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BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- The 1911 Revolution
- Forum on Literary Criticism
- Prickly Problems for Washington



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

NPC Standing Committee

Proceedings of the latest session of NPC Standing Committee. China's highest state organ, the National People's Congress is to meet in November (p. 5).

Culture and Criticism

Acting Minister of Culture Zhou Weizhi speaks about China's cultural achievements and problems; calls for active criticism of mistaken trends (p. 13).

Writers on literary and art criticism (p. 14). The essence of the "hundred flowers" policy (p. 3).

Shaanxi Fights Flood

Shaanxi Province in the northwest is waging an all-out battle against flood damage and landslides (p. 6).

The 1911 Revolution

This week's Special Feature recalls the successes and failures of the bourgeois revolution which overthrew China's last monarchy 70 years ago. Reminiscences by Qu Wu, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, gives the occasion topical significance with appeal for renewed CP-KMT co-operation (pp. 20-30).

Huang Hua on the Mideast

The Vice-Premier speaks about recent developments in the Middle East (p. 8).

Moscow's Manoeuvres

Analysis of moves by Moscow and its followers in Hanoi on the eve of UN General Assembly session (p. 9).

Mao and Mao Zedong Thought

Discussions on how to define Mao Zedong Thought and why Mao's mistakes must be excluded from Mao Zedong Thought (p. 16).

Prickly Problems for Reagan

The US administration faces hard decisions this autumn at home and abroad (p. 11).



Wuchang Uprising on October 10, 1911. (Part of the carvings on the basement of the Monument to the Heroes of the People at Tian An Men Square.)

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Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom

The screenplay "*Unrequited Love*" has been criticized again. Does this mean that the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" will be abandoned?

Some readers may still remember what I wrote in issue No. 21: "It is a common practice to express different opinions on a literary work and to criticize its shortcomings and mistakes in the newspapers." *Unrequited Love* represents a wrong tendency which is harmful to the people and socialism, and many people take exception to this work. To criticize it in the newspapers and point out its mistakes will be of help to both the author and the readers.

The principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" (or the "two hundred" principle for short) was put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1956. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom" is a method for developing literature and art, while "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is for the purpose of developing the sciences. In short, this principle is aimed at promoting progress in the arts and sciences and bringing about a flourishing of socialist culture in our land. This policy was creatively expounded by Mao Zedong in his theory of correctly handling the contradictions among the people in socialist society.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Literally the two slogans — let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools of thought contend — have no class character; the proletariat can turn

them to account, and so can the bourgeoisie." So, there must be some criteria for distinguishing right from wrong and fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward six criteria, the basic contents of which are the same as the four basic principles now put forward by the Party Central Committee, the two most important ones being the leadership of the Party and the socialist road. These criteria are put forward not to hinder but to promote free discussions among the people.

We should never take the "two hundred" principle to mean the negation of Marxist leadership and the spread of unhealthy ideological tendencies unchecked. This principle has nothing in common with bourgeois liberalization.

According to the "two hundred" principle, when there are different opinions, there should be free discussions, and when literary works with wrong tendencies appear, they should be corrected through criticism and self-criticism so as to help literary creation develop in the right direction. Only in this way can a hundred flowers blossom in our literary garden.

Twenty-five years have passed since the "two hundred" principle was put forward. Its implementation has met with interference from two sides: from the "Left," which opposes the policy of "opening wide,"

and from the Right, which opposes ideological struggle and takes the principle to mean bourgeois liberalization. During the 10 chaotic years of the "cultural revolution," this principle was totally distorted, and the result was the withering of all flowers. After the smashing of the gang of four in 1976, and especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978, the "two hundred" principle has been implemented in earnest again, literary creation has begun to flourish and many good or comparatively good works have been produced. However, there have also appeared some works with wrong tendencies, the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in particular. Though this does not represent the main current, it must not be overlooked. This tendency is mainly reflected in negating the leadership of the Party, disregarding social effects, disdaining the national and revolutionary traditions and blindly worshipping things foreign. If we allow it to go on unchecked, it will cause damage to the people's interests and our socialist cause as well.

In criticizing the screenplay *Unrequited Love*, we are directing our fire at its wrong tendency. And it should be noted that this tendency is not isolated. As for its writer Bai Hua, he has produced some good works. To criticize *Unrequited Love* does not mean writing him off altogether.

—Literary Editor Xin Xiangrong

The Least Developed Countries

Is China willing and able to assist the least developed countries?

China is a developing country and it is not rich. At present, it is readjusting its economy. But

LETTERS

Evaluation of Chairman Mao

It is most important that you publish articles on the evaluation of Chairman Mao and carry reports on the shift in personnel at the top level of the glorious Chinese Communist Party. In his respect, I feel that some people in capitalist countries have written distorted reports. In perfunctory and supercilious manner, they talk about China's demaioification. I think you should rely on your readers around the world to collect such fallacies and to expose and criticize them in a scientific and dialectical way.

Gullermo Yhalanda
Popayan, Colombia

Articles Too Long-Winded

At times there has been too many lengthy articles of a general nature on economics and politics — almost like a textbook on the

various subjects. Shorter articles which deal more specifically with the problems that confront China in her quest for modernization would be welcome.

R.A. Dannells
Tucson, AZ., USA

Suggestions

Some articles are really hard to understand. We young people like to read articles which are written in simple language and can be easily understood. Many people are fairly interested in the condition of China's tourism, youth and crime. Please write articles on these subjects. Could you carry a little news about Xianggang (Hongkong) and Taiwan?

Tetsuya Ishii
Okayama, Japan

We would like to express our thanks to the above two readers for their criticisms and suggestions. We will make efforts to improve our magazine.

We have already published some relevant articles on China's tourism, please note the special feature "China's Growing Tourist Industry" in issue No. 27, 1980. In issue No. 44, 1979, we carried "Save the Teenage Delinquents" and in issue No. 8, 1981, we published "Reforming Criminals." (Unfortunately, the latter was not printed in Japanese edition, please refer to English edition.) These two special features may be helpful in your understanding of our policies towards criminal offenders. You may also be interested in an article in issue No. 30 which is entitled "China's Youth: Builders of Socialist Modernization." As regards Taiwan, we reported this year the sudden death of the Taiwanese professor Chen Wencheng (issue No. 34) and the crossing-over of Huang Zhicheng, a major in the Kuomintang air force (issues Nos. 34 and 35). — Ed.

we consider it our bounden internationalist duty to assist the least developed countries and other friendly countries of the third world.

Regarding aid to foreign countries, we adhere to the eight principles put forth by the late Premier Zhou Enlai during his visit to Africa in 1964. (Highlights of the eight principles are: The purpose of our foreign aid is to help the recipient countries embark on the road of self-reliance and economic independence step by step; the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries and never attaches any conditions; the Chinese experts dispatched abroad have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient countries and are not allowed to enjoy any special amenities.) We provide whatever help that is within our capability. As we make pro-

gress in our modernization drive, our contributions in this respect will increase.

The international situation is at present turbulent and the world economy is unstable and undergoing a period of difficulty. The least developed countries, of course, now face the greatest hardship. Many of them, hard hit by natural disasters, have for years running had lean harvests and their grain supply is insufficient. Every year they have an unfavourable balance of international payments and their foreign debts are piling up. The Chinese people have deep sympathy for their plight. It is necessary as well as reasonable that they should ask other countries to help them work out new programmes of action for the 1980s, carry out plans of development, put an end to their poverty and achieve the goal of self-reliance.

The international community, particularly the developed countries, should help these countries in carrying out their development plans and conduct trade and economic and technical exchanges with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. This will not only benefit the least developed countries, but also help the developed countries tide over their own economic difficulties. At the same time it is conducive to setting up a new order for the world economy, stabilizing the international situation and defending world peace.

China has established relations of economic co-operation with 25 of the 31 least developed countries. We hope that these countries will soon embark on the road of self-reliance and independent development.

— International Editor
Mu Youlin

POLITICAL

NPC Standing Committee Meets

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress will be convened in Beijing in November this year and a major item on the agenda will be a report on economic work by Premier Zhao Ziyang.

This was announced in a resolution adopted at the 20th Session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The eight-day session closed on September 10.

The session also adopted a resolution on a summary report on the work of direct elections at the county level and a decision to extend the time limit for handling certain criminal cases. It approved decisions on appointments and removals.

The session heard and discussed reports by several ministries under the State Council. These reports are:

— Report on the current international situation and foreign affairs by Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua. In the report he said that China, holding high the banner of safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism, has opened up new prospects in foreign affairs, thereby creating favourable international conditions for China's modernization drive.

Huang Hua spoke of the Soviet Union's expansion and aggression in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. He said that the 1980s is a decade of danger. To cope in earnest with the Soviet

hegemonists' challenge, it is necessary to do some solid work and continuously push forward the united struggle against hegemonism, he added.

Vice-Premier Huang Hua also briefed the session on Premier Zhao Ziyang's fruitful visits to Burma, Thailand, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore earlier this year.

He also reported to the session his visits to India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Venezuela and Colombia in the capacity of Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

— Report on direct elections at the county level in various parts of the country by Minister of Civil Affairs Cheng Zihua. By last August, 85 per cent of the nation's 2,756 county-level units had held direct elections. The people's deputies thus elected enjoy the trust of the people and the newly elected leading bodies at the county level are widely acclaimed. Minister Cheng said that voters who had gone to the polls accounted for 96.56 per cent of the total, which is unprecedented in Chinese history. Direct election of people's deputies and leading bodies at the county level shows that power in our country belongs to the people.

— Report on strengthening ideological and political work in the schools by Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang. He said that most of the students have a sound ideological orientation. They love the motherland, are keen on the four modernizations, support the line, principles and policies of the Party, study hard and make rapid progress. A large number of "three good" students (good in ideology, study

and health) and advanced collectives have appeared. However, there are some tendencies among the students which merit serious attention: Some students waver in their faith in the Communist Party and have doubts about Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the superiority of the socialist system. Some are influenced by bourgeois liberal ideas, and some lack in revolutionary ideal, hanker after the bourgeois way of life, and some have even degenerated in morality, violated the law and committed crimes. To combat these unhealthy tendencies, it is necessary to take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. At present, the stress should be laid on upholding the four basic principles (the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought) and educating the students in Marxist theory, collectivism, communist ethics and labour.

— Report by Acting Minister of Culture Zhou Weizhi on the achievements as well as shortcomings and mistakes in literary and art work (see p. 13 for details).

ECONOMIC

Large Petrochemical Fibre Plants Completed

China's biggest petrochemical fibre complex was completed in mid-August. Situated in north-east China's Liaoning Province, it is called the Liaoyang Petrochemical Fibre Company. Since it started all-round trial-

production, all the equipment has been operating smoothly and most of its products have reached or surpassed the designed standards.

One of the important petrochemical fibre centres recently built in China, the company imported from France three production lines for producing alkene, polyester and nylon.

