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# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

## 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF CPC

Chairman Hu Yaobang's Speech

Pictorial History • Review of Documentary Film



## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Chairman Hu's July 1 Speech

Full text of anniversary speech by newly elected Chairman of the CPC Central Committee — the Party's achievements and historical experience, and the means to strengthen the Party (p. 9).

### 60 Years of Courageous Struggle

Four pages of photos showing highlights of Party history (pp. 14-17).

### Ode to the Pioneers

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### The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

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Soviet intervention in Poland

takes many forms, but Moscow will have to think twice before resorting to direct military intervention (p. 26).

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### Learning From the Advanced

**Now you advocate learning from Shanghai in industry. What about advanced foreign technology?**

There is no contradiction between learning from Shanghai and learning from foreign countries.

The closed-door policy is no longer followed in China. Instead, we have adopted a policy of opening to the outside world and learning from the advanced techniques of production and management in foreign countries to speed up China's four modernizations. This policy will not be changed.

China's biggest industrial city and economic centre, Shanghai is a relatively developed industrial base with a strong technical force and a high level of management skill. It leads the nation in many economic targets. Its per-capita GNP, for one, was 1,590 US dollars in 1979. The labour productivity of industrial enterprises owned by the whole people in that city is two and a half times that of the nation's average, and profit from every 100 yuan of fixed assets is four times that of the nation's average.

For a long time in the past, Shanghai has assimilated the advanced techniques and methods of management of foreign countries to create a set of new and effective techniques and management methods suited to its own conditions. For other parts of the country, Shanghai's experience is easier to learn and will prove more effective. In places where the level of production is low, there is neither the necessity nor the possibility for the time being to adopt the

most advanced foreign techniques. If all the industries in the country attain the present level of production in Shanghai, the output value of the nation's existing fixed assets will increase by one and a half times, and the quantity and quality of the products will also be raised by a big margin. Thus learning from Shanghai is a most practical way in tapping the potential and raising the economic results of China's industries at present.

Learning from Shanghai and from other coastal cities, such as Tianjin and Guangzhou, means in a broad sense learning from the advanced experiences at home. The level of industrial development in the coastal areas is more advanced than that of the hinterland.

**China has cut down its military expenditures. Is it because threat from the Soviet Union is not as serious as it was before?**

We have reduced our military expenditures because we are readjusting our national economy. There are no other implications. We must check inflation, stabilize prices and strive to wipe out financial deficits this year. The scale of capital construction must be drastically reduced and government outlay curtailed, and this includes military spending.

The Soviet threat is still there. Over a million Soviet troops are deployed along the Sino-Soviet border and its strategy for world domination remains unchanged. The Chinese people always maintain high vigilance

Learning from Shanghai will not take on the scale of mass movements of the past, and instead of following one and the same way, every enterprise must take its own conditions into consideration. In short, it is expected that through this movement the general level of the management will be raised, the quantity of the products increased, and their quality improved.

Of course, Shanghai still has a long way to go to catch up with the level of the developed countries. It is necessary, therefore, to quickly master the advanced management methods and scientific achievements, assimilate them and evolve new techniques suited to China so as to raise the level of our industries as a whole.

— Economic Editor  
Wang Dacheng

### National Defence

towards the Soviet Union. In dealing with the hegemonists, we rely on our traditional method — people's war, using poor equipment to overwhelm the better equipped enemy and using a weak force to defeat the strong. It is known to all that China used people's war to defeat the imperialist aggressors who were armed to the teeth.

It is our wish that there will be a peaceful environment for a long time to come in order to carry out national construction. But if anyone were to impose war on us, we are not afraid, and although we are poorly equipped, we do not worry because we know sophisticated weapons alone cannot solve all problems.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

## LETTERS

### Opposing Soviet-US Hegemonist Contention

I hold that China is playing a very important role in defending world peace and fighting against the two superpowers.

It is well-known that the two superpowers will not desist from their arms race for even a single day. After invading Afghanistan, the Soviet Union began cherishing the ambition of interfering in Poland. While putting its claws into the countries in the Persian Gulf and Africa, it started edging its way into the Asian countries through their Vietnamese puppet. Taking advantage of the Latin American people's struggle for independence, the Soviet Union is also attempting to penetrate into Latin America. It styles itself as the most important "defender" of the Latin American people and uses Cuba to interfere in Latin America under the guise of offering disinterested assistance.

The United States does not resign itself to lag behind. It supports the fascist regimes in Latin America in order to maintain its sphere of influence there. In Europe, it attempts to strengthen NATO by supplying more rockets and arms, as well as by urging more countries to join the organization.

This is the general situation of the two superpowers. There is an ever-increasing trend towards a third world war.

If a new war breaks out, serious consequences will be suffered by people throughout the world.

Jose Antonio  
Madrid, Spain

### Disarmament

Very little has been published on the Chinese attitude towards disarmament. And yet the Chinese delegates to the UN Disarmament Committee have put forward serious proposals in the past two years. It is particularly gratifying that China accepts the principle of the proportionate reduction of armaments, on condition that there is a "drastic reduction" first by the

two superpowers, following which the other nuclear and militarily significant states would join in.

On May 19, 1981 Professor George Kennan, the distinguished former US diplomat and historian, called in Washington for a 50 per cent across-the-boards reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the US and USSR. This call deserves global support. Could you discuss these questions and give full publicity to the Chinese proposals for nuclear and conventional disarmament?

John Gittings  
London, UK

### China Stands on the Side of The Oppressed Nations

The international editor Mu Youlin is right in all the observations he has made. The editor has made it quite clear that China still stands firmly on the side of the oppressed nations throughout the world. The recipients of any aid from China are not by any means "enslaved," rather they are urged to embark on ways and means of future self-reliance. I have experienced this in my country because we are now able to grow more rice thanks to the Chinese experts who are helping the farmers in our country. We have not heard of any strings attached to that.

E.U. Adombang  
Momo, Cameroon

### Statistical Compilation

I am delighted that with the new emphasis on proceeding from facts and taking practice and reality as the only guideline, China is starting to improve its statistical compilation and reporting seriously. This is a healthy development as without reliable and systematic statistics, social and economic works will proceed in darkness. This will also make an objective evaluation by outsiders easier, and this may be of reference value to those inside the nation and participating in the reconstruction work.

Hanson Leung  
Alta., Canada

In the No. 20 issue of *Beijing Review*, you published a special report on the Communiqué on Fulfilment of China's 1980 Na-

tional Economic Plan. It was a very interesting report and taught me and my students a great deal about China's recent achievements. However I do have one question.

On page 20 you wrote that 9 million people were employed in 1980 and that the total number of workers and staff members newly employed in units owned by the whole people and collectively owned units came to 4.77 million. Where did the 4.23 million others get their new jobs? Were they mostly created by retirement? Or by assignments to the private jobs in the cities and farming jobs in the countryside.

Deborah Friedmann  
New Haven, CT., USA

*The figure of 4.77 million jobs represents an absolute increase of the jobs in the state and collective sectors. The number of jobs made available by natural attrition and people returning to school or joining the army has already been deducted. The new private jobs in the city are included in the 9 million but the jobs opened up in the countryside are not. If they were, the 9 million figure would be much larger. In general, our employment figures for the nation do not include the job situation in the countryside.*  
— Ed.

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



## POLITICAL

### Three Million Youth League Members Join the Party

A total of 3.2 million members of the Chinese Communist Youth League joined the Communist Party between 1977 and 1980.

Most of these new Party members make up the backbone of the nation's industrial and agricultural production, scientific research, education and national defence. Many have made outstanding contributions in defending the motherland or in building a modernized socialist country.

Qualified League members and other young people are admitted into the Party in accordance with the principle of active training and careful selection by Party committees at various levels, which pay special attention to their applications to join the Party. Among the 4,845 Party members in Shanghai's textile industry who were admitted in the last four years, 1,032 were under the age of 25. In 1980 Beijing recruited 3,775 Party members under the age of 35. Of these 2,656 were model Youth League members under 28 years of age.

At Qinghua University in Beijing where, like other universities and colleges in China, great importance is attached to the students' ideological and political education, more than 500 Youth League members among the students applied to join the Party. So far 77 have been admitted.

In the last four years, about 50,000 League members of mi-

nority nationalities in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet have joined the Party.

After the Chinese Communist Party led people throughout the country to end the 10 tumultuous years of the "cultural revolution," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee convened at the end of 1978. Increasing numbers of Youth League members and other young people have applied for membership. They show more love for and have more faith in the Chinese Communist Party. In his application to join the Party, a Beijing League member wrote: "Repeated comparisons told me that there is no other society which is better than a socialist society and no other political party that is better than the Communist Party. History has forcibly proved that only socialism can save China."

## ECONOMIC

### Monetary Figures Released

At the end of 1980, China's foreign exchange reserves amounted to 2,262 million US dollars and its gold reserves 12.8 million troy ounces, according to statistics released by the People's Bank of China on July 3.

The 1980 monetary figures released also include the state credit balance, deposits received and loans granted by the rural credit co-operatives and exchange rates between Chinese and foreign currencies. (Detailed figures of 1980 will be carried in our next issue.)

The People's Bank of China also announced that it would

publish monetary statistics regularly beginning from this year. This announcement stated: "The publication of national monetary statistical figures will provide important information to the public and the departments concerned on the development of the economy, helping them to supervise the economic work and conduct economic theoretical research. This information will also contribute to a better understanding of China by foreign countries and the promotion of economic exchanges and co-operation."

### Importing Technology

#### — New Pattern

China will continue to import advanced techniques and equipment suited to China's conditions.

This policy holds good throughout the period of economic readjustment. Some changes, however, have been made with regard to its execution.

**Reducing the Scale.** The building of a number of large projects with imported technology or equipment has been stopped or postponed as a result of the reduction of scale in capital construction. Both in 1979 and in 1980, the total amount of transactions for imported techniques and equipment was around 1,800 million US dollars, which was much less than in 1978.

