence from capitalist society and in degree of maturity from advanced communist society.

Lenin said socialism means public ownership of the means of production plus the principle of distribution according to work.

**Public ownership of the means of production is the most fundamental feature of socialist society.** To organize production on the basis of public ownership of the means of production is a distinction of decisive significance between the socialist and the capitalist systems.



The practical experience of the socialist countries shows that the form of the public ownership of the means of production is bound to vary from one country to another and from one stage of socialist development to another. For instance, China today has state economy and collective economy; within the collective economy, there are big collectives and small collectives. (Within the rural people's communes, there is ownership by the commune, by the brigade and by the production team.) In addition, there is the small sector of private economy which is regulated by the state and attached to the publicly owned economy as a necessary supplement to the socialist economy. However, the most important criteria for judging whether a society is socialist or not are whether it has established socialist public ownership of the means of production and wiped out the system of exploitation, not what form the public ownership has taken, and whether socialist public ownership has occupied a dominant position in industry, agriculture and commerce, not whether public ownership has been established for all the means of production.

Socialist economy is a combination of planned economy and commodity economy. Socialist public ownership determines that it is possible for a socialist country to conscientiously make use of the objective law of planned and proportionate development of socialist economy, to carry out planned management of the national economy, correctly handle the relationships among the various branches of the economy, distribute rationally the productive forces, make full use of manpower and material and financial resources and develop science, technology, culture and education so as to ensure a sustained and smooth development of the national economy.

At the same time, socialist economy is a commodity economy. It is a new type of commodity economy which differs from both a capitalist commodity economy and a small commodity economy. In the socialist commodity economy, labour power is no longer a commodity. It is not a kind of economic relationship in which capitalists exploit hired labourers, nor the relations among small private owners. It represents the economic relations among the labouring people (including those between the state, the collective and individual labourers) based on identity of fundamental interests. It develops in a planned way, and not in a blind, anarchic way.

The other important feature of socialist society is that it carries out the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The productive forces, at their level of development in the stage of socialism, cannot provide society with more abundant products than this principle calls for. Consumer goods can be distributed to a labourer only according to the quantity and quality of work he has done. The more he works, the more he gets; the less he works, the less he gets. If he does not work, he gets nothing. In socialist society, labour is both the sacred right and bounden duty of all labourers. It is an honour. On the one hand, society should do everything possible to see that each labourer finds the job he likes, taking part in labour which is suited to his strong points and special knowledge. On the other hand, every labourer should take part in labour of his own accord, do his part at his post and receive his reward accordingly. "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." This is the principle everyone should follow in socialist society. Though the principle of distribution according to work differs from that of distribution according to need and it has not brought about real equality among the members of the society, it nevertheless represents a fundamental negation of the exploiting system which has lasted for several thousand years.

The third important feature of socialist society is that the people have become masters of the country. With the establishment of socialist public ownership, the labouring people have become masters of the means of production and masters of the country and society, and a new type of relationship of equality and mutual help has been established between man and man. In socialist society, a socialist democratic system is practised in full. It guarantees that the people can exercise their rights as masters, both politically and economically. Socialist society also establishes a comprehensive legal system which embodies socialist democracy and guarantees the realization of the people's democratic rights. In socialist society, the personnel of organs of state are servants of the people whom they must serve wholeheartedly. This feature shows that socialism is not only an economic system of public ownership, but also a political system with a high degree of democracy. China's people's democratic dictatorship, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a political system in which the people are the masters of the country.



In a multi-national socialist country, the role of the people as masters of the country is also reflected in the new relationship of equality, unity and mutual aid between all the nationalities and their common efforts for socialist construction.

**A socialist country must, in its relations with foreign countries, adopt the principle of combining patriotism and internationalism and carry out the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It should neither yield to hegemonism nor seek hegemony. If it exercised national oppression internally and sought hegemonism abroad, it would cease to be a real socialist country.**

**A socialist society is also distinguished by its intellectual life, which includes highly developed science and culture; communist thought, ideals, beliefs, high moral standards and discipline; revolutionary stand and principles as well as comradely relationships between man and man.** It is an important task in the sphere of intellectual life of socialist society to help the masses foster ideas of serving the people wholeheartedly, being warm-hearted towards comrades, being responsible in their work, constantly perfecting their skills and thinking of others before themselves. The material civilization and intellectual civilization of socialism promote each other. The superiority of the socialist system and the development of socialist productive forces constantly enhance the mental outlook and intellectual level of the people in a socialist country. In turn, changes in the mental outlook of the people promote the development of the productive forces and the consolidation of the socialist economic and political systems. Without a highly developed socialist intellectual civilization, it would be impossible to promote the consolidation of the economic base of socialism and the development of socialist economic construction and, therefore, impossible to bring about highly developed political democracy and realize the goal of communism.