Earlier, the Tianjin Petrochemical Fibre Plant also started trial-production. Located in the port city of Tianjin in north China, the plant imported its equipment from Japan and West Germany. Construction of this plant started in September 1979. When it goes into full operation, it can produce 52,000 tons of short polyester fibre and 25,900 tons of polyester. Blended with about 33 per cent cotton yarn, these products can be made into 800 million metres of polyester-cotton cloth.

Good Harvest of Early Rice

Following the rich harvest of summer crops (mainly wheat), a good harvest of early rice has been reported. Although the acreage sown to early rice has been reduced by 200,000 hectares because of enlarged areas for

middle-season rice and cash crops, it is estimated that the total output of early rice this year will be over 50 million tons, one million tons more than last year. This is the result of an increase in per-hectare yield.

Apart from favourable weather, the good harvest is attributable to the implementation of various systems of responsibility in production, with more pay for more work. Output in Sichuan, Guangdong and Jiangsu Provinces is less than last year's because of flood, plant diseases and insect pests.

SOCIAL

Flood in SW Shaanxi

Heavy rainfall continued unabated in southwestern Shaanxi Province since Mid-August, causing the third flood in this area in two months. Torrents swept down the mountains and the water level of the rivers rose overnight. The floodwaters inundated a number of counties, and in some places the water is 10 metres deep.

The latest flood took a toll of 764 people; more than 5,000 were injured and 200,000 were



Repairing the railway line from Baoji to Tianshui.

rendered homeless. Over 200,000 hectares of farmland were submerged and 126 industrial and mining enterprises were forced to stop production.

The Party committee and the government in this northwest province and the local units of the People's Liberation Army promptly organized rescue teams to send food, clothing, tents and medicines to the stricken areas. Medical teams were also dispatched.

There were landslides along the three railway lines passing through southwestern Shaanxi. By September 9, landslides had occurred in 415 places, involving about 1.6 million cubic metres of earth. In some parts, whole sections of the railway track were swept away and in some places the land had sunk four to five metres, leaving the rails suspending in midair.

With the help of PLA units and the local people, 7,000 railway workers dispatched by the Ministry of Railways braved the

Peasants of Jiaxing in east China's Zhejiang Province selling surplus grain after reaping a good harvest of early rice.



rain to do rush repairs. Some leading cadres of the railway departments had also rushed to the damaged sections, directing the repairs or working alongside the workers.

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council had jointly sent a message expressing sympathy for the people of the flood-stricken areas. They called on the local cadres, Communists, Communist Youth League members, army men and local inhabitants to carry forward the revolutionary spirit and do their best to restore production as quickly as possible, rebuild their homes and overcome the after-effects of the flood. Decisions were taken to assist the flooded areas with funds and materials.

EDUCATIONAL

Regulations for Middle and Primary School Students

New regulations for China's 200 million middle and primary school students came into force on September 1 when the new school year began.

The *Regulations for Middle School Students* and the *Regulations for Primary School Pupils*, drawn up by the Ministry of Education, have been put into practice on a trial basis over the last two years. They have helped strengthen political education in the schools, foster good morals and decent behaviour among the students and are conducive to raising the level of socialist ethics.

Though the two regulations make different demands on the

students in the light of their specific conditions, both urge the students to love the motherland, the people and the Chinese Communist Party, study hard and be prepared to contribute to the cause of socialist modernization. Both reiterate the need for the students to keep fit, form a correct attitude towards labour, cultivate the habit and cherish the fruits of labour, live a simple and plain life, abide by discipline and respect the teachers.

There were regulations for middle and primary school students prior to 1966. But when the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) started, normal order and ideological education in the school were disrupted, and students who did not study and showed no respect for the teachers were encouraged instead of being criticized. Perplexed and at a loss, some of the youngsters went astray and a few even committed crime. At that time rules and regulations were regarded as shackles

restricting the students' freedom.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Chinese Leaders Meet Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister

Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang met on separate occasions with Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Aly who arrived in the Chinese capital on September 8. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Deputy Prime Minister Aly had wide-ranging and in-depth discussions on the world situation, the Middle East, Afghan and Kampuchean questions in particular,



Students of the 3rd Middle School of Guanghua County, Hubei Province, hailing the implementation of the regulations for middle school students.

and the development of relations between China and Egypt.

At the banquet he gave in honour of the Egyptian guest, Huang Hua said that, for a just settlement of the Middle East issue, China supports the following position proposed by many countries: Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967 including Jerusalem; the Palestinian people's national rights should be guaranteed, including the right to return to their homeland, national self-determination and establishment of their own country; all countries in the Middle East should have the right to enjoy independence and existence.

Huang Hua said: "Recently, we have noticed the fact that some Arab countries and others, for the purpose of expediting an overall and just settlement of the Middle East issue, are active in raising various proposals for a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem. Proceeding from the principles of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs and that each country's affairs should be administered by its own people, we respect the Arab and Palestinian peoples' efforts and choice for realizing their own national goals. Our attitude is that we always welcome all proposals which are in favour of the Arab countries' and Palestinian people's recovery of their lost land and restoration of their national rights and which are conducive to an overall and just solution of the Middle East issue as well as to peace and stability in the Middle East region."

He added: "If Israel continues to stick to its stubborn stand and refuses to accept the rational proposals raised by various

sides, it can only land itself in a more isolated position internationally and bring greater sufferings to the people of this region, including the Israeli people."

Huang Hua also pointed out: "The US authorities should change their policies of stubbornly siding with Israel and disregarding for a long time the legitimate rights of the Arab and Palestinian peoples."

Cameroon National Union Delegation

A Cameroon National Union Delegation, led by Felix Sabal Lecco, political secretary of the Central Committee of the Union, which is Cameroon's Party in power, paid a visit to China in mid-September. Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian met with the delegation in Beijing on September 13 and, in his talks with the guests, highly praised the internal and external policies of Cameroon.

Ji Pengfei, Vice-Premier and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, held talks with Lecco. After their talks, both sides agreed to establish friendly relations and co-operation and increase friendly contacts in the spirit of mutual support and trust and of learning from each other so as to develop the relations between the Chinese Communist Party and the Cameroon National Union.

During the talks, the two sides briefed each other on the history of their Parties, programmes, nature and structure as well as domestic and foreign policies and present tasks. They

also exchanged views on issues of common interest in a sincere and friendly atmosphere. Ji Pengfei stressed that the general foreign policy of the Chinese Communist Party is to oppose hegemonism, defend world peace and firmly unite with the third world countries.

News in Brief

Memorial Meeting for Randolph C. Sailer. A memorial meeting for Randolph C. Sailer, Professor of the former Yenching University and a friend of the Chinese people, was held on September 6 at a new library of Beijing University. The meeting was presided over by Lei Jieqiong, Vice-Mayor of Beijing and Professor of Yenching University, and attended by more than 100 people.

Dr. Sailer taught at Yenching University from 1923 to 1950. In 1973 when he visited China, the late Premier Zhou Enlai met with him. Dr. Sailer died of illness on July 11 in the United States.

Dr. Sailer cherished friendly feelings for the Chinese people and supported the progressive cause. In the 1930s, he showed support for the Chinese students' movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation, and in the 1940s, he supported them in their struggle against reactionary Kuomintang rule. During the 1950s and 1960s, he carried on activities in the United States to promote the friendship between the American and the Chinese peoples in spite of difficulties. Before his death, in a letter to his friends in China, he expressed deep admiration for the Chinese people in their struggle to build a better world.

How Moscow Prepares for UN General Assembly

THE forthcoming 36th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will have to deliberate again on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, as both Moscow and Hanoi have doggedly refused to implement the UN resolutions demanding their troop withdrawals.

A Flurry of Activities

Moscow, Hanoi, Kabul and Phnom Penh have recently been busy with their diplomacy. The Kabul regime came out with a statement on August 24 proposing bilateral or trilateral talks with Pakistan and Iran as the first step towards a political settlement. Meanwhile, Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister N.P. Firy-Ubin visited Islamabad. Immediately afterwards, Shah Mohammad Dost, "foreign minister" of the Kabul regime, visited India and some Middle East and African countries. Vietnamese leader Le Duan also visited Moscow earlier this month. After meeting with Le Duan, Soviet leader Brezhnev met with Pen Sovan of the Phnom Penh puppet regime, a Vietnamese-trained agent. At the same time, the Phnom Penh regime's "foreign minister" Hun Sen visited India, again proposing the holding of an ASEAN-Indochina regional conference as the first step to a political solution of the Kampuchean problem.

Behind the olive branch is the gun. Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea have intruded into Thai territory and waters on several occasions recently, killing and wounding a number of Thais. Troops of the Kabul regime

have repeatedly intruded into Pakistan's border areas in the past few days.

Purpose and Means

The immediate purpose of these diplomatic and military activities is not difficult to see: to escape fresh international condemnation at the UN General Assembly by disrupting its deliberation on the Afghan and Kampuchean problems.

One of the measures taken by Moscow and its agents is to try to represent the Kampuchean and Afghan problems, which have an important bearing on world peace and security, as issues of a partial, regional, bilateral or trilateral character. All their proposals—whether on bilateral or trilateral talks between the Kabul regime and its neighbouring states, or on a regional conference to be held between Viet Nam, Laos, the Heng Samrin regime and ASEAN, or on an international conference to discuss "the international aspect" of the Afghan problem (a suggestion made by Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress)—are aimed at shifting the Afghan and Kampuchean problems out of the UN framework and the context of the related UN resolutions. If Moscow's schemes carry the day, then the 100 and so countries which had voted at the UN General Assembly for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea would be shunted aside. Obviously, this does not tally with the spirit and letter of the relevant UN resolutions nor with the desire of most of the member states.

The Soviet Union also attempts to have the Phnom Penh and Kabul regimes recognized by the world community by seating their "delegates" at international gatherings to "represent" the people of the two countries. The Soviet Union is also trying to undermine the will of the people of the two countries to resist aggression and at the same time creating pretexts for Soviet and Vietnamese troops to hang on there.

Another trick being played by the Soviet Union is to attribute Soviet and Vietnamese aggression in Afghanistan and Kampuchea to some non-existent "foreign interference" or "threat." Brezhnev's proposal to discuss the "international aspect" of the Afghan problem is not in reference to the occupation of that country by 100,000 Soviet troops who are slaughtering the Afghan people, but to some mythical "foreign interference." The Soviet Union and Viet Nam want the rest of the world to believe that there is a "threat" to and "interference" in these countries so as to justify their permanent occupation.

At the last session of the UN General Assembly, two resolutions were adopted by an overwhelming majority calling on foreign troops to withdraw from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. This principle should be adhered to. The two resolutions have not been realized only because the Soviet and Vietnamese Governments have not abandoned their stubborn attitude against the will of the overwhelming majority of the nations. At the forthcoming UN General Assembly session, it is only reasonable for the justice-upholding countries of the world to

adhere to their principled stand on these matters. It stands to reason, too, that the stand of opposing Soviet and Vietnamese aggression taken by Pakistan,

Iran and the ASEAN countries will be supported by the overwhelming majority of the UN member countries.

—Guo Ping

Iran in Agony

Report From Teheran

ANTI-GOVERNMENT demonstrations broke out in downtown Teheran on September 9.