The import of complete sets of large or medium-sized equipment has in the main been stopped, since this is too costly and disadvantageous to the development of China's own

machine industry. No such purchases were made last year.

**Stress on Key Projects.** In the past two years advanced technology and equipment were imported for the development of energy resources and the expansion of the building materials industry, communications and transport and other weak links in the national economy. Priority was also given to importing technology and equipment that would help expand the country's export capability.

About 100 sets of mechanized coal-cutting equipment was imported in 1978 from Britain, West Germany and Japan. By May this year, 83 sets had been installed and put to use in 19 major coal mines and 32.5 million tons of coal had been excavated. The introduction of such equipment has increased China's average monthly output of coal, an important export item, by 176 per cent.

**Stress on Import of Technology.** In 1980, money spent on importing technology (including lectures by foreign experts) increased from less than 3 per cent in the past to 8.8 per cent of the total amount spent on importing advanced technology and equipment. In terms of number of items, import of technology accounted for half of the total last year.

Stress is being put on mastering advanced foreign techniques as quickly as possible so as to popularize them throughout the country. In Xian, capital of Shaanxi Province in northwest China, the Hongqi Machinery Plant passed on to 118 factories in the province 40 items of advanced foreign techniques. The result was a marked progress in production. Success was also achieved by the Shanghai Petrochemical Complex which,

working in co-ordination with several institutes of higher learning and research institutes, can now produce 46 new kinds of catalytic and other agents.

To further improve the work of importing advanced technology, relevant regulations, laws and decrees are being worked out and will soon be promulgated.

## More Vessels for Export

China has begun exporting vessels in recent years. From May 1980 to May this year, China has signed contracts with customers in the United States, Italy, West Germany, Yugoslavia and other countries as well as in Xianggang (Hongkong) for the building of several dozen vessels totalling more than 700,000 tons.

Though China's shipbuilding industry has a history of more than a century, it is only after the founding of New China in 1949 that the industry has developed on a fairly big scale.

With the expansion of its economy and foreign trade, China needs more ships for its ocean-going fleet and inland and offshore navigation, and this has stimulated the growth of the shipbuilding industry. In the past 30 years, the various shipyards in the country have built 14,000 ships of different types. Now China is one of the countries with the most shipbuilders, plus a fairly large number of engineers, technicians and skilled workers. With factories capable of producing the main and auxiliary engines and navigational instruments, China's shipbuilding industry, which has an annual capacity of more than 800,000 tons, can now build 10,000 to 60,000-ton-class ocean-going freighters, 50,000-ton oil tankers, 16,000-ton col-



Building an ocean-going vessel for conducting surveys.

liers, 7,500-ton passenger-and-freight ships, 10,000-ton-class marine survey vessels and 9,000 hp tugboats.

The *Haijian*, a 17,500-ton-class ocean-going freighter built by the Shanghai Zhonghua Shipyard, was delivered to a Xianggang shipping company in February this year. It sailed to Japan and later to the United States. Experts from Britain and West Germany as well as representatives from a U.S. energy delegation and a Japanese ocean liner company all expressed satisfaction at the performance of the vessel.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Huang Hua Visits Sri Lanka And the Maldives

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua returned to Beijing on July 5 after a successful visit to India

## Huang Hua on Sino-Indian Relations

Speaking at a press conference he gave in New Delhi on June 28, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua said that the major issue in Sino-Indian relations is the border dispute between the two countries.

This is an issue left over from history, he said, and the policies of aggression and expansion of the imperialists and their sowing of dissensions have added to the complexity of this problem. The Chinese side has consistently proposed that the two sides adopt an attitude of treating each other on an equal footing, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and seek through negotiations a fair and reasonable overall settlement of the problem, taking into consideration the historical background and the present actualities as well as the national feelings of the people of both countries. Huang Hua

added that pending a settlement, the two sides should maintain the status quo on the borders and maintain the tranquillity in the border areas. Both sides should actively promote contacts and co-operation in all domains to increase mutual understanding and friendship, and at the same time continue to explore methods for the solution of the border question through appropriate channels. The two sides share identical views in this respect.

Huang Hua reiterated that China is willing, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, to strengthen unity with the people of the world and establish and develop relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries, especially its neighbouring countries.

Both China and India are big countries in Asia and both are developing countries. China is willing to develop friendly contacts with India in numerous areas and to study and learn from each other.

(report in issue No. 27), Sri Lanka and the Republic of Maldives.

**In Sri Lanka.** During his four-day (June 30-July 3) official visit to Sri Lanka, Huang Hua held in-depth discussions with Foreign Minister Hameed on several major problems concerning regional and world affairs. The two sides exchanged views on many questions and found they had much in common. They expressed the hope that the South Asian countries would co-operate with each other on

the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Huang Hua reaffirmed China's support for South Asian regional co-operation. He sincerely hoped that countries in the region would co-operate and resist hegemonism. This benefits not only the peoples of South Asia, but also peace and tranquillity the world over.

Huang Hua expressed admiration for Sri Lanka's role in the non-aligned movement, and in international affairs in general. He also pledged that China

would make further efforts to promote its friendly ties with Sri Lanka.

Particular attention was given to the issues of Afghanistan and Kampuchea in the talks. Huang Hua said that though Soviet hegemonists have occupied Afghanistan, they underestimated the fighting spirit of the Afghan people. The Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are on the defensive, and the Kampuchean liberation forces are fighting hard. With the support of the people around the world, the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples will ultimately be victorious.

Foreign Minister Hameed expressed the view that the international community should continue to seek an early solution to these problems. As long as they remain unresolved, a normal political climate cannot be fostered in this disturbed region.

At a press conference in Kandy on July 2, Huang Hua reiterated: China's support for the move to make the Indian Ocean region a zone of peace. He also said that the peace zone should not be confined to the Indian Ocean alone, but should also apply to the littoral as well as continental countries of the region.

Huang Hua also held fruitful discussions with President Junius Richard Jayewardene and Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa.

**In the Maldives.** Huang Hua paid a friendly visit to the Maldives from July 3 to 4. He is the first Chinese leader to visit this island state since the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1972.

## Importance of Nursing Work

During his visit, Huang Hua paid separate visits to Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom and Foreign Minister Fathulla Jameel. The talks were cordial and views were exchanged on international relations and on ways to further strengthen the friendly relations and cooperation between China and the Maldives.

Huang Hua paid tribute to the important international role played by the Maldives, in particular in the South Asian region. The Maldives has pursued a non-aligned foreign policy, and on important issues it has upheld the principles governing state to state relation. No fundamental conflicts exist between China and the Maldives.

On behalf of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, Huang Hua again extended an invitation to the Maldivian President to visit China. President Gayoom gladly accepted the invitation.

### News in Brief

**Traditional Omani Craft Sails to China.** A vessel straight out of the classic *The Arabian Nights* sailed into Guangzhou on July 1. The ship, the *Sohar*, is a replica of Omani vessels of 1,200 years ago. She had retraced the legendary 6,000-mile voyage to China of Sinbad the Sailor from Muscat, the capital of the Sultanate of Oman. The voyage started on November 23 and lasted over seven months. This wooden ship, powered by wind and navigated with the help of stars, visited Sri Lanka, Andaman Islands, and the Nicobar Islands, passing through the Strait of Malacca before reaching China.

The voyage has strengthened the traditional ties between China and Oman.

Deng Yingchao, Honorary Chairman of the Chinese Nurses' Association and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, stressed the importance of nursing work at a recent meeting attended by nurses in Beijing.

A veteran revolutionary and widow of the late Premier Zhou Enlai, Deng Yingchao criticized the feudal attitude of looking down upon nurses. She recalled the contributions made by nurses in the revolutionary wars and commended those who have done their bit in socialist construction today. She called on the people working in various fields to show greater concern for the nurses in their work, study and everyday life.

There are now 460,000 nurses, or more than half of the total number of medical personnel in China. They are playing an important role in helping develop China's medical and health undertaking. Some problems, however, remain to be

solved. There are, for instance, not enough qualified nurses at present and those who graduated from the regular schools in the 1950s are approaching the age of retirement. During the "cultural revolution" when ultra-Left thinking prevailed, most of the schools for training nurses were closed down for it was held that there was no need for them to have any special training.

Measures have been taken in the past few years to improve work in this field.

— Intermediate schools for training nurses have been restored and more are being established. Nurses who have not had special training will undergo systematic training in rotation.

— The Chinese Nurses' Association resumed its activities in 1978 after a suspension of 12 years. Six symposium for the exchange of experience were held under its sponsorship in the past three years. Many useful treatises were written and books on nursing work were brought out. The association has also put out the periodical *Chinese Nurses' Journal* which has a circulation of 170,000.

(Continued on p. 28.)



Deng Yingchao speaking at a meeting on nursing work.



# Hu Yaobang's Speech

—At the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary  
of the founding of the Communist Party of China

(July 1, 1981)

Comrades and Friends:

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. At this moment, we are all deeply aware that our Party and state are in an important historical period, a period in which we are bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead.

To bring order out of chaos, carry on our cause and forge ahead, we must undo all the negative consequences of the "cultural revolution," advance the great cause pioneered by the Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and pave the way further to socialism and communism for the Chinese people.

## Historical Review

The Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which has just ended, adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China. The resolution reviews the Party's 60 years of struggle, sums up the basic experience it has gained in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, makes a concrete and realistic evaluation of a whole train of crucial historical events, analyses what was right and what was wrong in the ideology behind these events and the subjective factors and social roots giving rise to them, evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's role in history and expounds Mao Zedong Thought scientifically, and indicates our way forward more clearly. The plenary session also took decisions on other important matters. History will prove that it too was a meeting of paramount importance for our Party — a new milestone for our Party and state in the course of bringing order out of



chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead.