These features of socialist society make it to combine the interests of the state, the locality, the collective and the individual, rationally adjust their relations, bring the initiative from all sides into full play, rely on its own strength to solve continuously the various contradictions as they crop up in social progress and push the society forward along a healthy course.

The basic features of socialist society show that socialist society is the best social system

in human history, far superior to capitalist society.

### **The Establishment of Socialist System**

According to these fundamental features of socialist society, it should be said that with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, China built up in the main a socialist system and entered socialist society.

Our country's socialist system displayed its great superiority during its emergence as well as throughout the transition period when the old relations of production were transformed into new socialist relations of production. This refutes the fallacy that socialism does not suit China's conditions. During the first eight years after the founding of the People's Republic (1949-57), our country's total industrial and agricultural output value went up by an average of 14.6 per cent each year, our national income by 12.6 per cent and the real wages of workers and staff members by 5.5 per cent. At the same time, we won the great victory of the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, strengthened our national defence and consolidated our people's democratic dictatorship. During those years, our country had just started its socialist construction and there existed many difficulties in the national economy and the people's livelihood. But production rose, the national economy flourished, culture and education developed continually, the people's standard of living improved step by step, social morality was healthy, the people were full of confidence. Everybody said socialism was good.

"Without the Communist Party there would be no socialist New China" and "Only socialism can save China"—this truth has been proved by the past several decades of history and will continue to be proved by the future practice of our socialist construction.

Some people hold the viewpoint that socialist society can only be built in a country where capitalism is highly developed. They argue that since China is backward economically and culturally, it cannot practise socialism and that it should not have plunged into socialist revolution and socialist construction after winning the nationwide victory of the new-democratic revolution. It should not start building socialism until capitalism has reached its full development.



This idea, already refuted long ago by our socialist practice, has arisen again lately in some people's minds. They claim that they are holding to the Marxist principle that China should not have gone in for socialism and that it should now go back and develop capitalism, a historical stage China missed. This view is a misinterpretation of Marxism.

It is true that Marx and Engels once predicted that the socialist revolution might first succeed in Britain, France and other highly developed capitalist countries at that time. However, they did not exclude the possibility that the socialist revolution could be waged in countries where capitalism was not fully developed, much less did they define what proportion large social production should occupy in an economy before socialist revolution could be attempted. During the late 1840s Germany was still in the early stage of the industrial revolution, its level of industrialization was not high, small production was widespread and feudal rule had not been overthrown. But they pointed out at the time in *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that Germany's bourgeois revolution would be carried out with a much more developed proletariat than that of England or France at the time of their bourgeois revolutions, and that the bourgeois revolution would only be the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution. Later, Engels said in *The Questions of the Peasants in France and Germany* in 1894 that there was no need to wait until the results of the development of capitalist production had been revealed in an extreme form and the last small handicraft producer and the last small peasant had become the victims of large-scale capitalist production to carry out this transformation. In line with the practical experience of the Russian revolution, Lenin further developed this theory put forward by Marx and Engels. He pointed out in *Our Revolution* (1923) that it was entirely possible for the proletariat to make use of the worker-peasant alliance it established to seize political power and then, by relying on the political power of the proletariat, develop the economy and culture and realize socialism. Countering the statement of Second International opportunists that "the development of the productive forces of Russia has not attained the level that makes socialism possible," Lenin revealed a profound truth, saying: "If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism (although nobody can say just what that definite 'level of culture' is, for it differs in

every West European country), why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and then, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government, proceed to overtake the other nations?"

### **Why China Can Bypass the Stage of Capitalist Development**

Can China, after setting up the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, enter the stage of the socialist revolution and make the transition to socialism? This question was answered in the affirmative by our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong and has also been solved in practice during the Chinese revolution. The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the end of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. Why is it that China could bypass the stage of an independently developed capitalism and directly enter the stage of socialist revolution? Fundamentally speaking, this was decided in the process of China's historical development, which provided China with the basic conditions for taking the socialist road. In terms of the international situation, since the world had entered the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the Chinese revolution had already become a part of the world proletarian revolution and therefore it could get support from the international proletariat. As for China's domestic conditions, firstly, there were the proletariat and its political party and a solid worker-peasant alliance. What is particularly important, the proletariat occupied a dominant political position and held the revolutionary leading power firmly in its hands as a result of the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship after the nationwide victory of the new-democratic revolution. Secondly, though China's modern factories were small in number, they were highly concentrated, with the country's biggest and most important capital concentrated in the hands of the bureaucrat-capitalists. Confiscating bureaucrat capital and turning it over to the state led by the proletariat enabled the People's Republic to control the nation's economic lifeline and make the state economy the leading sector of the whole national economy. Relying on the correct and strong leadership of the Communist Party and the leadership exercised by the state economy over the whole national economy, China carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce,



and replaced private ownership of the means of production with socialist public ownership. This fundamentally guaranteed that China, on the basis of the victory of the democratic revolution, could strike out on a non-capitalist road.