Earlier, reports said that demonstrations had been going on at Mossadegh University (formerly Pahlavi University) for three days running. Eye-witnesses said that the anti-government demonstrators were suppressed by Iranian revolutionary guards, killing and wounding 40 to 100 persons.

Serious Political Struggle. The demonstrations mark the escalation of the anti-government struggle waged by the armed opposition factions.

A political struggle, rarely seen in the world, has been going on for some time before these demonstrations took place. People in power have been assassinated one after another and many suspected assailants have been executed. In Teheran, gunfire and explosions have been heard every day.

In only two months, two blasts have occurred, killing several state leaders. The new President and Prime Minister were killed in a bomb blast less than one month after assuming office.

Local press reports say that the current struggle is being fought between the ruling Islamic sectarians and the Mujahedeen Khalq. But veteran observers in this capital point out that the struggle is more complex than it appears. There

are other religious and non-religious anti-government forces in Iran.

At the moment, however, the authorities' attention is on the Mujahedeen Khalq, which they are determined to put down. What sort of organization is this Mujahedeen Khalq? And what are their differences with the fundamentalists, and how will this struggle end?

The Mujahedeen Khalq. This organization is little known to the world, except that it is an underground armed organization set up in 1965 with a membership which various estimates put as between 50,000 to 100,000. Politically, it says it stands for a national, progressive and democratic Islamic government, with all political parties free to take part in political activities. In external relations, it wants Iran to be dependent neither on the United States nor on the Soviet Union.

During the struggle for the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy, the Mujahedeen Khalq had fought actively and made heavy sacrifices. Its present leader is Massoud Rajavi, sole survivor of the 12-member central committee founded in 1971. After the February revolution in 1979, it became a semi-overt organization until Banisadr fell on June 20 this year, which drove it underground to wage "urban guerrilla warfare." Its differences with the ruling circles hinge on whether to establish an Islamic Democratic Republic based on an alliance of

various strata, or to impose a Shiite politico-religious regime on the country.

This difference is now being fought out savagely. Over the past two months, thousands of people have been either assassinated, executed or arrested. The two sides have so far shown no sign of making any compromise.

The Iranian authorities have time and again declared that almost three-quarters of the Mujahedeen Khalq had been smashed. Now the Iranian Government is preparing to establish a strong intelligence apparatus in an attempt to eliminate differences inside the public security organs so as to wage a life-and-death battle against the armed opposition organizations.

Some say that the Mujahedeen Khalq is not strong enough to topple the present regime. But others maintain that the Mujahedeen Khalq is an organization to be reckoned with, as its members are well-trained and have been through many fights and have established very broad links with people of various social strata. For instance, before it went underground last June, each issue of its newspaper was selling 300,000 copies. Some even estimate that there is at least one young Mujahedeen sympathizer in almost every family of fundamentalists, including leading members of the Revolutionary Council and chief clergymen.

What Road Will Iran Choose? What road Iran will choose is completely a matter to be decided by the Iranian people themselves. However, it is painful to see Iran embroiled in internal strife. Iran did not win independence easily. Its people had been long subject to imperialist and colonialist oppression and exploitation. The third world peoples, who have

had the same experience as the Iranian people, naturally wish to see the Iranian people restore internal peace in their country and embark on the road to hap-

piness and prosperity as soon as possible.

—Xinhua Correspondent
Shuai Peng (Sept. 11)

Prickly Autumn for the US Administration

Report from Washington

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan has returned from his holidays in California to find the capital fairly fresh and cool. But is feeling the heat as the chief executive, for he has to make probably the toughest decisions since coming into office.

Bleak Outlook for Economic Renewal. First of all, the economic situation has failed to brighten up as the administration expected. Although the economic recovery plan was passed with a lot of fanfare in Congress in mid-summer and its passage was cheered as a signal victory for the administration, it failed to win smiles from the financial circles. Stock market shares are tumbling and interest rates stay sky-high. Business shows little enthusiasm and confidence in making new investments with bank money borrowed at the fantastic rate of 19 per cent. The chances of an economic recovery look bleak.

Last month, unemployment rose to 7.2 per cent of the total workforce. The jobless rate for the blacks and other minorities is a high 15 per cent, while for the black teenagers it is an all-time high — 50.7 per cent.

Balanced Budget? Unlikely. The sluggish economy under the oppressive interest rate has resulted in lower revenues and

higher expenditures for the government. The repayment of government debts, for instance, will cost the government 6 billion dollars more than originally planned for fiscal 1981. The possibility of the government to make both ends meet by 1984 looks remote. The deficit in the coming fiscal year beginning October 1, previously put at 42.5 billion dollars, will climb to 60 billion dollars or more, estimate many experts.

Cut what? The first major problem Reagan is expected to tackle upon his return to Washington is to make another deep cut in government expenditures. One of the schemes under study is to cut 1983-84 expenditures by 75 billion dollars.

Earlier cuts in spendings on social welfare, including unemployment relief, medicare, free meals for school children and educational subsidies, have already triggered off angry reactions. Demonstrations and outcries of protest are reported almost every day.

A reduction in military spending will affect national defence and security and will be inconsistent with the administration's announced policy of beefing up the country's military potential. The defence department and the munitions industries will not accept it without a fight. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger has made it clear

that he favours a cut in government spending, but not in the defence budget. He contended that "there is the need to modernize the strategic and conventional forces. . . . This is a heavy burden, but it is a burden that has to be shouldered."

His view was not shared by White House chief of staff James Baker, who said: "You can't have a healthy defence with an unhealthy economy and you can't have a healthy economy unless you deal with the budget deficit."

During its first months, the Reagan administration applied itself mainly to economic problems, so that many were uncertain about its foreign policy. Some even charged that the administration had no foreign policy. While this might have been an exaggeration, it certainly showed the people's concern about the American stance towards the Soviet Union and the third world.

The No. 1 Adversary. The Soviet Union is the only country in a position to threaten and impair the security of the United States and its worldwide interests. The administration, while seeking to build up US military strength, has warned Moscow to withdraw from Afghanistan, stop supporting the aggressive moves of its proxies, Viet Nam and Cuba, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has also told Moscow to stop making threats against Poland. But all this has had little effect.

Meanwhile, the strategic arms race continues unabated. While both the United States and the Soviet Union have professed their willingness to negotiate for arms control, neither is ready to yield. Within a couple of weeks, US Secretary of State

Alexander Haig will meet his Soviet counterpart, Andrei Gromyko, in New York for their first official talks. How to deal with the Soviet Union, the United States' number one opponent, is the biggest diplomatic headache for the Reagan administration.

The Third World. US policy towards the third world countries concerns not only the interests of these countries but also the security and long-term interests of the United States itself. Accordingly President Reagan has decided to go to the north-south summit scheduled for October in Mexico.

The Middle East and Southern Africa are also urgent items on the administration's agenda. The leaders of a number of Middle East countries will be coming to Washington one after another. The world is watching how the US President is going to handle the extensive and complicated problems of these two regions. The US attitude towards South Africa and Israel has given people the impression that it is over-indulgent and partial to them. This is arousing greater resentment among the third world countries towards the United States and has even lost the sympathy of its major allies. If it cannot get itself out of this predicament Washington will find itself severely restricted in foreign affairs and could also bring upon itself unexpected losses.

The autumn brings the administration many challenges; but with the challenges are opportunities too. It all depends on how the administration responds to the demand of the times. With wisdom and good judgment, it may well prove equal to the task. Failing to do so could bring about more and weightier problems.

— Xinhua Correspondent
Peng Di (Sept. 8)

The Situation in the Central African Republic

ON September 1 the armed forces of the Central African Republic staged a bloodless coup and the Military Committee of National Recovery (CMNR) with Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces Andre Kolingba as chairman took over all executive and legislative powers from President David Dacko.

The three coups d'etat that have taken place in the Republic of Central Africa since 1960 are reflections of sharpening internal contradictions. In the two years after President Dacko resumed power in 1979, the grave economic conditions which developed under the rule of the self-proclaimed emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa have shown no improvement. The state budget continued to be in the red and foreign debts have mounted, from 55,000 million African francs when Bokassa was toppled, to 65,000 million African francs in 1981. This is more than twice the size of the state budget. For some time, there has been a spate of strikes by workers and teachers and the charges levelled against the government by the opposition have grown more acerbic in tone and resistance has mounted. Tension ran high throughout the country after a bomb went off in a Bangui cinema on July 14. The bombing threatened to destabilize the whole political situation. In a statement on September 1, Kolingba pointed out that the armed forces took over in order to put an end to the meaningless verbal battles and put the country on the road to recovery.

On foreign affairs, Kolingba stated that the Republic of

Central Africa remains a member of the non-aligned movement and guarantees to respect all agreements and treaties signed with friendly countries.

France reacted quickly to the coup in its former protectorate. Within hours after the coup Kolingba received the French ambassador and the following day when he met with journalists of the Agence-France Presse, Kolingba said that the Central African Republic hopes to maintain its "special relations" with France and enlarge economic co-operation between them. French Defence Minister Charles Hernu declared that the coup was a purely internal affair of the Central African Republic and ordered French troops stationed there be confined to their barracks. The authorities in Paris say that French-Central African co-operation will not be affected by this coup and all agreements, particularly the agreement on defence, will be implemented as normal.

France has 1,100 troops stationed in the Central African Republic, 380 of them in Bangui and the others in Bouar, in the west. They include two para-troop companies, a cavalry unit and a general staff unit. Not long ago France provided 2,000 million African francs' worth of aid to the Central African Republic's armed forces.

— Ren Yan

CORRECTION: In "A Year of Suzuki Government" p. 12 issue 37, "Takuel" should read "Kakuel" and "Ishiro Hatayama" should read "Ichiro Hatayama."

Achievements and Problems in Cultural And Artistic Work

ZHOU Weizhi, acting Minister of Culture, delivered a report on cultural and artistic work at the 20th Session of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee on September 7. Following are excerpts.

Since the fall of the gang of four, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the cultural and artistic front has overcome the "Left" mistakes in the guideline of this work, implemented the Party's policy towards the intellectuals and its principles and policies on literature and art, thereby scored achievements rarely equalled since the founding of New China and brought about a flourishing culture.

In the last few years, literary and artistic creation, performances and exhibitions have been improving. Numerous works have been produced in the forms of novel, poem, drama, movie, fine arts, music, dance, *quyi* (folk art forms including ballad-singing and story-telling), acrobatics and photography. There has been a wide-range of subject matter and varied art types, forms and styles. Various operas and traditional art and literature of minority nationalities have been restored and developed. Many valuable critiques have been written. A new generation of gifted people has emerged. There has been new growth of international cultural exchange.

Literary and artistic workers enthusiastically support the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee which ushered in a great historical period. But not all people can correctly approach the new situation and the problems arising during this historical period. The aftereffects of the 10 chaotic years, the continued influence of ideas and habits left over from the old society, the influence of bourgeois thinking and culture due to the open-door policy—all these have given rise to the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in literature and art.