Looking back over the path our Party has traversed, we are keenly conscious of the fact that the Chinese revolution has not been smooth sailing. We can say that the 60 years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people, years of ever closer integration, through repeated application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and years when right prevailed over wrong and positive aspects prevailed over negative aspects in the Party. They have been years during which we marched on to a number of victories despite untold hardships and setbacks.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is one of unflinching, heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation and the happiness of the Chinese people?

In modern Chinese history, between the Opium War of 1840-42 and the outbreak of the May 4th Movement of 1919, the Chinese people waged protracted, heroic struggles against imperialism and feudalism. The 1911 Revolution led by the great revolutionary Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing Dynasty monarchy, thus bringing to an end more than 2,000 years of feudal autocracy. However, the way to China's salvation was not discovered through any of these struggles. It was not until the Communist Party of China was born after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the May 4th Movement in China that new vistas were opened up for the Chinese revolution, as a result of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the rising workers' movement in China, and with the help of the international proletariat.

The enemy of the Chinese revolution was formidable and ferocious. But none of the hardships overwhelmed the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China. In a dauntless revolutionary spirit, our Party led the people in rising up to fight the enemy. We Communists and the people depended on each other for survival; we relied closely on the people, and the people had deep faith in us. Our Party steeled itself in the grim struggle and became the most advanced and most powerful leading force in the history of the Chinese revolution and built a new and well-trained people's army. After 28 years of arduous struggle in four great people's revolutionary wars (the Northern Expedition, 1924-27, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, 1927-37, the War of Resistance Against Japan, 1937-45, and the War of Liberation, 1946-49), our Party led the people of all our nationalities in finally overthrowing in 1949 the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolution, a victory which led to the founding of the People's Republic of China, a state of the people's democratic dictatorship.

After the founding of the People's Republic, our Party led the entire people in sustained advance. We thwarted the threats, attempts at subversion, sabotage and armed provocations of the imperialists and hegemonists, and safeguarded the independence and security of our great motherland. Except for Taiwan Province and a few other islands, we have achieved and consolidated the unification of our country. We have achieved and strengthened the great unity of the Chinese people of whatever nationality

and of the workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the country. We have formed and consolidated the broadest possible united front of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and other patriots who uphold the reunification of the motherland — a united front led by the Chinese Communist Party in full co-operation with all the democratic parties. And we smoothly effected the decisive transition of our society from new democracy to socialism. Thanks to the arduous struggle of the whole Party and people, we in the main completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and embarked on large-scale, planned socialist economic construction. Thus, our economy and culture registered an advance unparalleled in Chinese history. However numerous the shortcomings and mistakes in our work and however imperfect some aspects of our social system, we have eliminated the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes and have established the socialist system. Hence, with nearly a quarter of the world's population, China has entered upon a socialist society, a brand new society in the history of mankind. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, this is the most radical social change in Chinese history. It is a leap of the most far-reaching significance in the progress of mankind and a tremendous victory for and a further development of Marxism.

The change is indeed striking. In the 80 years between the Opium War and the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the ceaseless struggles of the people had all failed despite their heroism, and their hopes and lofty aspirations were sadly frustrated. The picture has been altogether different in the 60 years since the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. A new epoch in Chinese history was ushered in. The Chinese people have taken their destiny into their own hands; they have stood up in the East. Never again will the Chinese nation be bullied and oppressed.

In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, we feel with deep emotion that the splendid fruits of the Chinese people's revolution have been truly hard-won. They have been won by the Chinese people in 60 long years of hard struggle under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They have been nurtured with the blood of millions of Communists and non-Party revolutionaries who died before the firing squad, on the battlefield or at their posts.

Let us rise and pay our sincere tribute to



The celebration meeting.

the memory of all the revolutionary martyrs; all the revolutionary leaders and cadres, Communists and Communist Youth League members, veteran revolutionaries and young fighters, non-Party comrades-in-arms and foreign friends who laid down their lives for the Chinese people at different stages of the Chinese revolution over the past six decades.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is one of ever closer integration, through repeated application, of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution?

From the moment of its inception, our Party adopted Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. However, the general principles of Marxism provide no ready-made recipe for revolution in a particular country, especially a big, oriental, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like China. During its formative years, the 1920s and 1930s, our Party suffered again and again from the "infantile malady" of turning Marxism into a dogma and deifying foreign experience—a malady which could not but leave the Chinese revolution groping in the dark and even lead it into a blind alley. Comrade Mao Zedong's great contribution lies in the fact that, in the course of combating this erroneous tendency and in the struggles waged collectively by the Party and the people, he succeeded in integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and in summing up freshly gained experiences. In this way Mao Zedong Thought took shape as the guiding scientific ideology conforming to Chinese conditions. It is this scientific ideology that has guided the sweeping advance of the Chinese revolution from one triumph to another.

Mao Zedong Thought, coming into being and developing in the course of the Chinese

revolution, is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our Party and a summing-up of the victories in the gigantic struggles of the Chinese people. Its theories on the new-democratic revolution, on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, on the building of a revolutionary army, on military strategy, on ideological and political work, on cultural work, and on the building of the Party, as well as its theories concerning scientific modes of thought, work and leadership which will be even more important in guiding all our work in the future, have all added new and original ideas to the treasure house of Marxism. As a theory and as the summing-up of experiences verified in practice, as the application and development of Marxism in China, Mao Zedong Thought has been and will remain the guiding ideology of our Party.

However, Comrade Mao Zedong had his shortcomings and mistakes just like many other outstanding figures in the forefront of the march of history. Chiefly in his later years, having been admired and loved for so long by the whole Party and people, he became overconfident and more and more divorced from reality and the masses and, in particular, from the Party's collective leadership, and often rejected and even suppressed correct opinions that differed from his. Thus, he inevitably made mistakes, including the comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross blunder of initiating the "cultural revolution"; this was a tremendous misfortune for the Party and the people. Of course, it must be admitted that both before the "cultural revolution" and at the time of its inception, the Party failed to prevent Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous tendency from growing more serious but, instead, accepted and approved of some of his wrong theses. We veterans who had been working together with

him for a long time as his comrades-in-arms, or who had long been following him in revolutionary struggle as his disciples, are keenly aware of our own responsibility in this matter, and we are determined never to forget this lesson.

Although Comrade Mao Zedong made grave mistakes in his later years, it is clear that if we consider his life work as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his errors. He had dedicated himself to the Chinese revolution since his youth and had fought for it all his life. He was one of the founders of our Party and the chief architect of the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army. At the most trying times in the Chinese revolution, he was the first to discover the correct road for the revolution, work out a correct overall strategy and gradually formulate a whole set of correct theories and tactics, thus guiding the revolution from defeat to victory. After the founding of the People's Republic, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, New China quickly consolidated its position and embarked on the great cause of socialism. Even in the last few years of his life, when his errors had become very serious, Comrade Mao Zedong still remained alert to the nation's independence and security and had a correct grasp of the new developments in the world situation. He led the Party and people in standing up to all pressures from hegemonism and instituted a new pattern for our foreign relations. In the long years of struggle, all comrades in our Party drew wisdom and strength from Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought which nurtured successive generations of our Party's leaders and large numbers of its cadres and educated the whole Chinese people. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, theorist and strategist, and the greatest national hero in Chinese history. He made major contributions to the cause of the liberation of the world's oppressed nations and to the cause of human progress. His immense contributions are immortal.

While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we deeply cherish the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong. We deeply cherish the memory of the great Marxists, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, and the memory of Comrades Ren Bishi, Dong Biwu, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Luo Ronghuan, Lin Boqu, Li

Fuchun, Wang Jiaxiang, Zhang Wentian, Tao Zhu and others, all of whom were outstanding leaders of our Party and, together with Comrade Mao Zedong, made important contributions to the victorious Chinese revolution and to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu, Deng Zhongxia, Su Zhaozheng, Peng Pai, Chen Yannian, Yun Daiying, Zhao Shiyan, Zhang Tailei, Li Lisan and other prominent leaders of our Party in its formative years. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Fang Zhimin, Liu Zhidan, Huang Gonglue, Xu Jishen, Wei Baqun, Zhao Bosheng, Dong Zhentang, Duan Dechang, Yang Jingyu, Zuo Quan, Ye Ting and other outstanding commanders of the people's army who early laid down their lives for the Party and the country. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, a great contemporary woman fighter who fought together with us over a long period of time and became a member of the glorious Chinese Communist Party before her death, of Cai Yuanpei, the prominent Chinese intellectual forerunner, and of Lu Xun, the great standard-bearer of our proletarian revolutionary culture. We deeply cherish the memory of Liao Zhongkai, He Xiangning, Deng Yanda, Yang Xingfo, Shen Junru and other close non-Party comrades-in-arms of ours who consistently supported our Party. We deeply cherish the memory of Comrades Zou Taofen, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun and Li Siguang, Mr. Wen Yiduo and other distinguished fighters in the fields of science and culture. We deeply cherish the memory of Yang Hucheng, Tan Kah Kee, Zhang Zhizhong, Fu Zuoyi and other renowned patriots who made important contributions to the victorious Chinese people's revolution. We deeply cherish the memory of Norman Bethune, Agnes Smedley, Anna Louise Strong, Dwarkanath S. Kotnis, Edgar Snow, Inejiro Asanuma, Kenzo Nakajima and other close friends of the Chinese people and eminent internationalist fighters.

Why do we say that the history of the Chinese Communist Party is also the history of the triumph of right over wrong and of the triumph of the Party's positive aspects over its negative ones?

The revolutionary cause our Party has embarked upon is a sacred cause involving the radical transformation of Chinese society, a completely new cause never undertaken by our forefathers. The enemy of the revolution was

formidable and the social conditions under which the revolution took place were extremely complex. Therefore, it was only natural that we should make mistakes of one kind or another, and even grievous ones, in the course of our revolutionary struggles. The important thing is to be good at learning through practice once a mistake has been made, to wake up in good time and endeavour to correct it, to strive to avoid a blunder which is long-drawn-out and comprehensive in character, and to avoid repetition of the same grievous blunder.