It should be pointed out that the process of historical development follows an objective law of its own, and whether or not a country must pass through the stage of an independently developed capitalism is beyond the will of man. In old China, capitalism had not developed much, and the economy was backward. This gave rise to some difficulties in building socialism. Nevertheless, after the founding of the People's Republic, we were able to make the transition to socialism by means of socialist transformation. Why then shouldn't we make full use of the advantages of the socialist system to develop our social productive forces and build a highly developed, powerful socialist material foundation? Why should we go through a stage of capitalist development which would only bring capitalist exploitation and suffering to the people?

History witnessed the phenomenon of polarization in the rural areas during the development of the peasants' individual economy after the completion of the land reform. And in the cities, with the restoration and development of capitalist economy, the bourgeoisie launched sharp attacks against socialism. This took various forms, such as bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information. Under the conditions of a fierce two-line struggle, to continue to allow the five economic sectors (ownership by the whole people, collective ownership, private ownership, state-capitalist economy and capitalist economy) to coexist and develop together without completing the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production would have allowed capitalism to develop freely. If this had been the case, China would have taken the capitalist road spontaneously.

Our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong correctly comprehended the law of the historical development of Chinese society. They understood very well the necessity for socialist transformation. Correct principles, policies and measures were taken to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and the whole national economy was thus led on to the socialist path. To have completed socialist transformation so smoothly in a big, economically back-

ward, populous country was a great pioneering feat in world history, as well as an important contribution to Marxism-Leninism by our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. Today, after over 30 years of socialism, it would obviously be very ridiculous to turn around and develop capitalism.

There is another erroneous opinion, which denies the socialist nature of our present society. It claims that a society can be regarded as socialist only when it has attained a high degree of socialization of production and directly owns all the means of production and when commodity production has disappeared and products are distributed directly. This viewpoint disregards our more than 30 years of socialist practice. To judge whether or not a society is socialist, one should see whether it has established the dominant position of socialist public ownership and whether it carries out the principle of "to each according to his work." As for commodity production, the practice of socialism in our country as well as in other countries proves it to be indispensable to socialist society, in which products still cannot be distributed directly but can only be done by means of commodity exchange. Moreover, one should understand that socialist society is a process of constant development and change. There is no doubt that the advantage of the socialist system will be more and more fully displayed as it steadily improves in the course of advancing from its early stage to a mature stage.

Chinese society in the present stage is still not a mature socialist society. However, since it possesses the above-mentioned basic characteristics, it differs fundamentally from the transition period when there existed both socialist and capitalist economic sectors and the individual economy occupied a dominant position in rural China. How can one say ours is not a socialist society?

The socialist road is the only road for China in its historical development. The many problems which arose in the past were not due to the founding of the socialist system, but to the serious mistakes resulting from the failure to recognize and to master the objective laws of socialist society for some time after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production. We should draw serious lessons from all this.

*(To be continued.)*



## Gulf Co-operation Council Founded

THE first summit conference of the Gulf Co-operation Council (G.C.C.) was held in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates, on May 25-26. The heads of state of six countries — Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates — signed the council's constitution and formally proclaimed the birth of the Gulf's first regional co-operation organization. The event is a reflection of the Gulf states' growing opposition to superpower contention in the Middle East and Gulf area, as well as their desire to safeguard national independence and promote regional security and stability.

### "Centre of a Whirlwind"

In recent years, the superpowers have turned the oil-rich Gulf region into a trouble spot in their rivalry for world hegemony, "the centre of a whirlwind" as one Gulf source described it.

The most serious threat is clearly posed by the Soviet Union. Its rapidly growing military presence in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, its highly mobile 100,000-man army in Afghanistan and its more than 20 divisions currently deployed along the Soviet-Iranian border give it greater strength in the region than ever before. Furthermore, Moscow has put forward proposals for an international conference to "guarantee the safety of the Gulf" and "demilitarize" the area, which are suspected by many as an effort to increase its political

and diplomatic influence in the region.