In literary and art circles, some people set the emancipation of the mind and the "double-hundred policy" ("letting a hundred flowers



blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend") against the four fundamental principles (upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought).

Some even label the four fundamental principles as straightjackets and four big sticks and certain people want to reject Party leadership. Some hold that creation is solely the self-expressions of writers and artists; they deny the need to take the social effect of literary pieces into consideration. This reflects the fact that a small number of people in the art and literary world crave for "absolute freedom" and extreme individualistic "rights," that they want to get rid of Party leadership, depart from the socialist road and go in for bourgeois liberalization. The scenario *Unrequited Love* is an example of this and so should be criticized seriously. But we should adopt an attitude of unity, help and education towards its author, Comrade Bai Hua.

Some works distort life, pursue fantastic plots and fabricate some preposterous tales, some create sensual images, and others are vulgar in their performance. In traditional theatrical items, no discretion is used in choice of items nor attention paid to reforming the content, with the result that the works contain both the dross and the essence. This should be criticized. Literary works or theatrical performances which are unhealthy in content, form or style and which spread bourgeois and feudal ideas are detrimental to the people's spiritual life, especially to the education of our youth. They are harmful to the sound development of the socialist literature and art and have aroused dissatisfaction among the masses.

First of all, we should criticize the erroneous tendencies; but, at the same time, we should pay attention to the method of criticism. In

(Continued on p. 19.)

We Need Literary and Art Criticism

PERSONS from Beijing literary and art fields held a forum from August 20 to 25 to discuss problems on how to strengthen the leadership, enhance unity and improve work. The meeting which took place after the forum on problems arising from the nation's ideological front was jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. More than 50 leading cadres, writers, artists and critics participated in the forum.

Following are the major points raised by some of the participants:



Zhou Yang, Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, said that there has existed a tendency of laxness and weakness on the ideological front and in the leadership of the literary and art circles. The

Party Central Committee has pointed out the problem promptly and we have an unshirkable responsibility to make efforts to end such a situation. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, literature and art have been vigorous and achieved much. The Party Central Committee has given encouragement and assistance on many occasions. However, we should not be satisfied with these successes but must be aware of our shortcomings in work and overcome the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. He mentioned the film script *Unrequited Love* as an example of the erroneous trend. Criticism is necessary and the author should be helped to recognize the problem. Even talented and accomplished writers should not reject criticism. Without criti-

cism and self-criticism, literature and art will stagnate.



Liu Baiyu, essayist, vice-chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association and head of the cultural department under the PLA General Political Department, said that to change the trend of the Party's weak leadership over literature and art, criticism must be conducted earnestly. This can propel the literary movement

forward. At this important turn in the Chinese history, it is not surprising that all kinds of ideas and views should crop up, including those statements and works characterized by bourgeois liberalization that encourage departure from Party leadership and the socialist path. What counts now is the strengthening of Party leadership and our adherence to the socialist orientation.



Zhang Guangnian, poet and vice-chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association, said that the literary and art world which has only recently revived from the disastrous "cultural revolution" is showing promise. It must not be injured. Criticisms that are correct and reasonable will not bring harm to the political situation of stability and unity, but

crude criticisms will. We should not cast away the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Writers and artists evaluate life from

the artistic viewpoint, praise the happy and the newborn things and castigate the undesirable and the detrimental which stand in the way of the new life. This in itself is a kind of criticism. How can one who does this not be willing to consider and derive help from the correct criticisms raised by other people?



Yao Xueyin, writer and chairman of Hubei Federation of Literary and Art Circles, said that *Unrequited Love* represents a mistaken trend of thought in society. It is true that realism in literature does not mean only eulogies. It includes criticisms and exposure

too. But criticism must be correctly aimed and it must be beneficial to socialism. While we must not whitewash reality, we do not tolerate the distortion of reality in socialist China or agree with the claim that the uglier socialism is painted, the deeper its significance.



Zhao Xun, critic and secretary of the secretariat of the Chinese Dramatists' Association, said that as a reaction to the high-handed policy towards the masses during the "cultural revolution," some people now pursue complete and, indeed, unlimited democracy and freedoms. This is understandable, but

bourgeois liberalization, taking advantage of people's state of mind, has begun to spread. He pointed out that while rejecting liberalization it is necessary to continue to oppose "Left" errors. The struggle must be carried out on two fronts.



Chen Huangmei, critic and Vice-Minister of Culture, said that with the experience of the "cultural revolution," quite a number of writers, with irreproachable intention, have sought to dig into the historical, social and ideological roots of the disaster.

But there are some who are doubting the Communist Party and socialism. They resort to bourgeois human feelings, humanism and human rights; eulogize the abstract dignity of humanity, the value of man, human freedom and the position of mankind, and even regard the persecution of the intellectuals as an objective law. This is a retrogressive phenomenon.



Lin Mohan, Vice-Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Vice-Minister of Culture, said that the primary question is whether one accepts the concept that proletarian literature and art are a component part of the revolutionary cause, or

regards them merely as personal pursuits. The recognition of the relation of literature and art to the revolutionary cause is the starting point of Mao Zedong's basic theory on art and literature. From this flows his views concerning the need of writers and artists to serve the people and become one with the masses, the importance of writers' world outlook, the social effects of their works, and the criteria for criticism. The utilization of literature and art as a powerful weapon in the revolution is the guiding principle for developing socialist culture.



Wang Meng, writer, said that since the Third Plenary Session, the productive forces have been unleashed. Society is surging ahead like a strong torrent, bringing along with it the good and the bad. The present erroneous tendencies originated from

the period under the sway of the gang of four. The four basic principles are the basis for setting things right and are the cornerstone for carrying out reform, developing democracy and implementing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." He noted that younger writers, proud and sensitive, are prone to liberalism and factionalism. He hopes that regular literary criticism will be carried out in a democratic way to help them overcome such weaknesses by developing proletarian ideology.



Cao Yu, playwright and chairman of the Chinese Dramatists' Association, pointed out that the chaotic 10 years resulted in unclarity in people's thinking. The corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalization has caused further ideological confusion. The core of

bourgeois liberalization lies in its rejection of the Party's leadership. Without this leadership there would be no socialist system.

Cao Yu, over 70, spoke from his own experiences. History has proved that with-

out the Communist Party there would be no New China. It was not easy to establish New China. Later, the gang of four caused people to live in destitution and it was the Party Central Committee who saved the country. Our current Party Central Committee did not come about easily either. The four basic principles are the basis for building our country and the foundation of the four modernizations. We must not allow them to be undermined or harmed. He said that he understands the thinking behind the call of the Party Central Committee to overcome laxness and weakness on the ideological front while at the same time urging that criticism be conducted in the spirit of seeking truth from facts and in measured and appropriate ways. □

On the Party Resolution

Differentiations Are Necessary

by Zhang Bizhong, a staff member of
"Renmin Ribao"

MAO Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China, the proven correct theoretical principles of the Chinese revolution, the summation of experiences and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China. The most significant contributions to the development of Mao Zedong Thought were made by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Specific Content of Mao Zedong Thought

A new period of Chinese history began with the introduction of Marxism into China. Marxism brought to light the basic law of historical development and provided the general principles for revolution, but it could not furnish a ready-made formula for waging revolution in China. Immaturity in the initial stage of our Party's development caused it to commit dogmatic mistakes and regard foreign experiences as sacrosanct on the question of how to deal with Marxism correctly. As a result, the revolution reached an impasse. It was precisely because Comrade Mao Zedong successfully combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and made a theoretical genera-

lization of the original experiences gained in the Chinese revolution that Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific guideline suited to China's actual conditions, emerged. As a guideline for the Chinese Communist Party, it led the revolution from victory to victory. At the same time, in the course of the formation of Mao Zedong Thought, many eminent Party leaders such as Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De also made outstanding theoretical contributions and enriched the theoretical treasure house of Mao Zedong Thought.

As a scientific term, Mao Zedong Thought has a specified content. At the Seventh National Congress of the Party in May 1945, Comrade Liu Shaoqi expounded on Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding contributions in his report on the revision of the Party Constitution. He formally put forward the concept of "Mao Zedong Thought," which was written into the Party Constitution of the Seventh National Party Congress. In the General Programme of the Party Constitution, it was written: "The Communist Party of China, which takes Mao Zedong Thought — the thought that unites Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution — as the guide for all its work,

opposes any dogmatist and empiricist deviations." At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his "The Working Principles for 'the Seventh National Congress of the Party,'" said that he was not always correct and that not all of his viewpoints were Marxist. He said: "I myself have made mistakes. I wrote an article in 1927 which contained Marxist viewpoints but there were also non-Marxist viewpoints on economic questions. These were mistakes. In addition, over the past 20 years, I have committed many mistakes in military, political and Party affairs. I did not write them down but that does not mean they did not occur. For the truth of the matter is that I have made mistakes."

This statement shows that when the Party first put forward the scientific concept of Mao Zedong Thought, it did not confuse Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes with Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong made tremendous contributions to the formation of Mao Zedong Thought, but one cannot say that Comrade Mao Zedong can be equated to Mao Zedong Thought or that every word Mao uttered and every article he wrote, much less his personal mistakes, belong to Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought means the correct theoretical principles for the Chinese revolution and the summation of experiences; it does not mean a collection of Comrade Mao Zedong's personal statements and thoughts; Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of collective wisdom and not solely the results of his own efforts.

The Heart of Mao Zedong Thought

Comrade Mao Zedong committed serious mistakes in his later years. These mistakes found expression mainly in his "Left" guidelines for work and in his initiation and leadership of the "cultural revolution."

Seeking truth from facts is the heart of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong, however, often violated this principle during his later years. For instance, in socialist construction, he sometimes lacked an adequate understanding of the objective economic law and China's actual conditions. Overanxious to achieve quick results, he tried to end China's backwardness within a comparatively short period of time by adopting the methods of "quick decisions" and "big leaps forward." Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years also made some erroneous assessments of China's political situation. He advocated "taking class struggle as the key link" and declared that there

was a bourgeois headquarters within the Party and that the leadership in a considerable number of units was not in the hands of the people. These erroneous assessments of objective reality led to the tragic results of the "cultural revolution."

Also at the heart of Mao Zedong Thought is the concept of the mass line, that is, from the masses and to the masses. The "cultural revolution," however, went against this correct line which took shape in our Party over many years and which Comrade Mao Zedong himself consistently advocated. As the "cultural revolution" developed, society became more and more chaotic; the people became disgusted with such a situation, hoping for its early conclusion and the ushering in of a stable environment for socialist construction. Clearly the "cultural revolution" in essence went against the wishes of the people.

The mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years also ran counter to the correct theses he himself once held. For instance, in his scientific thesis concerning the need for a correct handling of the two types of contradictions differing in nature, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses have in the main come to an end. But during his later years, he vigorously advocated large-scale class struggles of a mass character; he even said that such chaotic mass movements as the "cultural revolution" should be launched once every few years. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently maintained that democratic centralism should be practised within the Party, that one should let others speak up and raise criticisms and not conceal one's own shortcomings; yet during his later years, he acted arbitrarily and refused to acknowledge any criticism.