Our Party was born and grew to maturity in the old society. At the high tide of the revolution, large numbers of revolutionaries joined our ranks. This boosted our strength, but a few careerists and opportunists, too, wormed their way into the Party. This could hardly be avoided. The point is that while transforming society, our Party must pay attention to remoulding itself, and be good at educating and remoulding those who have diverse non-proletarian ideas when they join our Party and good at recognizing careerists and conspirators for what they are, so as to be able to foil their schemes and conspiracies.

The greatness of the Party does not lie in any readiness to guarantee complete freedom from any negative phenomena but in its ability to overcome shortcomings and rectify errors and to defeat sabotage by all alien forces. Let us look back: Isn't this precisely how our Party has fought in the past? Its history contains the grave errors of Chen Duxiu's Right capitulationism and Wang Ming's "Left" dogmatism. There were also conspiracies to split the Party hatched by Zhang Guotao and by Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. There were even the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. However, none succeeded in destroying our Party. The extremely treacherous careerists and conspirators Lin Biao and Jiang Qing exploited the "cultural revolution" to seize supreme power; they committed every conceivable sin against our nation and people, with the gravest consequences. Yet they were finally unmasked and swept into the garbage bin of history by the Party and the people. Isn't this an incontrovertible historical fact? Instead of being destroyed by sabotage or crippled by reverses of one kind or another, our Party has emerged each time refreshed and reinvigorated from the struggle to overcome mistakes and prevail over what is negative. It is our Party that is invincible.

The past 60 years prove that our Party is

indeed a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and a party wholeheartedly serving the people, entirely dedicated to their interests and with no particular interest of its own. It is truly a long-tested party which has acquired rich experience, learnt many lessons and is capable of leading the people in braving difficulties to win victory after victory in the revolution. The role of this great Party as the force at the core of the Chinese people's revolutionary cause and its leadership in this cause are the dictates of history and of the will and interests of the people of all our nationalities, dictates which no force on earth can change or shake.

## A Decisive Turning Point

Comrades and friends!

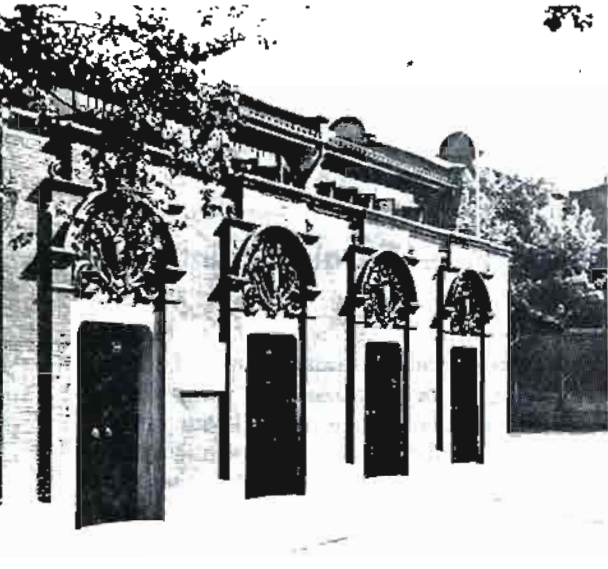
With widespread popular support, our Party smashed at one stroke the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique in October 1976. This saved the revolution and our socialist state and ushered in a new period of historical development. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee held in December 1978 marked a decisive turning point in the post-1949 history of our Party.

The tremendous significance of this plenary session lies in the fact that it really started to correct matters in an all-round, determined and well-considered way by relying on the masses. Since then, right through the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Plenary Sessions, our Party has been working hard with concentrated energy and attention and under difficult and complex conditions, and has adopted and implemented step by step a series of major policy decisions in ideological, political and organizational matters and all aspects of socialist construction, thus correcting the erroneous "Left" orientation. Moreover, in the light of the new historical conditions, our Party has gradually charted a correct course for socialist modernization that is suited to China's conditions.

The most striking change of all is the shift of the focus of work of the whole Party and nation after the liquidation and repudiation of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. The leading organs from the central down to local levels are now concentrating their energy and attention on socialist modernization. Now that liquidation of the long prevalent "Left" deviationist guiding ideology is under way, our socialist economic and cultural

# 60 YEARS OF COURAGEOUS STRUGGLE

—In commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the  
Communist Party of China



Site of the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in July 1921 in Shanghai.



Sun Yat-sen (right) and Li Dazhao (left) leaving the meeting hall of the First National Congress of the Chinese Kuomintang which was held in January 1924, during the period of the first Kuomintang-Communist co-operation. Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong and other Communist Party members attended the congress.



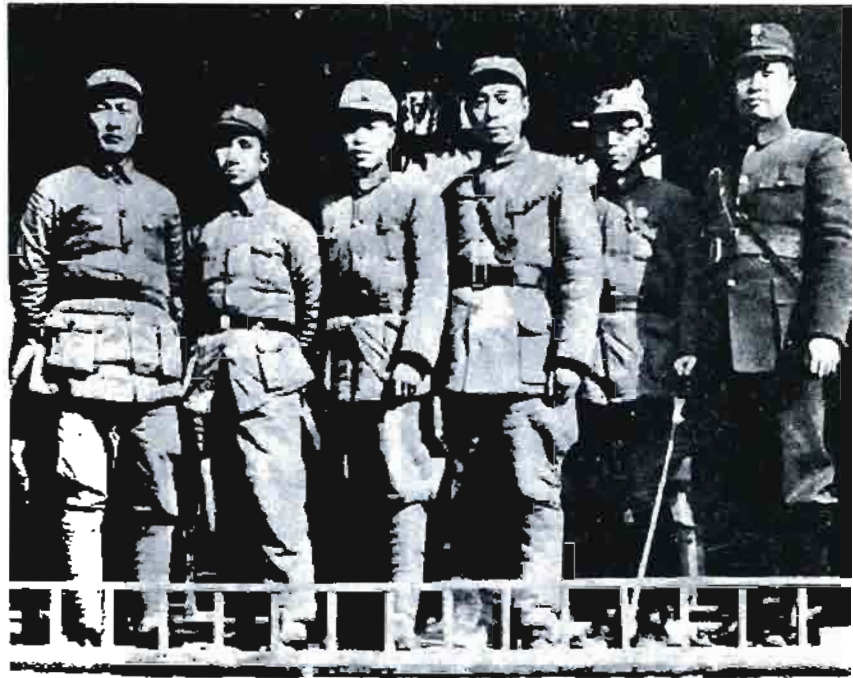
In January 1935 during the Long March, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Zunyi, Guizhou Province. "Left" opportunist mistakes in military affairs were criticized at the meeting which was held in this room. It established the leading position of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Red Army and the Party Central Committee.



The Red Army arriving in northern Shaanxi after the Long March.



The Red Army was reorganized into the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army in 1937 in accordance with the agreement between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to join hands to fight against Japanese invaders. Pictured here are Zhu De (left), commander, and Peng Dehual, deputy commander, of the Eighth Route Army.



Comrade Zhou Enlai in 1939 with some leading members of the New Fourth Army. From left to right: Chen Yi, Su Yu, Fu Qitao, Zhou Enlai, Zhu Keqing and Ye Ting.



Peasants who had just received land in the momentous land reform movement started in 1947 in the liberated areas eagerly volunteering to join the army to support the people's liberation war.



The Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Yanan in 1945.



Comrade Mao Zedong proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China on the rostrum of Beijing's Tian An Men on October 1, 1949.



Workers in a private shop in Tianjin celebrating the transfer of their operation to a joint state-private ownership. China basically carried out its socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production in 1956.



In September 1956, the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing and it put forth the task of building a socialist China.

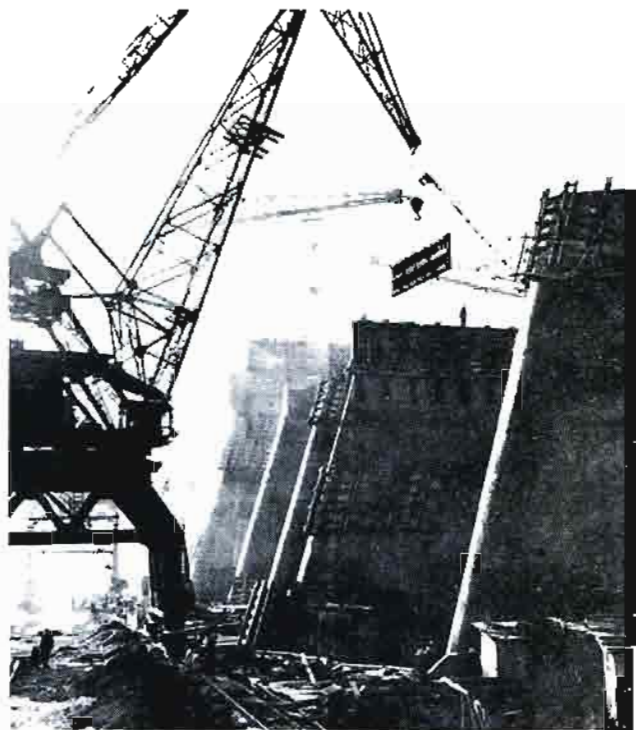


Beijing residents celebrating in Tian An Men Square the overturning of the gang of four in October 1976.





Newly elected Party Central Committee Chairman Hu Yaobang (right) and Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the recently convened Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, another important milestone in the history of the Party.



A corner of the construction site of Gezhouba, China's biggest multi-purpose project on the Changjiang River. The first phase of construction has been basically completed. With the completion of the entire project, Gezhouba will annually generate more than three times as much electricity as was produced in the whole country in 1949.



Shlyan — an automobile-producing city with a population of 300,000 in central China's Hubei Province.