The United States has also sought to increase its military strength in the Gulf. As the oil and transport lanes of the Gulf are considered critical by the West for its security, the Reagan administration has defined this area as the centre of current contention with the Soviet Union. A line of defence against Soviet expansionism is being set up from Pakistan to Egypt and Turkey, with Washington increasing its military aid to some countries in the area and actively seeking the use of their military bases. These efforts have received the approval and support of its European allies. The recent Gulf tours of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany were evidently planned to show their support.

### Strength Through Unity

The mounting aggressiveness of the superpowers, the war between neighbouring Iran and Iraq and the current Lebanese crisis have made the Gulf states acutely aware that the security of their region must depend on excluding superpower involve-

ment and increasing strength through unity. The communique issued by the six-nation summit reiterates their rejection of all forms of foreign intervention, including the presence of foreign warships and military bases in the Gulf.

The summit conference also laid groundwork for closer political, economic and military co-operation among the G.C.C. member states. Considering their strong financial position and strategic location, such co-ordination will do more than simply benefit the Gulf countries themselves; it will play a positive role in safeguarding peace and stability in the Gulf, the Middle East and the entire world.

This important step towards regional co-operation by the Gulf countries has thus won universal support and appreciation. Not surprisingly, however, it has been opposed by the Soviet Union. As early as last February, when the G.C.C. was still in its planning stages, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* lost no time in branding the council as "a creation of NATO" which "cannot serve the interests of the Arabs or improve the region's stability." This attitude reveals the extent of Soviet ambitions in the Gulf.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yi Ming

## Missile Crisis Diplomacy

THE initial reaction of the Arab countries to the Syrian-Israeli missile crisis, now already in its second month, was not strong. However, grow-

ing Israeli belligerence and claims of a "right" to intrude into Lebanon have moved a number of Arab states to side with Syria in the last few



weeks. Prime Minister Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia has stated that if Syria is attacked by Israel, all the Arab countries will stand up to fight together with the Syrians. Iraq and Jordan have similarly declared that in the event of an Israeli attack on Syria, they will set aside any disputes they have with the Syrian Government and come to its aid.

### Tunis Conference

This attitude of Arab solidarity was also dominant at an Arab League conference held in Tunis on May 22-23. Foreign ministers of the League's 21 member states adopted a 13-point declaration stressing Arab support for Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization in the current confrontation with Israel. The declaration also appealed for an immediate end to the fighting among the various factions in Lebanon and pointed out the importance of strengthening unity within the Arab world to cope with growing Israeli aggression. The conference was marked by a degree of reconciliation and solidarity seldom seen among the Arab countries in recent years, a sign that in a crisis situation, they are certainly capable of setting aside their differences to unite against a common foe.

The current Lebanese crisis is reflective of the entire Middle East problem. Under the guise of protecting its "security," the Israeli authorities have for many years committed aggression against neighbouring Arab countries, particularly Lebanon, in an attempt to crush the Palestinian revolutionary forces. This has naturally been opposed and resisted by the Arab countries and people all over the world. But U.S. support for Israel and Soviet efforts to ex-

tend its influence by sowing discord among the Arab states have hurt the Arab cause; disputes among the Arab states in recent years have increased and their strength has been weakened, while Israel has become increasingly bold and arrogant.

### Washington's Bias

Although the Reagan administration pledged upon assuming office to adjust its Middle East policy, it has simply strengthened the pro-Israeli stance of its predecessor. Leaders of many Arab states have pointed out that the people of the Middle East not only face a Soviet threat, but an increasingly violent Israeli threat as well. The United States, they feel, must not lose sight of the national interests of the Arab states.

Yet it seems that Washington has turned a deaf ear to these voices. Philip Habib, the U.S. President's special envoy to the Middle East, has conducted three rounds of visits to Lebanon, Syria and Israel in seeking an end to the crisis. However, the U.S. envoy has concentrated his efforts on pressing Syria and the Arabs to withdraw the Syrian missiles, while virtually ignoring the essential question of Israeli aggression and expansion. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin shed light on the position Habib took in his mediation talks when he told reporters on May 15 that "the United States and Israel have the same opinion on the missile issue and the importance of returning to the status quo ante." It is also reported that the U.S. Under Secretary of Defence Fred C. Ikle hinted in a May 18 speech that the Reagan administration would propose an increase of military and financial aid to Israel.

This attitude has predictably alienated the Syrians and much of the rest of the Arab world, who regard the U.S. position as a green light to Israeli aggression. As a result, Habib's shuttle diplomacy has brought no evident progress in the crisis.