It is unavoidable that all great figures, including many great proletarian revolutionaries, will have shortcomings and make mistakes of one kind or another. The mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years were the mistakes of a great Marxist. They were only secondary to his great contributions. One must not deny that Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years because of his contributions; nor must one negate his contributions and the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought simply because of his later mistakes.

In the history of the development of Marxism, Marxism-Leninism has always been a scientific term with a definite meaning. Can Marxism be equated exactly to Marx? No. Marx

made outstanding contributions to the formation and development of Marxism; however, Marxism is not the product of Marx's contributions alone, but the result of collective wisdom. Engels, for example, made outstanding contributions to it, a fact which was acknowledged by Marx himself. Even though people never referred to Marxism as Marx-Engels-ism but named this scientific ideological system after Marx; nevertheless, this did not constitute a denial of Engels' important contributions. In

the course of leading the proletarian struggle, Marx displayed shortcomings and committed some mistakes, for which he made serious self-criticisms. Today, when we speak of Marxism, we mean the scientific ideology jointly created by Marx and Engels, not just Marx's statements, much less his mistakes. Under no circumstances should one confuse a leader's mistakes with the scientific ideological system named after him or describe the mistakes as a component part of the scientific system. □

Personal Feeling Cannot Replace Scientific Analysis

by Liu Xiuzhen, deputy leader of a medical team of a PLA unit

MY parents died when I was barely 10 years old. It was before liberation, so I was forced to go begging in the streets. Later, I was adopted into a family as a child-bride, but life did not improve much for me as I endured much torment there. Just when I doubted whether I would be able to survive, the Chinese Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army led by Chairman Mao liberated my village and saved me. I joined the people's army and learnt to do medical work. I did well, for which I was awarded by the Party and the army. Chairman Mao received me on a number of occasions and he even gave his autograph. It is amazing to realize that I have risen from the depths of old society to the positions of an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League and a leading member of the All-China Women's Federation. In my mind, the Party and Chairman Mao are my second parents.

When Chairman Mao died, I wept for hours. I taught my children to always remember Chairman Mao. I loved to hear people praise the Chairman and felt unhappy when I heard anyone talking about his mistakes. I turned a deaf ear to the discussion in 1978 about practice being the only criterion of testing truth, which prompted quite a few to talk about Chairman Mao's errors. Sometimes I would get into heated arguments with such people.

Not long ago, the Party's Sixth Plenary Session adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the

Founding of the People's Republic of China, which carried an assessment of Chairman Mao. I had to take the issue seriously. I carefully read the resolution and thought about it in connection with my own experiences and ideology. Finally I realized that I had allowed my personal feelings to get in the way of scientific analysis.

Personality Cult

My feelings of gratitude to Chairman Mao led me to believe that such a great man could not commit mistakes. I thought everything he said was correct. Ordinary people like me should merely abide strictly by his teaching, never make improper comments on his merits or shortcomings. Respect for the leader and the personality cult were two different things, and should not be confused. Now I realize that my ideas were in fact influenced by the personality cult; I did idolize the leader. It is indeed unscientific and undiscerning to let one's personal feelings interfere with how one evaluates a revolutionary leader's historical role and his merits.

Speaking frankly, it is quite natural for people like me to cherish Chairman Mao's great contributions to the Chinese revolution and love and respect him. However, I forgot the following basic principles: 1) the revolutionary leader's role is important, but the masses of people are the makers of history; we should not see all our victories and happiness as the contribution of one leader; 2) a leader is a human being not

a deity. Though he made great contributions, it is impossible for him not to make a single mistake; 3) within the Party, every Party member is politically equal irrespective of his post and contributions. The leader should consult the rank-and-file members and they, in turn, are in a position to criticize the leader through proper channels. This is a relationship between comrades within a proletarian political party, which is very different from the relationship between a monarch and an official and between the monarch and a subject in feudal society. Though I have been a Party member for more than 30 years, I did not have a true understanding of the principles governing political life inside the Party.

Too Much Gratitude Can Be a Problem

In the past, I refused to think that my leader could make mistakes. Later, as the discussion on the criterion of truth deepened, I began to realize that Comrade Mao Zedong had in fact committed some errors. But I thought that it was improper to talk about them in public, given the fact that he was such a great leader. If his mistakes were made public, I thought, it would ruin his image and undermine the Party's prestige. Also people like me who had followed Chairman Mao in making revolution for decades might start to have some misgivings. After I studied the resolution, I decided my approach was wrong. What Chairman Mao taught and what our Party has traditionally observed in its style of work is that one should persist in what is in the interests of the people and correct what is not in the interests of the people. To point out Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes as they actually are and to assess his merits and mistakes appropriately is correct; we are obliged to have such a serious attitude towards people and history. Such an attitude is also needed to restore Mao Zedong Thought as it is and to maintain the Party's prestige. His mistakes, like his contributions, are objective. It won't do to try to evade them and it is harmful to try to cover them up. Only by bringing them into the open and assessing them scientifically can a correct conclusion be drawn and a clear understanding be gained by the public. The Party's sixth plenary session pointed out in its resolution that Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions far outweighed his mistakes. The resolution defined Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position as the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people and called for a differentiation of Mao Zedong

Thought from those mistakes he committed during his later years. Such an analysis safeguards Chairman Mao's great image and safeguards Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding thought of our cause. Such an analysis is also to the credit of our Party, as it reveals its wisdom and greatness.

We should not deny Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions and the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought just because he committed mistakes during his later years. Nor should we be unwilling to admit his mistakes in a down-to-earth manner just because we want to safeguard his prestige. How to assess the leader is a matter of consequence affecting the whole situation. Therefore, it is necessary for one to adopt a serious and responsible Marxist attitude, a method of scientific analysis. If one assesses and treats the leader on the basis of one's personal feelings, one certainly cannot draw conclusions which tally with objective reality and stand the test of history. In such circumstances, it is impossible to learn from our past. □

(Continued from p. 13.)

handling contradictions among the people, we must conduct criticism and self-criticism out of the desire for unity and strive to achieve unity on a fresh basis. Through criticism of and struggle against erroneous tendencies, we must actively develop literary and artistic critiques, so that criticism will become a regular practice and be built on a sound basis.

Improper and excessive criticism and struggle carried out in the past in literary and artistic field had bad consequences. We must draw a lesson from it and not launch any more political movements. We must try to set the minds at ease of those who have well-meaning concern about the development of our art and literature by reminding them of the fragrant flowers that have already blossomed and the sweet fruits that have already appeared.

The literary and art work should continue to keep to the orientation of serving the people and socialism, and follow the principles of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new."

China would continue to assimilate useful things from the culture of other countries, and at the same time actively help people recognize and combat bourgeois ideas and ways.

70th Anniversary of the 1911 Revolution

A Great Event

by Li Xin

THE 1911 Revolution whose anniversary we shall soon be celebrating was a great event in contemporary Chinese history. It was a democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie.

The revolution began with the people's struggle in the four provinces of Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong and Sichuan in the summer of 1911 against the Qing government which sold China's sovereign rights over railways to the imperialists under the pretext of nationalizing the railways. This struggle, called the movement for preserving railway rights in Sichuan Province, raged ever fiercer and soon developed into a gigantic armed uprising in early September.

The Wuchang Uprising broke out on October 10 as a result of the railway struggle in the four provinces, and Sichuan's movement for the preservation of railway rights in particular. Three days later when the army men and civilians seized the triple city (Wuchang, Hankou and Hanyang) of Wuhan in central China's Hubei Province, many other provinces followed suit and, by the latter half of November, 14 of the country's 24 provinces and regions had declared independence. To repulse the Qing government's armed counterattack, the revolutionary army men and civilians of Hubei Province coordinated with relief troops from Hunan Province in waging a heroic struggle to defend



Wuhan. On December 2, the united revolutionary army formed after the independence of Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces took Nanjing after a fierce fight. Then representatives from all the independent provinces met in Nanjing and formed the Provisional Government of the Republic of China with Sun Yat-sen as its provisional president. This spelled the end of the Qing government's autocratic rule as well as China's feudal monarchy.

The 1911 Revolution was the climax of the anti-Qing revolution led by Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary League). But it did not embrace all anti-Qing revolutionary struggles. The Guangzhou Uprising on March 29 (Lunar calendar), for instance, should not be regarded as an episode of the 1911 Revolution, for it had no direct link with the revolution though it occurred in the same year and was an extremely heroic struggle.

The anti-Qing struggle had a long history. From the time the Manchu aristocrats conquered China by force in 1644, the various nationalities' struggle against oppression and racial discrimination, particularly the struggle of the Hans, the most populous nationality with the longest history, had never ceased. Though most Han landlords were later won over by the Qing government and established an alliance of reactionary rule with the Manchu aristocrats, the broad masses of the Han people and those scholar-bureaucrats who refused to be ruled by the Manchus had persisted in their struggle against the Qing court.

Great Contributions

After the Opium War in 1840 China was gradually reduced to semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. The Qing government, which had been xenophobic, turned to betrayal of the country to foreign powers while suppressing its own subjects following a series of defeats in foreign wars. After signing the Protocol of 1901¹, the Qing government became a de facto court controlled by foreigners. The Chinese people's struggle against the Qing court thus naturally combined with their struggle against aggression by imperialist powers and for national salvation.

The 1851-64 Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a great peasant

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uprising which was quelled by the Qing government aided and abetted by foreign aggressors. The Yi He Tuan (Boxer) Movement of 1900 was another great patriotic upsurge which was betrayed by the Qing court and consequently put down by the allied forces of eight imperialist powers. These two failures showed that without the leadership of an advanced class, the peasant uprisings in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China could not achieve victory. The failure of the Reform Movement of 1898 signified that the power of the Qing government was still tightly held in the hands of Empress Dowager Ci Xi and other diehard conservatives supported by big landlords and comprador bureaucrats of the Han nationality. The Reformists, representing the orientation of developing capitalism, attempted reform from above through Emperor Guang Xu, who had neither power nor army. Their failure proved that their programme was a mere fantasy of the mind.

What then was China's way out? In 1905, Tong Meng Hui headed by Sun Yat-sen adopted a bourgeois revolutionary programme calling for "expulsing the Tartars (Manchus), recovering China, establishing a republic and equalizing land ownership," which was appropriate in that period of China's historical development. "Expulsion of the Manchus and the recovery of China" were the common desire of the entire Chinese people (except the reformists). "Equalization of land ownership," long-cherished by the peasants, was included in the programme to win the peasants' support, though it could not be realized at the time. "Establishment of a republic" meant to set up a bourgeois state in China which would institute a democratic

republican system. Neither the landlord class nor the peasantry could conceive of this; only the bourgeoisie could advocate such a system, and Tong Meng Hui was a political party of the bourgeoisie representing the demands of national capital, which had initially developed at the beginning of the 20th century. The league had also included workers, peasants and anti-Manchu landlords. Though the bourgeoisie, its main class foundation, was weak, Tong Meng Hui was nevertheless a powerful political force, being based on an alliance of all anti-Qing classes and able to mobilize the broad masses of people with its anti-Manchu slogans.