In May 1980, China successfully launched carrier rockets to the southern Pacific, demonstrating the rapid advance of China's science and technology.

construction has been shifted to a course of development that takes into account the basic conditions of the country and the limits of our ability, proceeds step by step, and seeks practical results and steady advance. With the implementation of the Party's policies, the introduction of the system of production responsibilities and the development of a diversified economy, an excellent situation has developed in the vast rural areas in particular, a dynamic and progressive situation seldom seen since the founding of the People's Republic.

In socio-political relations, our Party has resolutely and appropriately solved many important issues which had been wrongly handled over a long period of time, eliminated a number of major factors detrimental to stability and unity and put an end to the social unrest and upheaval fomented in the "cultural revolution." We are now striving to foster socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and reform and perfect the socialist political system. This gives a powerful impetus to the consolidation and development of a political situation of stability, unity and liveliness.

Through organizational consolidation and rectification of the style of work, tangible progress has been made in the normalization of Party life, the development of inner-Party democracy and the strengthening of the Party's ties with the masses. The Party's prestige, grievously damaged during the "cultural revolution," is gradually being restored.

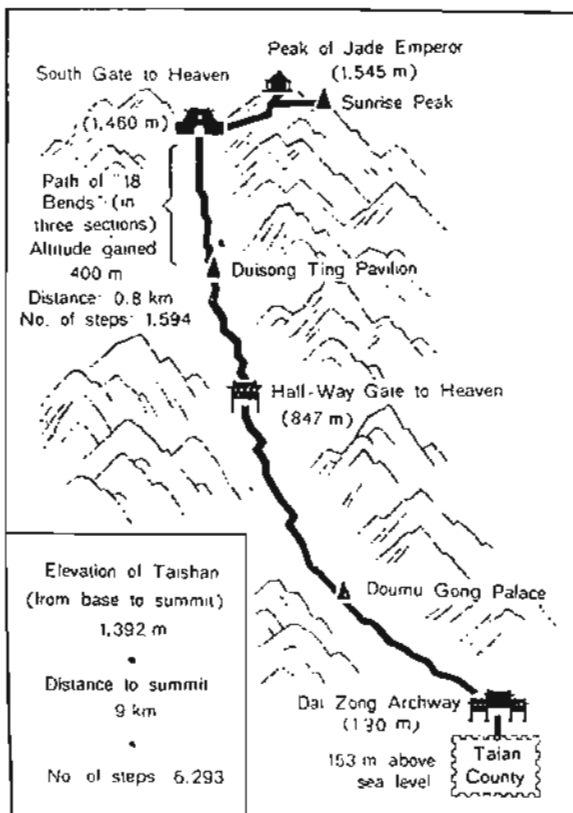
To ensure the proper implementation of the principle of emancipating the mind, our Party has reiterated that it is necessary to uphold the four fundamental principles of the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the Communist Party's leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These principles constitute the common political basis for the unity of the whole Party and the unity of the entire people and provide the fundamental guarantee for the success of socialist modernization.

The great change which began with the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee and our correct line and policies fulfil the common aspirations of the people and the Party. Speaking of the general orientation and major policy decisions taken since the session, many comrades have said, "They suit us fine." These words reflect the thoughts and feelings of the masses and of the majority

of cadres. They explain why the change is so dynamic and irresistible.

Needless to say, many difficulties confront us. We have yet to finish the process of correction, and in various fields many problems remain to be resolved. Our material resources, expertise and experience are far from adequate for the achievement of the four modernizations. The people's living standards are still very low and many pressing problems demand solution. We have yet to introduce further improvements in the Party's leadership and style of work. It is wrong to take these difficulties lightly. Only by taking them into full account will we be invincible. The road before us is still long and tortuous. It is like climbing Mount Taishan: when we have reached the Half-Way Gate to Heaven, we find that the three Eighteen Bends lie ahead of us, demanding Herculean efforts. Until we have negotiated these bends, however, we won't be able to reach the South Gate to Heaven. Still climbing, we will find it relatively easy to mount the Peak of the Jade Emperor, our destination, and only then can we claim to have accomplished the

#### SKETCH MAP OF MT. TAISHAN



Taishan in Shandong Province is famous for its rugged, inspiring beauty, which attracts vast numbers of climbers each year.

splendid cause of socialist modernization. Once at the South Gate to Heaven, we shall be in a position to appreciate the great Tang Dynasty poet Du Fu's well-known lines, "Viewed from the topmost summit, all mountains around are dwarfed." The hardships that once towered like "mountains" will then look small and we will be able to negotiate the obstacles on the way to the "topmost summit" more or less easily. In the course of our long journey, we will certainly be able to conquer the Eighteen Bends, reach the South Gate to Heaven and then ascend the Peak of the Jade Emperor. Once there, we shall push towards new summits.

## Party Building

Comrades and friends!

The historical experience of the past 60 years can be summed up in one sentence: there must be a Marxist, revolutionary line and a proletarian party capable of formulating and upholding this line. Faced with the gigantic task of socialist modernization centring around economic construction in the new historical period, we are deeply aware that the key to the fulfilment of this task lies in our Party.

Now, the entire people has placed its hopes on our Party, and other peoples of the world are closely watching it. Whether or not we can steer the ship of the Chinese revolution onward through storm and stress in the new historical period, whether or not we can modernize our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology fairly smoothly, avoid suffering such serious setbacks and paying such a huge price as in the past, and achieve results that will satisfy the people and win the praise of posterity, all depends on the efforts of all comrades in the Party in the next decade or two. We must not let our people down.

With higher political awareness, we must make our Party a solid core which is more mature politically, more unified ideologically and more consolidated organizationally, and more able to unite with all our nationalities and lead them in socialist modernization.

**1. All members of the Party must work with selfless devotion for China's socialist modernization and in the service of the people.**

We Chinese Communists must always proceed from our basic standpoint with the objective of wholeheartedly serving the people. Serving the people in essence means that our Party must rally the masses round it and, by virtue of



The South Gate to Heaven of Mount Taishan.

its correct guidelines and policies, its close ties with the masses, its members' exemplary role and its propaganda and organizational work, help them to see where their fundamental interests lie and to get united to strive for them.

The people are the makers of history. Both the people's revolution and the construction of socialism led by our Party are the people's very own cause. At all times Party members comprise only a small minority of the population; so we must rely on the people in all our work, have faith in them, draw wisdom from them, set store by their creativeness and subject ourselves to their supervision. Otherwise, we will accomplish nothing, we will fail. Since victory was won in the revolution, the people have become the masters of the country and society. To organize and support them in fulfilling this role and building a new life under socialism is the very essence of the Party's leadership over affairs of state.

For us Communists, serving the people means primarily dedication to the cause of communism and readiness to sacrifice ourselves for the interests of the people. In the years of war,

many of our Party members were the first to charge at the enemy and the last to pull back; they remained staunch and unyielding in captivity, dying as martyrs; and they were invariably the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. What an inspiration and encouragement they were to millions upon millions of our people! Today, in peacetime construction, and particularly after the decade of havoc of the "cultural revolution," we need this revolutionary spirit even more. Although our Party's fine style of work was corroded by the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, there are still large numbers of fine Party members who have maintained and carried forward this revolutionary spirit, a spirit characterized by readiness to sacrifice one's individual interests and even one's own life, for the interests of the people. They have won high praise from the people, and they have earned it. It is utterly wrong to think and act as though the revolutionary spirit may be discarded in peacetime construction and Party members no longer need to share weal and woe with the masses whose interests they may subordinate to their own. That would be to debase our Party spirit.

The style of work of a party in power vitally affects its very existence. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in 1942, "Once our Party's style of work is put completely right, the people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the Party who have the same kind of bad style will, if they are good and honest people, learn from our example and correct their mistakes, and thus the whole nation will be influenced. So long as our Communist ranks are in good order and march in step, so long as our troops are picked troops and our weapons are good weapons, any enemy, however powerful, can be overthrown." Let us firmly resolve to strive to our utmost to restore and carry forward the fine style of work which our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong cultivated, and to lead the whole Chinese nation in building a high level of socialist civilization.

## **2. We must be good at carrying forward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the light of the new historical conditions.**

We have obtained great successes in revolution and construction in the past under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We will obtain new and greater successes in our long march into the future by relying on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for guidance. If we Communists have any family heirlooms to speak of, by far the

most important one is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It has always been our basic and unshakable principle to uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and persist in taking the tenets of Marxism as our guideline.

Marxism is the crystallization of scientific thinking on proletarian revolution; it is our most powerful weapon for understanding and transforming the objective world. Its tenets are truths that have been repeatedly verified in practice. However, it does not embrace all the truths in the unending course of human history, nor can it possibly do so. For us revolutionaries, the theory of Marxism is the guide to action and by no means a rigid dogma to be followed unthinkingly. All revolutionaries true to Marxism have the responsibility to ensure that it does not become divorced from social life and does not stagnate, wither or ossify; they must enrich it with fresh revolutionary experiences so that it will remain full of vitality. Therefore, our fundamental approach to Marxism is that we should apply and advance Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; such is our unshirkable historical duty as Chinese Communists. This is not easy of course. It requires us to make an arduous, lifelong effort to achieve a better integration of the tenets of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization.

We must continue to apply ourselves to the study and investigation of the history of the Chinese revolution. For the China of today has grown out of the China of yesterday, a China about which we know, not too much, but too little. We should especially study present-day China because our efforts to create a radiant future must first of all be based on a comparatively correct understanding of the present. And the trouble is that we don't know much; in fact we still know very little, about Chinese realities today and the objective laws governing the building of socialism.