### Moscow's Opportunism

The Soviet Union has for some time been exploiting dissension among the Arabs to gain a foothold in the region. The present Syrian-Israeli confrontation is giving Moscow its eagerly awaited opportunity to return to the Middle East stage, and from the signs of its new diplomatic offensive, it is not letting the chance pass by.

First, Moscow has renewed its proposal for an international conference on the Middle East question. In a meeting with U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on May 5 at the Kremlin, Brezhnev urged that such a conference be convened, claiming that a so-called package settlement would lead to the solution of the Lebanon crisis. Of course such a conference as the Soviets are suggesting would include their participation as well. The message that many are receiving is that Moscow wants to drag the Middle East issue into a long and drawn-out international negotiation with no real hope of settling anything. Its aim is to extend its own power in the region.

Second, the Soviet Union has been stepping up its "invitation diplomacy" in recent weeks. Taking advantage of Arab discontent with the U.S. bias towards Israel, a number of Arab leaders have been invited to visit Moscow. Renewed efforts have been made to win over these leaders, particularly those



from the "moderate" Arab countries, in an attempt to disrupt the U.S. strategic deployment in the region and its monopoly in recent years of Middle East affairs.

### The Current Situation

The Soviet Union and the United States have both used the Lebanon crisis to strengthen their own strategic positions in the Middle East. Although both have moved over 30 warships into the eastern Mediterranean, there is no indication that they will participate directly in the conflict in Lebanon. The Soviet Union's

apparent aim is to maintain a state of "no-war, no-peace" in order to weaken the U.S. position and thereby gain both diplomatically and politically. The United States, on the other hand, seems to be pushing for a quick compromise solution to the crisis which favours Israel but is acceptable to the majority of the Arab countries. The Arabs, however, are unwilling to accept any solution that is not just and fair; and as the Tunis conference showed, they are able and willing to unite to make sure their demands are heard.

— Ren Wenhui

## Gonsalves' Untimely Remarks

IN a May 20 interview with the Malaysian newspaper *New Straits Times*, Eric Gonsalves, Secretary of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, made some disturbingly thoughtless remarks which deserve attention. Mr. Gonsalves was quoted as saying that those who criticize Heng Samrin and the Vietnamese as "bad boys" are driving them straight into the arms of the Soviets. "Now," he continued, "... everybody says that the Soviets must be kept out of Southeast Asia, and you do exactly the opposite. And I think the biggest idiots in this are these fools in Peking who, I think, are bringing the Soviets on to their southern perimeter, sort of willy-nilly."

In hurling abuse at China, Mr. Gonsalves shows himself lacking in the diplomatic self-restraint required by his position; this, however, is not the central issue here. Of real concern is his

suggestion that China is responsible for bringing the Soviet Union into Southeast Asia and along its southern borders. A review of the facts will easily negate this absurdity.

Armed with Soviet weapons, Viet Nam carried out its brutal invasion of Kampuchea in December 1978 and installed the Heng Samrin puppet regime there. That Vietnamese troops have been able to remain in Kampuchea for so long testifies to the immensity of the Soviet Union's military and economic support, which Viet Nam has clearly paid for with its own sovereignty and independence. Furthermore, Viet Nam has been dominating the government of Laos, infringing on Chinese border regions and threatening neighbouring ASEAN countries for several years. Without Soviet assistance, none of this would be possible.

The logical conclusion of Mr. Gonsalves' recent comments is that Viet Nam would not have allowed the Soviets to gain influence in Southeast Asia if China and other nations had refrained from opposing the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and its other efforts to dominate Southeast Asia. Not only is such a view blind to the historical order of events, but it also runs in direct conflict with the norms of international relations, the aims of the United Nations and the principles of the non-aligned movement. Made at a time when the ASEAN countries and people throughout the world are demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, Mr. Gonsalves' remarks can only serve to divert attention away from the injustice of the situation in Kampuchea and obscure the Soviet and Vietnamese responsibility for it.

In the United Nations and on many different occasions, the world community has clearly voiced its concurrence with this view. When the Indian Government recognized the internationally isolated Heng Samrin puppet regime last year, most countries reacted with surprise and disapproval. In the aftermath of this action, India itself has experienced a degree of isolation; Mr. Gonsalves has admitted that ASEAN countries have adopted a noticeably cooler attitude towards New Delhi in the past year, and have even cancelled a number of planned contracts and projects with India.

The Governments of China and India are now trying hard to improve their mutual rela-



tions. The people of both countries welcome this development and desire friendship. The recent comments of Mr. Gonsalves are certainly incompatible with present needs and unfavourable to the improvement of Sino-Indian relations. The Indian Secretary of External Af-

fairs would do better drawing lessons from the past year than wasting energy slandering China, for the sake of restoring peace in Southeast Asia and promoting the effectiveness of India's foreign policies.