The Qing government then was extremely corrupt. Instead of following the trend of the time and establishing a constitutional government which would win over the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie calling for reform, it obstinately clung to its course and suppressed the constitutional movement, which pushed the bourgeois constitutionalists to its opposite. It also formed

a royal cabinet which ostensibly prepared for constitutional government but in reality excluded the political representatives of major Han landlords who had always been loyal to it. The railway struggle took place in these circumstances, when the Qing government was extremely isolated. The struggle was brought on by the constitutionalists at the Provincial Assembly. The ruthless suppression by the Qing government, and particularly the promotion and leadership of the revolutionaries, considerably expanded this struggle and increased its intensity till the constitutionalists could not control it, nor could the Qing court put it down. In the end, the struggle developed into an armed uprising which overthrew the reactionary rule of the Qing government. The anti-Qing revolution of the Chinese bourgeoisie led by its political grouping, Tong Meng Hui, had achieved its aim.

The 1911 Revolution contributed a great deal in ending the Qing court's 260-plus years of reactionary rule and nearly



A cartoon carried in a newspaper in 1909, satirizing the Qing government's selling of China's sovereign rights and the imperialist powers' grabbing of the country's railways.

3,000 years of feudal autocracy in China. The revolution also gave the Chinese people a new understanding of democracy so that they foiled all such attempts and schemes as that of Yuan Shikai² to put himself on the throne and of Zhang Xun³ to restore monarchical rule.

Lessons of Failure

The 1911 Revolution, however, only changed China's name from empire to republic and replaced the emperor with a president. China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal social nature did not change. After the revolution, the government of the Northern warlords⁴, representing the interests of the big landlords and capitalists and backed by the imperialists, ruled China. Western-style capitalist society and the bourgeois state as envisaged by Sun Yat-sen did not materialize in China. The revolution succeeded in terms of its overthrow of the Qing court, but it failed to achieve its democratic aims.

ism, and though both were reactionary and decadent, they were powerful when they were united. National capitalism was not well developed in China at the time and the bourgeoisie was very weak. It could initiate a revolution and overthrow the tottering Qing government but, faced with the powerful combined force of imperialism and feudalism, it could only be the loser. The Nanjing provisional government's compromise with Yuan Shikai demonstrated the bourgeoisie's weakness.

Was there not a force that could defeat the powerful enemy? There was, and it was the peasantry. China's peasantry constituted a massive force in the democratic revolution which could succeed provided the peasants were mobilized. But again the weakness of China's bourgeoisie was reflected in its attitude towards the peasants. During the 1911 Revolution, the revolutionaries did not mobilize the peasants

land rent. The bourgeoisie, who lacked strength but refused to mobilize the peasants, could only compromise when faced by the joint offensive of imperialism and feudalism, and this led to the failure of the 1911 Revolution.

This failure showed that democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie was behind the times and impracticable in China, that the Chinese revolution had to find a new way out.

Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Spirit

Sun Yat-sen was a great revolutionary with strong revolutionary will and tenacious, thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. He began his work for China's revolution in 1894 when he organized Xing Zhong Hui (Society for the Revival of China). By 1905 when he founded Tong Meng Hui he had discarded all illusions about the rulers, severed connections with the reformists, and become a staunch revolutionary enjoying popular confidence. He drew up Tong Meng Hui's revolutionary programme and formed his Three People's Principles (nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood) with the programme as basis. At that time the main content of the nationalism he proposed was against the Manchus, and this was reflected in the Tong Meng Hui's programme as "expulsion of the Tartars (Manchus) and the recovery of China." The democracy he advocated called for the 'establishment of a republic' (a bourgeois democratic republic). The people's livelihood he espoused meant equalizing land ownership. Though the programme had a socialist tinge, it was essentially aimed to develop capitalism.

Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, though still carried



Insurrectionary army men patrolling the streets in Hankou.

What was responsible for the failure of this democratic revolution? The targets of the democratic revolution in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China were imperialism and feudal-

and satisfy their demand for land. Instead, the revolutionaries already in power in some places resorted to force to suppress peasants who rose against despots and withheld



Sun Yat-sen as the provisional president and his office in Nanjing.

the nature of old democracy, was the most revolutionary thinking in China at the time. Sun Yat-sen directed the revolutionary activities of Tong Meng Hui with this progressive thinking, exploded the fallacies of the reformists with his revolutionary theories and overthrew the rule of the Qing government by revolutionary armed force. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles prevailed throughout the anti-Qing revolution, but were unable to cope with the powerful alliance of imperialism and feudalism. Failure to prevent Yuan Shikai from ascending the throne, and especially the failure of the struggles against warlord ambitions in Anhui and Hebei, showed the old Three People's Principles as inadequate to guide the Chinese revolution forward. A new revolutionary road was needed.

Sun Yat-sen, with his great revolutionary spirit of constantly forging ahead, finally found a workable, new revolutionary way—the way of new-democratic revolution in alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and

workers. With a revolutionary's bold vision he set about reorganizing the Kuomintang despite opposition by many of its members, and put the above three great policies into practice. He interpreted these policies as new Three People's Principles, which won the support of revolutionaries of all strata. During the anti-Qing revolution led by Tong Meng Hui, and particularly during the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yat-

sen enjoyed very high prestige and became a leader recognized by all members of his revolutionary grouping. After the 1911 Revolution his prestige dropped. The Kuomintang which he led had a complicated membership, alienated itself from the people and accomplished nothing. Sun Yat-sen's prestige rose to its highest after he practised co-operation with the Communist Party and the three great policies formulated as the new Three People's Principles. When he died of illness in Beijing on March 12, 1925, the whole nation mourned his death and many Beijing citizens joined the funeral procession. Sun Yat-sen's name will go down in history and he will be honoured by the Chinese people through the generations. The 1911 Revolution had numerous adherents at one time, but many later dropped out. Only those like Sun Yat-sen, who could go with the tide of history and persist in progress, made new and great contributions to the people.

After experiencing the new-democratic revolution, New



Beijing citizens taking part in the funeral procession for Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1925.

China has embarked on the socialist road under the leadership of the Communist Party. The national independence ardently wished by Sun Yat-sen has long since been realized; people's rights for the vast majority have been won and have developed into democracy for the broad masses; the idea of equal division of land among the peasants as he proposed in his early years and his proposal in his later years for "land to the tillers" have also been put into practice through land reform in the new-democratic revolution. All the demands put forward by Sun Yat-sen in his Three People's Principles have long been met and elaborated in many ways on the mainland of China. New China today is building socialism which is a long-cherished ideal of Sun Yat-sen as expressed in his Principle of People's Livelihood. At present, guided by scientific theories, the Chinese Communist Party is leading the people of all nationalities in their endeavour to accomplish the four modernizations and make China a powerful socialist country with highly developed prosperity, democracy and civilization. All Chinese who respect Sun Yat-sen, support socialism and love the motherland may well learn from the revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen, continue to progress and contribute to China's socialist construction.

NOTES

1. The Protocol of 1901 is a treaty of national betrayal and humiliation which the eight allied forces of Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, Italy and Austria forced the Qing government to sign in 1901 after they occupied Beijing the year before.

2. Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) expanded the Beiyang army and headed the Northern warlords after he was appointed Beiyang Minister in 1901. In 1907 he was

transferred to be Minister of Military Planning and Minister of Foreign Affairs but was soon dismissed from these posts. Supported by the imperialists during the 1911 Revolution, he became the Qing premier. By coercing Sun Yat-sen into resigning and forcing the Qing emperor to abdicate, he later usurped the post of provisional president of the Republic of China. In 1915 he declared the restoration of the monarchy, which met with strong opposition by the entire Chinese people. He died in 1916.

3. Zhang Xun attempted restoration: In May 1917 President Li Yuanhong, who was backed by British and American imperialism, was at loggerheads with Premier Duan Qirui, the latter being sup-

ported by Japanese imperialism. In June, Li ordered Zhang Xun, military governor of Anhui, to go to Beijing as mediator. But Zhang led his troops into Beijing, drove Li Yuanhong from his office and manoeuvred the restoration of the Qing emperor to the throne on July 1, a move opposed by the whole nation. On July 12 Zhang's troops were defeated, ending the 12-day restoration.

4. The Northern warlords, a feudal clique organized by Yuan Shikai. After the 1911 Revolution they usurped its gains and controlled the government. After Yuan died in 1916, the Northern warlords split into three factions. Backed by different imperialists, they scrambled for power and were always at war until they were wiped out in 1928.

For China's Prosperity And Reunification

— A visit to Qu Wu, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang

by Our Correspondent Zhou Zheng

ALTHOUGH there is no regular vacation system for China's government personnel, many older cadres were given a holiday of a week or longer last summer because of Beijing's heat wave. Qu Wu, 83, was especially busy in the summer however as a Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang and concurrently secretary-general of the preparatory committee for commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911. He was active throughout the hot summer in the country's important political activities, routine duties of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, and particularly the preparatory work to mark the anniversary of the Revolution of 1911. And then, since the octo-



genarian Qu Wu was on duty, he received no few calls from people asking for instructions.

When we asked about his youth, he appeared especially vigorous, as though the question took him back to that turbulent time.

As Qu Wu outlined, the Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen toppled the feudal monarchy of over two millennia duration and established the Republic of China. The gains of the revolution were, however, usurped by the Northern warlords, while imperialists continued their plunder of China. This revolution failed to deliver the Chinese people out of the age-old abysmal darkness.

the country carried the item: 'Splashing the Presidential Palace With Blood' and they strongly supported and sympathized with the students' patriotic struggle against imperialism."

All this had taken place 62 years ago, but Qu Wu's excitement as he recalled the days was unmistakable.

Following Dr. Sun Yat-sen

In June the same year, the First National Students Congress was held in Shanghai and set up a national federation of students. Qu Wu was happy to meet Dr. Sun Yat-sen during the congress. He recalled: "At that meeting Dr. Sun encouraged me. He said, 'Your patriotic action in Beijing shows your bravery and defiance of sacrifice and is praiseworthy.' He hoped I would popularize the Three People's Principles, and also that the national federation would lead the students in arousing the people and continue their struggle against the reactionary forces. He also said that China's future was bright." This truly revolutionary spirit of Dr. Sun obviously impressed Qu Wu and encouraged him to devote all his efforts to the success of the Chinese revolution.

Qu also talked about meeting Dr. Sun Yat-sen on two other occasions. One was in November 1924, when Qu Wu was a student at Beijing University. Dr. Sun invited Qu to Tianjin where he asked Qu to propagate his revolutionary policies and act as his personal representative in Shaanxi Province. Dr. Sun told him about the wars among the warlords that kept the people in dire poverty. If this situation continued, China would have no future. When the people lived in misery

and suffering, said Dr. Sun, the only way out was to hold a national conference of representatives from the provinces and elect a legal government that represented the will of the people. Affairs of state should be administered by the people themselves.