Our cause is an integral whole and has a single goal. Yet, ours is a vast country with extremely diverse conditions. Therefore our study and understanding of the overall situation and of the situation in different regions must be closely co-ordinated. If we overlook the whole and disregard uniformity, we shall make the mistake of acting blindly and thoughtlessly and with no consideration for the whole in directing the work in specific regions. If we ignore the regions' specific conditions in directing the work of the whole country, we shall make the mis-

take of being guided by our own conjectures and fancies which may have no relation to reality. We Chinese Communists should be revolutionaries who are at once far-sighted and realistic in our approach.

We lay stress on self-reliance and strive to solve our problems by our own efforts and treasure our own experience. But we must never be conceited and underrate the experience of others. We should through analysis absorb whatever is useful in others' experience and lessons. We must therefore earnestly study and analyse the experience of other countries, other regions and other people while studying and summing up our own.

The integration of the universal truth of Marxism with Chinese reality is a long process of repeated cycles of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. In the new historical period, we should emancipate our minds and constantly identify and grapple with the new conditions and problems in our practice and thus equip ourselves with rich, varied and living perceptual knowledge. At the same time, we must set our minds to work and learn more social and natural sciences and their methods in order to raise perceptual knowledge to the plane of rational knowledge, logical knowledge that is more or less systematic, and verify it again and again in practice. We must therefore study diligently, learn from specialists and heed differing views and opinions and, at the same time, delve deep into reality and carry out thorough, systematic investigation and study so as to successfully synthesize our direct and indirect experience.

So long as we proceed in study and work in accordance with this stand, viewpoint and method, we shall be able to put all our Party work on a scientific foundation, make discoveries and function creatively for socialist modernization, thus ensuring the triumphant advance of our great cause.

### **3. We must put democratic life in the Party on a sounder basis and strengthen Party organization and discipline.**

One of the fundamental reasons why the grievous errors of the "cultural revolution" remained unrectified for so long is that the regular political life of our Party, inner-Party democratic centralism and the collective leadership of the Central Committee in particular, had been disrupted. As a result, the personality cult, anarchism and ultra-individualism all prevailed. This afforded the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and other

scoundrels an opportunity they exploited to the full. No comrade in the Party must ever forget this bitter lesson and we must all take warning from it.

We are historical materialists. We do not deny the significant role that outstanding individuals play in history or the significant role of outstanding leaders in a proletarian party. But at the same time we maintain that our Party must be placed under collective leadership to be exercised by those who combine ability with political integrity and who have emerged in the course of mass struggles, and that we must ban all forms of the personality cult. Party organizations should commend all comrades, irrespective of their rank or position, who have made special contributions and achieved outstanding results in their work, so as to encourage other Party members and people to learn from their example. But such public commendation must be truthful and unvarnished.

Appropriate relationships should be established between the leaders and the led in our Party organizations at all levels. Comrades at a lower level must respect and obey the leadership of comrades at a higher level. They must not feign compliance while actually violating or resisting instructions from the higher level. On the other hand, comrades at a higher level must heed the opinions of their subordinates, respect their functions and powers and accept their supervision. Leaders should take part in inner-Party activities just like ordinary Party members, abide by Party rules and discipline and the law of the state, and maintain their ties with the rank-and-file and the masses in general; they must not put themselves in a special category just because they are in leading positions.

Decisions concerning important matters must be made after collective discussions by the appropriate Party committee, and no one individual is allowed to have the final say. All members of a Party committee must abide by its decisions. Party committees at all levels must practise a division of labour and responsibilities to be discharged under the collective leadership of the Party committee, with each member doing his share conscientiously and responsibly and in the best and most efficient way possible.

All Party members are entitled to criticize, at Party meetings, any individuals within the Party, including leading members of the Central Committee; retaliation is impermissible.

Party organizations at all levels and all Party members should give full play to their initiative and dare to work independently and conscientiously in a spirit characterized by boldness in thinking and action. But no Party member is allowed to impair the Party's interests and the common goal by turning the department or unit entrusted to him by the Party into his own independent kingdom.

Our Party's fighting strength lies in its vitality and strict discipline. Now that we are committed to the socialist modernization of the country and our task is most challenging and difficult, we have still greater need to promote this fine Party tradition.

**4. We must be good at keeping ourselves politically pure and healthy and under all circumstances maintain our revolutionary vigour as members of a party in power.**

Ours is a large party with a membership of 39 million and it is a party in power. This can easily make some of our comrades feel conceited and succumb to bureaucratic practices. Confronted as we are with so many new things and new problems, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. Besides, class struggle continues to exist to a certain extent in our society, and the ideological influences of the exploiting and other non-proletarian classes still survive. These facts, combined as they are with the complexities of contemporary international relations, put us in daily contact with the undesirable phenomena of capitalism, feudalism and small production. The contradictions between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology and between correct and erroneous thinking within our Party demand that we make more effective use of the best weapon Communists have for remoulding themselves, namely, the practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every Party member should uphold the Party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the Party and the people and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against. The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our Party.

Our Party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism, gravely undermined in previous years, is now being revived and carried forward, and some new and useful experience has been gained in this respect. In making either criti-

cism or self-criticism, one should base oneself on facts and rectify existing mistakes without trying to hide or magnify them. Criticisms should be offered in a well-reasoned way and should be instructive so that they can help the comrades concerned raise their level of political consciousness; they must not be based on speculation or aimed at intimidating others. We should induce the comrades concerned voluntarily to examine themselves and correct their mistakes. In our criticisms we must not make far-fetched interpretations and unduly involve other comrades at a higher or lower level. So long as the comrades concerned have recognized their mistakes and are willing to correct them, we should encourage them to go on working boldly. Our main mistake in the past was to engage in excessive struggle that yielded results contrary to our expectations; people became reluctant to make self-criticism and were afraid to criticize others. We must change this unhealthy tendency.

We Communists need to practise criticism and self-criticism so that our Party will become more, not less, united and militant. Provided we fully revive and carry forward this fine tradition, our Party will undoubtedly continue to show inexhaustible vitality and will never show signs of decay.

**5. We must select more cadres who combine ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life and appoint them to leading posts at all levels.**

Insofar as experience in struggle is concerned, it may be said that our Party's cadres belong to three or four generations, which shows that ours is a long-standing and well-established cause. It is indeed fortunate that our leading cadres at all fronts are largely veterans who have been tempered in prolonged revolutionary struggle. If cadres can be called valuable Party assets, then these numerous senior comrades are most valuable.

But the laws of nature cannot be changed and, after all, most of our senior comrades are physically not as strong and active as before. In order to ensure that there is an adequate number of successors to carry on our cause and guarantee continuity in our Party's guidelines and policies, we must devote much of our energy from now on to the selection and training of thousands upon thousands of cadres who combine ability and political integrity and are in their prime and give these comrades the opportunity to take part in leadership in various fields so that they may be better and more ef-

fectively tempered through practice. It is now a pressing strategic task facing the whole Party to build up a large contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger cadres.

The older comrades have an especially significant role to play in fulfilling this strategic task. Comrades Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and Li Xiannian have said more than once that although the old comrades may be pardoned for other mistakes, they would be committing an unforgivable historical error if they did not redouble their efforts to train younger successors. The old comrades should work personally with the organizational departments of the Party and the masses in the selection and training of younger cadres and eagerly and enthusiastically guide them to front-line posts of leadership. At the same time, they should free themselves from the onerous pressure of day-to-day work and advance their views and judgments on key and long-range problems. The Central Committee of the Party earnestly hopes that all veteran Party comrades will have the depth of insight and foresight to discharge this crucial historic responsibility to the best of their ability. Meanwhile, it hopes that Party organizations at all levels and all comrades in their prime who have been selected for higher posts will respect and take good care of our veterans and learn as much as possible from them.

At present, we are facing the major task of learning anew. It is the hope of the Central Committee of the Party that all Party comrades and the younger comrades in particular will brace up, strengthen their Party spirit, enhance their political consciousness, set stricter demands on themselves, diligently study Marxist-Leninist works and works by Mao Zedong and the history of the Party, our nation and the world, acquire more theoretical and practical knowledge, and learn more about management and technology as required by their own occupations and specific jobs. The results of our study will determine the quality of our leadership and work and will have a direct bearing on the progress of the socialist modernization of our country. Since we have successfully learnt to destroy the old world, we can surely learn even more successfully how to build a new one.

**6. We must for ever uphold internationalism and cast in our lot with the proletariat and the people of the whole world.**

We Chinese Communists have always integrated patriotism with internationalism.

We are patriots. We have invariably fought might and main for our national liberation, for the well-being of our people and the unification and prosperity of our motherland. We have never knuckled under to any pressure from any foreign power. We have never flinched in our determination to be independent and to rely on ourselves, no matter how formidable the difficulties we have faced. Our country is still relatively backward economically and culturally; but we have always maintained our national self-respect in the face of hegemonist threats of force or in our relations with all stronger and richer countries, and will not tolerate any servility in thought or deed. We are resolved to strive together with the people of the whole country, not least including those in Taiwan, for its return and for the sacred cause of the complete reunification of our motherland.

At the same time we are proletarian internationalists. We have always cast in our own lot with the other peoples of the world in their just struggles and with the cause of human progress. Our struggles have throughout enjoyed the support of the other peoples of the world, and we on our part have always supported the struggles of the world's oppressed nations and people for emancipation, the cause of world peace and the cause of human progress, and we have consistently opposed imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism. Our cause of socialist modernization is at once patriotic and internationalist. Its success will be a tremendous contribution to the cause of world peace and human progress. We hereby wish solemnly to proclaim once again that the Communist Party of China will always live in friendship and co-operation and on an equal footing with all the political parties and organizations in the world which are dedicated to human progress and to national liberation and will learn from their useful experience, and that we will never interfere in the internal affairs of any foreign political party. Even when it becomes stronger and more prosperous, socialist China will belong to the third world and for ever stand by the other peoples of the world, strive for world peace and friendly intercourse among peoples, abide faithfully by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and continue to promote more economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchange and co-operation with other nations: it will never seek advantage at the expense of others or bully weaker nations and will never under any circumstances seek hegemony.