— Lu Tong

## Belize Soon to Gain Independence

**T**HE Belmopan Declaration, which was recently issued by six U.N. members of the Caribbean Community (Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and Trinidad and Tobago) appealed to the international community for a guarantee that Belize would gain its independence this year. This latest action is an extremely promising sign in the long quest for Belizean independence.

### Past Conflicts

The roots of present-day territorial disputes over Belize, a small country situated on the Caribbean coast of Central America, can be traced back to the period of Spanish colonial rule, when a large part of Belize's territory nominally belonged to the viceroyship of Guatemala. The British began to take administrative control of this Spanish colony in 1786 and in 1862 seized the area outright, renaming it British Honduras. After its independence in 1821 Guatemala consistently maintained it still retained sovereignty over Belize, but in fact it was powerless against the British Empire and was finally forced to sign a border agreement with Britain in 1859, in which it recognized British sovereignty over Belize. Guatemala renounced this agreement and

reaffirmed its sovereignty over Belize in 1940 on the grounds that Britain could no longer keep the commitments made at the time of the agreement.

This situation was further complicated by Mexican claims. Had Guatemala succeeded in reasserting its claim, Mexico would also have had a basis for demanding a section of Belizean territory, for during the period of Spanish colonial rule, the Yucatan viceroyship controlled part of Belize.

### Struggle for Independence

Following a long struggle, the British finally agreed to Belizean internal self-government



in 1963. Belize established a government with its own assembly, while Britain still retained control of defence and foreign affairs. The difficulties arose in the international negotiations on Belize, which almost turned into a "marathon," because of Guatemala's desire to entirely annex Belize. Its reasons were reportedly twofold: 1) historical claims; 2) concern that multinational corporations were manoeuvring behind the scenes to gain control of Belize's natural resources.

During these international discussions, the Mexican Government advocated that the Belizean people should have the right to self-determination. Early last October, the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority that Belize should become independent within a year.

In March, Britain, Belize and Guatemala finally signed an agreement in London, promising independence to Belize. Afterwards the President of Guatemala officially agreed to recognize the independence of Belize and rescind his country's century-long claim over the former British colony. Under the tripartite agreement signed in London, Belize will allow Guatemala two exits on the Caribbean Sea through its territory and the right to use its free ports.

As Britain, Guatemala and Belize will soon form a committee to discuss the details of how to implement the London agreement, it seems that after 300 years of colonialism and decades of struggle for independence, the desire of the Belizean people for freedom will soon be realized.

— Guo Weicheng



## Third World

## Niger Grows Enough Grain

One of the poorest countries in the world and hit by six successive years of drought, yet Niger is one of the few countries in the world which grows more than enough grain for its own needs.

**N**IGER in western Africa produced a record 1.7 million tons of grain last year, 200,000 tons more than domestic needs. Niger is one of the few countries today that grows more grain than it consumes. This is more remarkable when one remembers it has had six years of drought and it is in the Sahel area.

## Country of Sand

Niger is a landlocked state south of the Sahara. More than 60 per cent of its 1,260,000 square kilometres are deserts. Only 10 per cent of the total area is cultivable. The climate is hot and arid and there is very little water resources. In the past, drought constantly brought widespread famine.

Niger has a population of 5 million, 90 per cent of whom are farmers and pastoralists. It is one of the 25 poorest countries in the world. A prolonged drought from 1969 to 1974 brought huge losses to the country, killing 60 per cent of its cattle and 37 per cent of its sheep. The state budgetary deficit soared and life grew extremely difficult. Harsh reality made the government and people see how important it was to improve the country's ability to fight drought and develop agriculture.

In April 1974, it was decided that priority must be given to developing grain production. Head of State Seyni Kountche pointed out that top priority must be given to solving the problem of growing enough food for the people. Over the last six years, thanks to political stability and government measures supported by the people, agriculture has prospered.

## Measures for Developing Agriculture

Measures to promote agricultural production taken by the Niger Government include: the abolition of the poll tax, which had been levied for more than half a century. This lightened the burden of the peasants and the raising of farm purchasing prices increased peasant incomes. The 1978 price of millet, sorghum and groundnut has been raised from 12.5, 10 and 16 francs CFA per kilogramme in 1972 to 40, 30 and 45 francs CFA. The government also allocated huge sums to build water conservancy projects.