In February 1925, Qu Wu left Shaanxi for Beijing to await instructions. Dr. Sun was seriously ill by that time and was confined to bed. Dr. Sun's wife, Madame Soong Ching Ling, was present on this occasion. Qu Wu briefed Dr. Sun on his tour of Shaanxi in Beijing's Tieshizi Hutong (Iron Lion Lane), and Dr. Sun nodded approval when points were made, repeating in his weakened voice "Peace . . . unification. . ."

"I didn't expect that meeting with Dr. Sun to become completely a thing of the past," Qu Wu noted. "Dr. Sun thought of peace and unification during his final illness. His patriotic spirit of placing the national interest above the personal has always encouraged the Chinese people," Qu Wu said.

"Co-operation Between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang"

Asked by this correspondent, Qu Wu related the two occasions of co-operation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang in which he personally took part, and his understanding of Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles.

In the early 1920s when the imperialists stepped up their aggression against China by various means, a split occurred in the Kuomintang because of the rebellions by Chen Jiongming and by warlords in Yunnan and Guangxi Provinces. During this extremely difficult time for the progressive forces,

China was an Entente country during World War I, a victor in name. But the nation was faced with the danger of partition by the imperialist powers. To prevent the Northern warlord government from signing a treaty of national humiliation and forfeiting China's sovereignty at the Paris peace conference, students in Beijing held a mammoth rally at Tian An Men Square and staged a demonstration on May 4, 1919. "Resist the big powers and wipe out the national traitors," they shouted. This was the well-known patriotic, anti-imperialist May 4th Movement, which won immediate and ready response in many parts of the country. Qu Wu, then a student in Xian, Shaanxi Province, was selected to represent the students of Xian and came to Beijing where he went to the presidential palace together with the Beijing students. They demanded a meeting with President Xu Shichang, who dared not leave the palace and requested the students to send in their representatives. Qu Wu was one of the 10 student representatives selected.

"At Qin Zheng Dian (office of the president) in Zhongnanhai, we tearfully explained our demands, but Xu Shichang rejected them. I was desperate and knocked my head against the wall till it dripped blood. The next day's newspapers over

the Chinese Communist Party offered a helping hand to Dr. Sun. Taking the internal and external situation into consideration, he countered the influence of Kuomintang's Right-wing group, adopted the policy of co-operation with the Communist Party, and discussed revolutionary cause with it. With Communist help, Dr. Sun reorganized the Kuomintang, held its First National Congress, issued a revolutionary manifesto, and formulated the three great policies of alliance with Russia, alliance with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. He reformulated the Three People's Principles. At this time too he set up the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy with Zhou Enlai and other Communists at its leading positions. The revolution reached a new high.

Qu explained: "The Three People's Principles are Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood. Dr. Sun invested these Principles with new content to meet the needs of the new historical period. Nationalism meant opposition to foreign imperialism and equality among the nationalities in China. Democracy meant applying democracy that belonged to the ordinary popular masses and not appropriated for private ends by a small number of people. People's livelihood centred on land to the tillers and regulation of capital. His policies won warm response from the people of China and firm support by the Chinese Communists. I myself was determined in my youth to struggle for the complete realization of Dr. Sun's new Three People's Principles in China."

During the Communist-Kuomintang co-operation Qu Wu



Dr. Sun Yat-sen (centre) and Li Dazhao (left), a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, after attending the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in January 1924.

took part in the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1926 and was elected to the executive committee as an alternate member. The situation was excellent at the time. The reunification of Guangdong and Guangxi helped enlarge the revolutionary base areas, and revolutionary personages from various circles came to join. The National Revolutionary Army was dispatched on the Northern Expedition and won a series of victories. When the Northern Expeditionary Army reached the Changjiang River valley on its victorious march, the supreme military authorities of the Kuomintang scrapped Dr. Sun's policy of unity, co-operation and national salvation, and they perpetrated a massacre against the Communists and the people.

Qu Wu keenly regretted the breach of alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang. He added his name on the "Manifesto of Members of the Central Executive Committee" signed by 22 Kuomintang members headed by Madame

Soong Ching Ling, opposing activities undermining unity between the two parties. But the just stand of these people could not retrieve the shattered situation, and the 10-year civil war followed, bringing untold losses to China. Qu lived in exile in the Soviet Union for many years.

The second co-operation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang took place during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), and this time it was to offer joint resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression. Qu Wu returned from his exile in 1938 to work in the legislature of the Kuomintang government, the army university, the military committee of the Kuomintang, the Sino-Soviet Cultural Association, and also in a number of departments in Shaanxi and Xinjiang. Recalling his frame of mind at the time, he said: "Like the masses of China I treasured co-operation between the two parties. Whenever tensions arose in their relationship, I felt worried and sorry."

After victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1945, the Kuomintang supreme military and civil authorities disappointed the Chinese people, who wished for the peaceful building up of the nation, by launching a civil war against the Communists and the people. Co-operation between the two parties was again sabotaged by the Right-wing Kuomintang. In spring 1949, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army had already liberated the vast area north of the Changjiang River, the Kuomintang government at Nanjing was compelled to accept the proposal of the Communist Party for peace talks and sent a delegation to Beijing to negotiate. Qu Wu, then a member of the Xinjiang provincial government and mayor of Dihua city (present-day Urumqi), was advisor to the Kuomintang negotiating delegation. The negotiations failed when the Kuomintang government at Nanjing turned down the carefully considered peace agreement formulated by the representatives of the two sides. Qu Wu returned to Xinjiang where he declared a revolt together with other Kuomintang high-ranking generals and top military and government officials.

Qu said: "The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang was composed of Kuomintang's patriotic democratic personages and inherited and developed Dr. Sun's revolutionary spirit of continued progress. It emerged and developed in the prolonged struggle against Kuomintang reaction and imperialist aggression. The Second Conference of Representatives of Kuomintang Democrats held in 1949 was attended by several democratic organizations of Kuomintang members and other patriotic democratic elements of

the Kuomintang. The conference decided to establish a unified party — the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. Some patriotic Kuomintang generals who revolted and led their troops over to the people's side during the War of Liberation later joined the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, quite a few taking leading posts. In the past 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, these people have directed their strength to China's socialist construction and to struggle against both internal and external enemies. At present they continue to make contributions to China's four modernizations and to its reunification."

A Word to Old Friends In Taiwan

This correspondent asked Qu Wu his opinion on the return of Taiwan to the motherland's embrace, thereby completing China's reunification, and the policy of "unifying China on the basis of the Three People's Principles" as advocated by the Taiwan authorities.

He said: "The reunification of the motherland accords with the people's will and the general historical trend. But 'unifying China on the basis of the Three People's Principles' is a subterfuge for splitting which goes against the people's will.

"Those who today sing praises of the Three People's Principles have not truly carried them out. On the contrary, it is the Chinese Communists who have most faithfully and thoroughly applied the revolutionary Three People's Principles. The Chinese Communist Party declared at the start of the War of Resistance Against Japan: 'The Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen being what China needs

today, our Party is ready to fight for their complete realization.' Now, 44 years later, the Chinese mainland has not only completely implemented Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles; it has surpassed those goals by far. Equalization of land ownership and regulation of capital are examples of goals that have been realized. Nationalization or collectivization of the means of production has been achieved; landlords and capitalists have become self-supporting by their own labour. The system of exploitation and oppression of man by man has been superseded. The wide gap between rich and poor in Taiwan is generally known. Yet the mainland will not expect Taiwan to change its existing system according to the model on the mainland. Taiwan has even less reason to expect the mainland to follow Taiwan."

Picking up a copy of the Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on New Year's Day 1979, he said: "Just as the message states, 'From the day when Taiwan was unfortunately separated from the motherland in 1949, we have not been able to communicate with or visit each other, our motherland has not been able to achieve reunification, relatives have been unable to get together, and our nation, country and people have suffered greatly as a result. All Chinese compatriots and people of Chinese descent throughout the world look forward to an early end to this regrettable state of affairs.'

"Unfortunately, the Taiwan authorities have not only failed to take a positive attitude towards joint promotion of the great cause of reunifying China at an early date; they have placed barriers in the way of postal

links, trade relations, and air and shipping services between Taiwan and the mainland. They have rejected negotiation and co-operation once again between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, all of which are popular demands. I hope this situation will soon end."

Qu also talked about some of his old friends and relatives in Taiwan.

Yu Youren, a senior member of the Kuomintang and Head of Kuomintang government's Control Yuan for a long time, was Qu Wu's father-in-law. Yu longed to see relatives on the mainland, and before he died in Taiwan he wrote many poems cherishing the memory of his home town and the mainland. His wish for China's reunification shone through the lines.

Qu Wu and Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek and the highest authority in Taiwan, once studied in the Soviet Union at the same time, and their personal relationship was close. In their youth, they shared common views and the desire to save and reconstruct China. During a stroll in southern Jiangxi Province, Qu Wu and

Chiang had encouraged each other in their efforts. Chiang had said, referring to himself: "A green seed cannot fly high." Qu already felt that Chiang was not reconciled to his fate and wanted to accomplish something.

Yu Youren once presented Chiang with a scroll bearing the verse: "Evaluating benefit means evaluating benefit to the country. Seeking reputation means seeking lasting reputation." Qu Wu said that he would like to present his understanding of this verse as follows to his old friends in Taiwan: What then is "benefit to the country"? At present, it is the reunification of the motherland. What is "lasting reputation"? Whoever contributes now to China's reunification will have a place in the annals of history.

The artificial separation of Taiwan from the mainland is an unpopular situation. The island will have difficulty maintaining itself separated very long from the motherland. Qu Wu's words in conclusion to the Taiwan authorities were also a verse: "Carefully consider your decision and then firmly carry it through."

has been erected. On the base of this monument are carved two garlands symbolizing the reverence of the Chinese people for those who, actuated by high ideals, died in the uprising.

At the foot of the Sheshan (Snake) Mountain in Wuchang, a red, Western-style building stands in a compound enclosed by red walls. In front of its gate, nestled among green trees and fresh flowers is a statue of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, dressed in a robe and carrying his top hat in hand. On the left, a square-white marble tablet mounted on the red wall is inlaid with two lines of gold words: "Site of Wuchang Military Government," and "Erected by the State Council of the People's Republic of China."

This building at the close of the Qing Dynasty was the Hubei Provincial Assembly. On October 10, 1911, after the Revolutionary Army captured the *yamen* (government office) of the Hunan-Hubei viceroy, the members of the Revolutionary Party [Gong Jin Hui (the March-Together League) and Wen Xue She (the Literary Society), both led by Tong Meng Hui (the Chinese Revolutionary League)] stormed into this so-called popular-will institution. Here they set up the office of the military governor of the Hubei Army of the Republic of China in accordance with the Tong Meng Hui's "General Programme for the Revolution" and issued an open call to the nation. Subsequently, 13 other provinces seceded from the Qing court. Less than three months later, the Republic of China was founded in Nanjing and Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected its Provisional President.

Displayed in the red building are the historical relics of

Vestiges of Wuchang Uprising

by Our Reporter Hua Nianlun

ON October 10, 1911, members of the Revolutionary Party started in Wuchang an armed uprising to overthrow the rule of the Qing Dynasty.