## Unite and Look Forward

Comrades and friends!

The decisions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party were adopted after ample and extensive exchanges of views and discussions both prior to and during the session. Its outcome fully testifies to our Party's ability to safeguard and strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxist principles and to the fact that the political life of our Party has now become much healthier.

Some well-intentioned friends at home and abroad have been worried about our Party's ability to achieve complete unity, while a handful of people harbouring evil designs placed their hopes on successfully sowing dissension so as to undermine the unity of our Party. Now, reality has given them a clear answer: No force on earth can break the Chinese Communist Party's strong unity based on Marxist principles.

Comrades and friends!

We, the proletariat, are the class which commands the future, and our Party has lofty ideals and aspirations. The best way for us to celebrate this grand festival, our Party's birthday, is to learn from historical experience and thus unite and look forward, focusing our attention on unresolved problems.

Socialist modernization is a great revolution. We are undertaking this great revolution in a huge oriental nation left economically and culturally backward by ruthless imperialist oppression and plunder. The fact that China entered upon socialism before developed capitalist countries is due to its specific historical conditions, to the correct leadership exercised by our Party and the arduous struggles of the entire people. It represents a development of scientific socialism and is a credit to our Party and the Chinese people. On the other hand, our socialist cause is bound to meet many difficulties arising from our economic and cultural backwardness. This in turn calls for more strenuous and protracted struggle. We are still living under the threat of aggression and sabotage from outside. Therefore, our whole Party, our whole army and our whole people must more actively apply their revolutionary spirit, heighten their revolutionary vigilance and steel their revolutionary will so as to win victory in this great revolution.

We have suffered severe setbacks in our advance to socialism and paid heavily for our errors. However, these errors and setbacks have made us firmer, more experienced, more mindful of our actual conditions, more sober and

more powerful. We have learnt much from our reverses and mistakes and shall go on learning more. In this sense, our grievous errors and reverses are but fleeting phenomena. We must not overlook that we have a vast contingent of cadres steeled in struggle, that we have built up a substantial material base, that the whole Party, army and people fervently desire a prosperous motherland, and that we enjoy the superiority of our socialist system. All this and the fact that we now have correct ideological, political and organizational lines, constitute the decisive factor that will apply for a long time to come. There is no doubt whatsoever that our socialist cause and the hundreds of millions of Chinese people have a bright future.

The internal unity of the Party and the Party's unity with the people are the essential condition for the triumph of our cause. While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we wish to pay our sincere respects to the workers, peasants and intellectuals who are fighting valiantly on the different fronts, to the glorious People's Liberation Army, the Great Wall of steel that defends our motherland, to the vast numbers of hard-working cadres, to our Party's close aides, the Communist Youth League members who are full of vigour and vitality, and to our fellow-countrymen in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and to Chinese citizens overseas! We wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to all the democratic parties and non-Party personages and friends of all circles who have co-operated with our Party and rendered invaluable support to the people's revolution and to construction.

The unity of the Chinese people with the other peoples of the world is another essential condition for the triumph of our cause. In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we wish to express our deep gratitude to all friendly countries which have entered into relations of equality and mutual assistance with us, and to all our foreign friends and comrades who have rendered our Party and people invaluable help.

Let all comrades in the Party and the people of all nationalities in our country unite as one under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and work hard to make China a modern and powerful socialist country, which is prosperous, highly democratic and culturally advanced! Let us all strive for the supreme ideal of communism!

*(Subheads and boldface are ours.)*



## A Good OAU Summit

THE 18th summit conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Kenya's capital of Nairobi produced positive and constructive results. Representatives of 50 states were present, of whom over half were heads of state or government. This is the biggest gathering of African state leaders for many years.

**The Mainstream.** Discussions at the four-day summit (June 24-28) focused on speeding up the decolonization process in Africa, particularly the independence of Namibia, the controversy over Western Sahara, the situation in Chad and the Horn of Africa, and other important political and economic issues. The resolutions on these matters adopted at the conference showed the OAU's continued commitment to African unity and progress.

The independence of Namibia was one major item on the conference agenda. The meeting began with representatives roundly censuring the South African regime for its apartheid policy and its illegal occupation of Namibia. The United States and several Western countries were criticized for colluding with Pretoria to protect their own traditional interests. They were charged with trying to delay Namibian independence. The resolution on Namibia carried unanimously by the conference reiterated support for the South West African People's Organization as the sole, genuine representative of the Namibian people and for SWAPO's armed struggle. It emphasized that UN Security Council Resolution 435 was

the only basis for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem and called on OAU member states to render material, military and moral assistance to the people of Namibia. It was a manifestation of African determination to free the whole African continent.

**Breakthrough.** An important breakthrough was achieved on the Western Sahara question when King Hassan II of Morocco announced at the meeting that Morocco agreed to the holding of a referendum there. This will create conditions for bringing about an immediate ceasefire and could eventually solve the Western Sahara issue.

Similarly, the resolutions adopted on Chad and the Ethiopia-Somalia conflict are considered to be conducive to speeding up the process of peacefully solving these two issues. The conference decided to give assistance to the Chadian Transitional Government of National Union to help set up a Chadian national army as soon as possible to replace the foreign troops in Chad. Before this, a pan-African peace-keeping force is to be dispatched to take care of the defence and security of the country.

On the Ethiopia-Somalia conflict, the conference recommended that the two countries "take necessary measures to realize normalization of their relations, first with the resumption of diplomatic relations." It stressed that the two sides should seek ways and means to resolve their problem peacefully.

**Common Desire.** The West-

ern Sahara, Chad and the Ethiopia-Somalia conflict are three thorny problems for the OAU. To a very large degree these problems are the result of past colonial rule and tribal contradictions within emerging nations. They are, however, being complicated by superpower rivalry. Both superpowers are trying to take advantage of these disputes and contradictions for their own selfish ends and to improve their position vis-a-vis each other at the expense of these developing countries. As several delegates pointed out at the conference, the plots of the enemies of the African people in the past succeeded because of the opportunities offered them by misunderstanding and differences among the Africans. Speakers at the conference condemned superpower expansion in Africa and appealed to all African countries to strengthen their own defence as well as collective defence, to continue to resist external interference and to resolve their divergences and disputes through peaceful consultations. This is a reflection of the common desire of African countries and peoples to oppose outside interference, safeguard peace, maintain unity and oppose splits in Africa.

There have always been pessimism concerning almost every OAU summit since the organization's founding 18 years ago. Some held that internal divergences in Africa would wreck unity and split the OAU, but time has shown the OAU growing in strength along with unity among the African states.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yi Fei

## Soviet Intervention and Threats

THE whole world is now concerned about Poland. People are discussing from different angles and with anxiety the contradictions and conflicts inside Poland. Meanwhile, they are watching all the more closely for further Soviet intervention in Poland. Soviet intervention has entered a new phase since the June 5 letter the Central Committee of the CPSU sent to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party was made public.

Speaking of Soviet interference in Poland, people more often than not tend to focus on the danger of a possible massive

military intervention as a last resort.

If the poised sword of Moscow has not yet fallen on Poland, this is not at all out of its consideration for the Polish people, but out of the need to consider the price it has to pay in a military invasion and the damage to its global strategic interests it has to sustain.

### Interventionism by a "Patriarchal Party"

Over the past few days, the signals from Moscow have been stern and peremptory. Moscow's propaganda machine has on the one hand ordered the Polish

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**Soviet intervention in Polish affairs has entered a new phase. The Polish nation is being sorely tried. Soviet intervention takes many forms, but Moscow will have to think twice before resorting to direct military invasion.**

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Soviet military intervention. However, before actually undertaking a direct military intervention, Moscow is trying to compel the Polish Government to be responsive to its beck and call by issuing orders to the Polish Party, exerting pressure (including military pressure) on it or even by instigating certain people inside the Polish Party to lash out at the Party's Central Committee. Such forms of intervention are not as arresting as a direct military invasion but the degree of their crudeness has been rarely watched. Moscow is now out to achieve its aim by such means. Once it finds the effectiveness of such means diminishing, Moscow will not hesitate to turn to direct

Party to crack down and suppress what they claimed as "anti-socialist," "anti-Soviet" forces and "counter-revolutionaries"; on the other hand, it sternly castigated the "revisionists and opportunists" in the Polish Party.

Interventionism by a "patriarchal party" can be found nowhere more apparent than in the letter of the CPSU Central Committee. It attacked by name the principal leaders of the Polish Party and Government and found fault with the Polish Party's programme and guidelines. It ordered the Polish Party to reverse its policies and set a time-limit for a shake-up of the Party. It provocatively called on the "healthy forces" in

the Polish Party to "get organized and act immediately." This amounts to an all-round attack, politically, and an open instigation, organizationally.

It seems, in the eyes of Moscow, that there are very few people in Poland who can clearly distinguish right from wrong and handle the situation in that country. So they must be "taught what to do" by Moscow. It also seems that it is up to the Kremlin, not the Poles, to judge who are counter-revolutionaries and enemies in Poland. What is reform, and what is "revisionism" and "opportunism," it seems, cannot be decided according to Polish criteria, but should be measured by Soviet criteria. It looks like that it rests with the Kremlin, and not the Polish Party and Government, to determine the nature of the contradictions and conflicts within Poland and also the ways to resolve them. It seems, too, that it is incumbent on the Kremlin to decide on what guidelines and policies the Polish Party and Government should follow. What is more, Moscow even wants to have the final say in the elections within the Polish Party and the reshuffling of cadres. Is there anything left that can still be considered equal relations between "fraternal parties" and "allies"? Isn't this the behaviour of an out-and-out arrogant bully?