A dozen water conservancy projects, big and small, have been completed or are being built. The largest will bring benefits to several thousand hectares of land. To check the moving desert, the government has launched a nationwide tree

planting campaign. From 1975 to 1978, 640,000 trees were planted, averaging 2,000 hectares of land planted to trees each year.

In addition, the government introduced improved seeds and a scheme to provide loans for the farmers, allocated money to buy improved millet, sorghum and groundnut seed for free distribution to farmers unable to buy them. Chemical fertilizers and pesticides have been given out by the state and agricultural experts sent out to help popularize the use of modern farm implements and advanced farming techniques so as to raise the yield per unit area.

The farmers of Niger are energetically reclaiming land and planting trees to enlarge the cultivated area. The 1980 area put under grain crops has increased by 25 per cent over that in 1974, and Kolo, Saga and Seble are being developed into food grain areas.

In recent years, state revenues have grown with the mining of uranium ore and more funds are available for the development of agriculture. The government budget for agriculture in 1978 was nine times that in 1974. Prospects for the people of Niger are brighter as they push ahead to develop agriculture and raise the output of grain.





## AGROTECHNIQUE

A High-Yielding Strain  
Of Cotton

Rich harvests of a new strain of cotton called *Lumian No. 1* were reaped in 1980 over large areas in Shandong Province, which now leads the country's 16 main cotton-producing provinces and municipalities in both total output and per-unit area yield. The new cotton, first raised in 1976 by the Cotton Research Institute of Shandong Province, brought an increased yield worth 330 million yuan last year.

The new cotton is treated with nuclear radiant energy. Its compact plant grows thick with early-maturing cotton bolls, has strong adaptability and yields cotton of fine quality. Its per-hectare output is much higher than that of *Daizi No. 15* which used to be planted extensively in the province.

*Daizi No. 15* is a fine species of cotton brought in from the United States. Grown widely in Shandong for almost 25 years, it has degenerated, with the seeds becoming more and more mixed, the yields declining and the fibre quality deteriorating.

The research institute has played an active role in the popularization of the new species. As soon as it was rated excellent, the scientists there provided instructions and advice on growth and management. The authorities at various levels in the province have also taken effective measures to popularize it. By 1980, the total area planted to

the new cotton was expanded to 579,000 hectares.

Last year, the province planted 737,000 hectares of cotton and collected 537,000 tons of ginned cotton; this was 370,000 tons more than that of the year before or a 220-per cent increase. Average per-hectare yield was 728 kg., 2.3 times that of 1979. It was estimated that 125,000 tons or one-third of the increase was from the areas where the new cotton had been grown.

This achievement has been awarded the first prize for technical improvement by the Ministry of Agriculture. Specialists say that, it is a good example to show that in agriculture, the most profitable investments are those in science and technique.

## Scientific Cultivation

Growing numbers of young Chinese peasants have become active in recent years in agricultural research and experimentation. Around 80 per cent of China's rural production brigades have established scientific research centres or groups, and educated peasant youth are the main participants. The popularization of the advanced agro-techniques has helped solve many key production problems, increased output and raised peasant family incomes as well. Some recent achievements:

- One research group in the Lianhua commune in Longhai County, Fujian Province set a national record in 1980 by producing 29.8 tons of grain (wheat and rice) on one hectare of experimental land (the county's

average grain output is 12.7 tons per hectare). This coastal county has 258 agricultural research groups with over 10,000 young peasant members in the various production brigades. Last year, 776 hectares of land were set aside for scientific experiments.

- Lei Anjun, a young peasant living near Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, is another national record-setter. He grew 17,800 kilogrammes of tomatoes on a one-mu (one-fifteenth of a hectare) experimental plot by using advanced scientific techniques.

- Young peasants in a brigade research group in Shandong Province produced 16.7 tons of peanuts on one hectare of land in 1980, topping both the previous national record by 1.2 tons and the world record held by Zimbabwe.

- The 23-year-old deputy director of a brigade-run agricultural experimental centre in Guangdong Province recently succeeded, after three years of experimentation, in growing sugar cane with sugar cane shoots instead of roots, thus saving 0.3 tons of sugar cane a year per hectare. The young man was sent by the state to work as a sugar cane expert this year in Guinea in West Africa.

In an effort to adapt education to the needs of the countryside, the majority of rural middle schools have offered more courses in agricultural sciences or have been converted into agricultural technical schools. In Hebei Province, for example, 390 new secondary vocational schools have recently been set up in rural areas to train agricultural technicians.