Now, statues of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner and his comrade-in-arms Huang Xing stand majestically in Wuhan. Streets with names like Zhongshan (Sun Yat-

sen) Boulevard, Sanmin (Three People's Principles) Road, Peng-Liu-Yang Road, Lieshi (Martyrs) Street, Shouyi (Uprising) Road, Huang Xing Road, crisscross Wuhan, reminding passersby of the Wuchang Uprising. For the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, the historical sites of this event have been renovated and a new monument

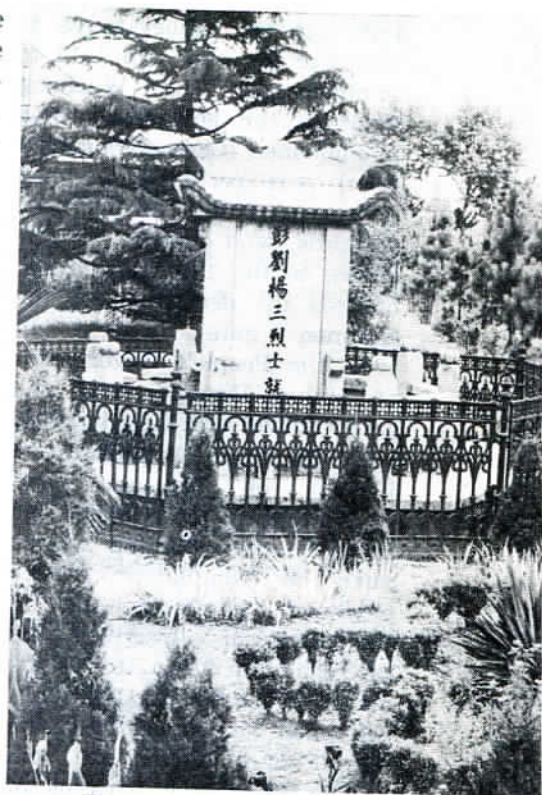
the Wuchang Uprising — swords, firearms, army flags, documents and photos of the Revolutionary Army and a huge oil painting — which brought to us the magnificent scene of 70 years ago the fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation advancing wave upon wave in their heroic fight to overthrow the monarchy and establish the republic.

From Yuemachang (Horse-Watching Ground), where the red building is located, Peng-Liu-Yang Road leads northward to a river. This street is named after the three heroes Peng Chufan, Liu Fuji and Yang Hongsheng who martyred while preparing for the uprising. On October 8, 1911, some revolutionaries in Hankou accidentally detonated a bomb, which they were assembling. Instantly the imperial cavalry rushed out into the towns of Wuchang, Hankou and Hanyang, conducted an extensive search and rounded up revolutionaries. Liu Fuji and Peng Chufan, who were at the uprising headquarters planning the attack on the *yamen* of the viceroy, and Yang Hongsheng, who was transporting munitions, were arrested. In the criminal court, Liu and Peng denounced the Qing rulers' crimes and their treasonable tenet "rather offer the country as a gift to a friendly neighbour than give it to domestic slaves," and accused the Qing court of plung-

ing the country into a miserable state. Speaking with the force of justice, they refuted the interrogators. Yang Hongsheng, who had resisted arrest by exploding a bomb and thus had incurred severe injuries on his face, dumbfounded the court with a stream of refutations and accusations in the courtroom. On the morning of October 10, when the three revolutionaries were led to the execution ground, they maintained their composure and shouted: "Rise, fellow-countrymen!" and "Long live the Republic of China!"

Today, on Wuchang's Jiefang (Liberation) Road, the site of the *yamen* of viceroy, where despotic power was administered, has disappeared without a trace; while at the place where the three heroes were executed, there stands a towering stele in a grove of pine and cypress trees.

South of Peng-Liu-Yang Road are the historical site of the engineer unit of the Eighth Battalion, Chuwangtai and Qiyimen (Uprising Gate). The revolutionaries were very strong in this new-type army of the Qing Dynasty and it was the soldiers of the engineer unit of the Eighth Battalion who started the attack on the *yamen*. Rui Cheng, Hunan-Hubei viceroy, never anticipated that his *yamen* would be stormed and captured by the insurrectionists the night follow-



Monument to the martyrs Peng, Liu and Yang.

ing the day Peng, Liu and Yang were executed.

Chuwangtai was the first major target to be captured in the operational plan of the uprising. At that time, large amounts of ammunition, as well as tens of thousands of rifles and dozens of cannons, some made in Germany and Japan, were stored in this arsenal built by Qing officers. After Chuwangtai was taken by the insurrectionists on the night of October 10, it was designated the command post for an attack on the *yamen* of the viceroy. Here Xiong Bingkun pronounced: The uprising's forces will be called: "The Hubei Revolutionary Army." The *yamen*, the major target of the attack that night, was successfully captured.

Qiyimen was the strategic passage between Wuchang proper and the Nanhu artillery; the artillery detachment of the insurrectionists rushed through

軍政府示

照得漢口地
通商聚華
匪徒藉端
常有放火
擾亂行旅
特設執法
以便懲暴
以安良民

Notice of the Hubei Military Government formed the day after the Wuchang Uprising erupted.

this gate when they came to reinforce the city. In 1912 to commemorate the Wuchang Uprising, this gate then called Zhonghemen (Central Harmony Gate) was renamed Qiyimen (Uprising Gate). The Northern warlords, who detested all reference to the 1911 Revolution, ordered the demolition of the Qiyimen gate tower. In 1956, the People's Government of Hubei Province had the gate tower rebuilt. This year, the State Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archaeological Data under the State Council allocated 200,000 yuan to completely restore Qiyimen. The granite tablet on the gate tower is inscribed with NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying's calligraphy: "Qiyimen." In order to recreate the original appearance and various decorative patterns of this magnificent but simple gate tower, the designers carefully studied the historical data and photos of Qiyimen and toured Wuhan, Jingzhou and other places where they examined the architectural features of contemporary buildings.

In Hankou the mausoleum for

the officers and men who had laid down their lives during the battle in defence of Yangxia has been refurbished. In front of the seven graves of martyrs stands a monument erected in February 1912 and inscribed with the words: "Died for the Sake of the Country." Since liberation, Party and government leaders have often visited the martyrs' mausoleum. Youngsters frequently come to this monument as part of their education of learning to respect the revolutionary traditions, carry on the revolutionary cause and develop China.

The battle in defence of Yangxia, which lasted for 40 days, added an epic chapter to the history of the Wuchang Uprising. Just a few days after the founding of the Hubei Revolutionary Military Government, the imperial court, trying in vain to strangle the nascent Wuchang Uprising, moved the main force of the Beiyang army to Hubei and launched a large-scale attack. By that time, the Revolutionary Army had already grown into a force of 30,000 soldiers. Though half of them had no training and many still in civilian clothes, they pitched into heated struggle. In the face of the enemy troops which were well-equipped, well-trained and many times more numerous, the Revolutionary Army men fought on resolutely.



Statue of Huang Xing.

On October 28, a crucial moment in the defence of Yangxia, Huang Xing, a leader of Tong Meng Hui, hurried to Wuchang and requested that he be dispatched to Hankou to organize a counterattack. The arrival of Huang Xing inspired the Revolutionary Army men, who then fought the enemy with even greater determination. The route along which Huang Xing led his troops in resisting the imperial troops is today's Huang Xing Road.

In the defence of Yangxia, about 10,000 revolutionaries lost their lives, but the Qing forces also suffered heavy casualties. The Wuchang revolutionary base and the newborn republican regime were defended; the fighting will of the people of the whole country was inspired. Uprisings were sparked in other provinces, thus hastening the collapse of the Qing court. □



Newly renovated Qiyimen (Uprising Gate) in Wuchang.

PAINTING

Child Painter

Wang Yani, a six-year-old girl, has become a well-known painter of playful and lively monkeys. Exhibitions of her work have been held in Shanghai, Changzhou, Guangzhou, Yangzhou and Beijing. She has given demonstrations to more than 300 foreign friends from a dozen countries. Jiang Feng, President of the Chinese Fine Arts Association, praised her rich imaginative compositions and her skilful brushwork.

Yani is the daughter of a Zhuang nationality painter who lives in Gongcheng County in Guangxi. As a small child she played in her father's studio. One day, at the age of two and a half years, she picked up a brush and stared at the wall as if composing a painting in her mind. "Do you want to paint?" her father asked. He gave her a sheet of paper. She then told her father to sit down and said in earnest, "Dad, watch me paint!" She painted a picture of some wormlike creatures. Most children who start out in this manner are given little encouragement to develop their artistic potential. However, Yani's father felt she had tried to portray an image in her mind and he encouraged her to continue.

Yani's interest in monkeys grew accidentally. Her father took her to the zoo one day when she was three and a half, and she so liked the monkeys that she cried when it was time to leave. For several days after that, friends took her back to the zoo and told her about monkeys. She soon started to draw

monkeys. Her first drawings were simple: merely a round head. Then she included their hands and feet. Her father intentionally did not give her any guidance at first, letting her use her own imagination and powers of observation to paint. He knew it would take some time for a child to recognize the total features of something.

A leap occurred in Yani's painting ability when she started to count. She began drawing monkeys climbing trees and picking fruit with five-fingered hands.

To provide Yani with more opportunities to observe, one monkey was bought for her. Yani became so fond of it that she shared her food with it. Her drawings improved a great deal. But then after several months, she was tired of it, feeling that her pet was less lively than the monkeys in her drawings which could dance, water trees and play tug-of-war.

Yani has painted more than 4,000 scenes of monkeys in the past three years. One of the paintings is four metres long with 51 monkeys.

Yani's lively monkey paintings are marvellously composed and display a rich imagination. They reveal her attempts to integrate her painting of monkeys with her life and to personify them. One of her pictures shows a baby monkey kissing its parent. "It is me kissing my father," she explained. When an American scientist gave her a calculator, she immediately painted several monkeys taking a maths exam. Some were wholly absorbed in the test, some were scratching their heads, and two were hold-

ing fruit which would be awarded to the winner.

Wang Yani is typical of many young children who have picked up the brush with relish and are learning to become accomplished painters.

LANGUAGE

Shorthand Promoted

The Beijing Shorthand Association, the first such organization in China, was established last month. It has 150 members including reporters, professors and writers. Tang Yawei, a 67-year-old shorthand teacher and founder of China's first shorthand school at Chongqing in 1938, was elected president.

Attempts to develop a modern Chinese shorthand began at the end of last century; the early systems utilized the phonetic method. Since then more than 100 systems have been invented, including those for standard Chinese pronunciation and local dialects. Among them geometric form is comparatively common. Chinese cursive writing, with its long history, also can be considered a form of shorthand.

More and more people are eager to study shorthand. A course to be offered in Beijing received more than 15,000 applications one week after an advertisement appeared in a Chinese paper. In addition to those in Beijing, there are over 20 schools, correspondence courses and classes for shorthand.

The newly established association will promote both domestic and international exchanges.



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