## Books

### **Life and Deeds of Dr. Sun Yat-sen**

**A Chronicle of Sun Yat-sen's  
Life (in Chinese)**

《孙中山年谱》

*Edited jointly by the historical research section of the Guangdong Research Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, the section of research of the history of the Republic of China under the Modern History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the Department of History of Zhongshan University,*

*Published by Zhonghua Bookstore,*

*Renminbi: 1.45 yuan.*

"For 40 years I have dedicated myself to the national revolution. My aim is to seek liberty and equality for China." So stated the father of China's 1911 Revolution, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his last will and testament. Now, in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the overthrow of the imperial order, a number of books are

appearing on Dr. Sun's life and his role in the Chinese revolution. *A Chronicle of Sun Yat-sen's Life* is a handy compendium of nearly 400 pages which is primarily intended for the serious student of Dr. Sun and the development of the Chinese bourgeois revolution.

One of the most striking features of this work is the top level of its scholarship. More than 300 works have been consulted, including the significant American, British, Japanese and Soviet studies. This work provides a particular insight into the development of Dr. Sun's thought. For instance, it quotes a letter in 1890 from Dr. Sun to Zheng Zaoru, a retired bureaucrat of Xiangshan (present-day Zhongshan) County in Guangdong Province. Here Dr. Sun proposes learning from the West, developing agriculture and sericulture, banning opium and popularizing education. This letter is significant because it was written much earlier than his articles expounding his

views on social reforms, thus constituting an important historical piece for the study of Dr. Sun's early ideas.

Another important feature of this work is that it relates Dr. Sun's activities to other important historical events in the world and to other important figures of the time. The chronicle records the activities of Wang Jingwei, a member of the Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League), not allowing its portrayal to be coloured by Wang's later activities when he betrayed the revolution led by Dr. Sun and served as a puppet for the Japanese invaders.

This serious attempt to collect a huge amount of material, including previously unpublished manuscripts and difficult-to-find newspaper articles, and to strictly check and recheck all the facts pertaining to major events in Dr. Sun's life has resulted in a work of a high academic standard which contributes to the understanding of one of the great men of Chinese history and of the 20th century.

(Continued from p. 19.)

Added, "Today, I am already over 80 years old. When I see the excellent international and domestic situation and the ship of New China sailing ahead through stormy winds and waves after overcoming the danger of being capsized, I am exuberant. Once again I see the new brightness of our motherland. I sincerely hope that the great people of our country, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, will constantly enhance their unity and march towards a brighter future. I shall be happy to march forward shoulder to shoulder with everyone involved in this great and heroic cause."

On May 8, 1981, Soong Ching Ling received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from Victoria University, Canada. At the awarding ceremony,

Howard Petch, President of Victoria University, said that Soong Ching Ling was one of the foremost public servants and social leaders of the 20th century and that her unswerving devotion to the well-being of the Chinese people had won her a special place in the hearts of admirers around the world.

On May 15, 1981, the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee accepted Soong Ching Ling as a full member of the Communist Party of China.

On May 16, 1981, the 18th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress conferred on Comrade Soong Ching Ling the title, Honorary President of the People's Republic of China.

(Released by Xinhua News Agency.  
Subheads are ours.)

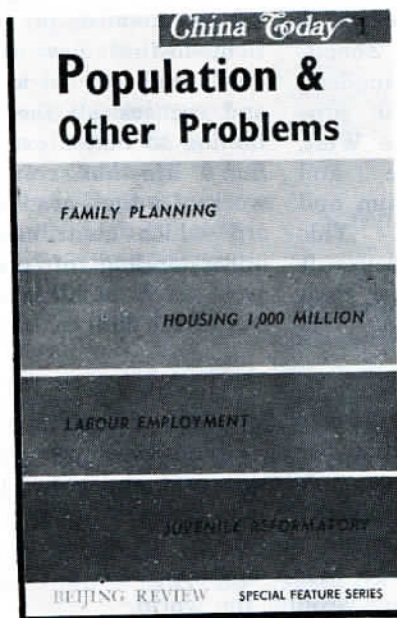
June 8, 1981



Available Now:

CHINA TODAY (1)

# Population and Other Problems



At last a publication which treats current topics fully and in depth! The first of *Beijing Review's China Today Series*, this booklet contains many informative articles about family planning, housing, employment and juvenile reformatories. Most are selected from the magazine's biweekly Special Features, expanded upon, carefully edited and thoroughly revised. An overall context is provided for these wide-ranging topics in an interesting and comprehensive introduction.

Text: 96 pages;

Photos: 26 pages;

Size: 185 mm. x 115 mm.

Distributed by

**GUOJI SHUDIAN**

(China Publications Centre)

P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Published by

**BEIJING REVIEW**