### The Last Resort

What is more serious, the letter of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet propaganda have these past days flagrantly threatened Poland with direct military intervention. The letter openly declares that "hostile forces in Poland are threatening the interests of our entire community — the close relations, the integrity and the border se-

curity of the community. Indeed, they are threatening our common security." The conclusion Moscow draws is plain enough: "We will not put aside the catastrophe of the socialist and brotherly Poland and remain silent about its being bullied." From the above, it is obvious that if Poland does not resolve the situation as Moscow wants, Moscow will "operate" on Poland.

Giving instructions, exerting pressure and meddling in the inner-Party conflict of the Polish Party (also a form of subversion) — all these can be seen as preparations for a direct military intervention. The precedent was set in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

### Kremlin Faces a Difficult Choice

The will of the Polish nation is undergoing a severe test. In the face of the threat from their "ally," the Polish Party and people are obviously in an extremely difficult situation. At this critical moment when the fate of the nation is hanging in the balance, the Polish people have fully shown that they are a people of good sense. The leaders of the Party and trade unions have more than once called for social reconciliation and promised strict implementation of the renovation line. They reiterated that the Polish Party and people are capable of defusing the crisis. They also reminded the Polish people to pay attention to the attitude of their "ally" and the country's geographical position and they have handled Polish-Soviet relations with circumspection.

Under such circumstances, it is no easy matter for Moscow to

create pretexts to escalate their on-going interference into a large-scale military intervention. But then again the bosses in the Kremlin often intervene in the internal affairs of other countries without any excuse.

They have already done so in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. However, because of the heavy price, Moscow will think twice before making up its mind to take the step of escalation.

— Guo Ping

## Italy Has a New Government

**A**FTER a month-long cabinet crisis, General Secretary of the Italian Republican Party Giovanni Spadolini formed a new government on June 28, the first non-Christian Democrat government in 35 years.

Italy has had frequent changes of governments since World War II ended, because of its complicated politics and fragile political coalitions. Italian governments have a way of toppling every time a crisis crops up. The new government with Giovanni Spadolini as Prime Minister is the 45th since the fall of the fascist regime in 1943. After the war there have been 41 cabinet changes, each lasting a mere 10 months on average, rare in European countries. It is a reflection of deep-seated contradictions plaguing Italian society.

But in the midst of political instability there has been one comparatively stable aspect, and that is, since December 1945, prime ministers, and many major portfolios such as ministers of the interior, foreign affairs, defence, treasury have all been Christian Democrats. A leading member of *Il Popolo* noted there have been only two successive governments — Mussolini's government and, after World War II, the government

of the Christian Democratic Party.

This has maintained a continuity of policy despite all the successive government changes. Italy has always actively supported NATO and the cause of West European union and has been a reliable ally of the United States. This relative stability also enabled the economy to recover and develop after the war. On the other hand inflation, unemployment, terrorism and other socio-economic problems have persisted. Scandals have continually surfaced. The Italians apparently are fed up and want a change.

On May 26 the Forlani government fell over the secret "masonic lodge" scandal, which split the ruling coalition. Forlani could not form a new government because the Socialist Party withheld its support. Spadolini was asked to form a new cabinet and immediately ordered an investigation into the "masonic lodge" case. His call for a clean-up has won popular support. The Christian Democratic Party thinks that the Republican Party with only 16 seats in the 630-seat Assembly will not be able to hurt the position of the Christian Democratic Party. The Socialist and Communist Parties think that a non-Christian Democratic Party gov-

ernment is a good thing. However, the Socialist Party is not strong enough to bring the present difficult and turbulent situation under control by itself and the biggest opposition party, the Communist Party, is not yet in a position to join the government. The new cabinet came up between the Left and the Right.

### Problems Spadolini Faces

Spadolini says he will continue the political programme of the former government and Italian newspapers are already

saying that the new government is actually a continuation of the former government, with practically the same members and following the same policies.

The new government faces a series of urgent and very thorny problems, such as continuing inflation, growing international financial deficits and terrorism. Whether the new government can solve these problems rests on its stability. As the Republican Party had only 3 per cent of the votes in the previous election, it will have trouble rally-

ing some of the bigger parties round it. Members of the Christian Democratic Party and Socialist Party say that the new government is a transitional government and, while the Communist Party welcomes a Republican Party cabinet, it is not in a hurry to throw its weight behind it, yet. It is waiting to see what the new government will do first. Spadolini's government will not find it easy to maintain stability in such circumstances.

— Tan Daishen

(Continued from p. 8.)

Advanced courses on nursing will also be given. The consensus of opinion at the recent meeting of nurses was that since nursing is a comprehensive applied science based on the medical science and closely linked with modern methods of administration, psychology, ethics, sociology and nutriology, medical colleges should restore specialized courses on nursing as quickly as possible. In addition, more teachers with special knowledge in nursing and personnel for scientific research and administration should be trained.

## EDUCATIONAL

### 10,000 to Enrol as Postgraduates

China's more than 600 institutions of higher learning and research institutes will enrol 10,000 postgraduates this year for master's degree and another 1,500 postgraduates who, after a period of training, will be sent abroad to study. The work of selecting these postgraduates will be done simultaneously.

College students who will graduate in spring 1982 after four years' study or those who have an equivalent educational level and are below 35 and in good health may sit for the examinations which will take place from September 12 to 14. The subjects of examination are political theory, foreign language, general knowledge, basic knowledge in the area of specialization and knowledge in sub-specialities.

The length of study for postgraduates at home is two to three years. Those going abroad will first undergo a period of preparation from one to two years. All these postgraduates will, upon graduation or return to China, be assigned work by the state according to their specialities.

New China began enrolling postgraduates after its founding in 1949. By 1965, a total of over 23,000 postgraduates had been enrolled. This work was suspended during the "cultural revolution" years (1966-76) and was not resumed until 1978. In the three years from 1978 to 1980, over 2,200 postgraduates had been enrolled.

According to the regulations promulgated by the State Coun-

cil's Academic Degrees Committee, bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees will be conferred, beginning this year, in the disciplines: philosophy, economics, law, education, literature, history, science, engineering, agronomy and medicine. Academic degrees will also be conferred to foreign students with the required qualifications.

Fang Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and former President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, is the chairman of the Academic Degrees Committee. The appraisal board is made up of noted specialists and scholars of the various universities, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences and scientific research organizations under the various departments of the State Council.



## CINEMA

*The Past Recalled*

Sixty years ago in July, the Communist Party of China was born in Shanghai. Almost three decades later, it led the Chinese people in winning the new democratic victory, but the number of lives lost on the way to reaching this goal was nothing short of staggering. *Ode to the Pioneers* is a new documentary focusing on these crucial years (1921-49) of the Party's history.

It serves as a stirring reminder to current audiences, and youth in particular, of the many heroic sacrifices made to create the new society in which they live today.

While somewhat emotional in tone, the film's poignant script and photography, including many archive film clips dating back 40 years and more, prove both factual and effective. The opening scene of contemporary young children laughing and playing cuts abruptly to the sounds of screams and explosions during one of Japan's air raids on Chinese cities, setting the stark contrast between the two societies that is emphasized throughout the film. Shots of impoverished peasants selling their children, factories employing child labour and the wholesale massacre of Chinese civilians by invading foreign troops all recall the untold suffering known during these years.

Much of the one and a half hour film is devoted to the innumerable unknown revolutionaries who dedicated their lives to ending this suffering. Original motion pictures show communist martyrs, smiling defiantly to the end, being publicly executed by Kuomintang

troops. One young unmarried couple, busy with revolutionary work before their arrest, announce their wedding in front of a firing squad. A Red Army soldier gives his entire grain ration to a starving peasant family and finally dies of starvation himself. Another young revolutionary woman, whose husband has been executed only months before, gives birth to a baby girl in prison 40 days before her own death sentence is carried out.

Time and again, the documentary points out, revolutionaries from all backgrounds and walks of life proved willing to lay down their lives for China's liberation, stepping into the breach where others had fallen and fearlessly taking up the fight for their homeland.

The documentary depicts Mao Zedong, Li Dazhao, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi and other prominent leaders of the Communist Party at various junctures in the Chinese revolution.

A drawing of Mao giving his coat to a poor peasant child on the Long March is juxtaposed with a photo of his own two sons taken together with their mother Yang Kaihui who was shortly after executed by the Kuomintang. The film's narrator comments that Chairman Mao's devotion to the liberation of all the Chinese people prevented him from taking care of even his own children.

Eminent figures from the 80 years preceding the founding of the Party are also featured, including leading figures of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the campaign against opium imports and the 1898 reform movement. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the 1911 Revolution that overthrew the Qing Dynasty, is pictured emerging from a conference in 1924. This marked the first co-operation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

Veterans, survivors of the old society and young people alike



Revolutionary Wang Xiaohu, an underground Party worker and martyr.

cannot but feel moved by this powerful tribute to China's revolutionary past. It should inspire any viewer with pride and the desire to continue the efforts of China's communist pioneers through the realization of socialist modernization.

## SPORTS

### New Successes

**Model Boat Competition.** Four competitors broke three world records on five occasions at the 1981 National Model Boat Competition which opened on June 9 in Hangzhou. These results were ratified on the spot by Maurice Franck, President of the World Model Boat Association (NAVIGA) and Dresden Bordag, Vice-President of NAVIGA.

In the Class A-2 event (5 cc internal combustion engine speedboat event), Hu Shengqiao, 25, clocked 11.63 seconds (154.772 kph), breaking the world record of 13.505 seconds (133.333 kph) set by a Bulgarian competitor in 1979 in Duisburg, W. Germany. Earlier on the first day of the competition he set a record of 12.3 seconds (146.341 kph).

In the Class A-3 event (10 cc internal combustion engine speedboat), 22-year-old Ge Ming set a new world record of 11.22 seconds (160.428 kph). Earlier two other competitors had topped the world record of 15.03 seconds (119.76 kph) achieved by a Hungarian competitor in Duisburg in 1979.

Chen Liang, 21, timed 8.75 seconds (205.714 kph) in the Class B-1 event (2.5 cc internal combustion engine speedboat), bettering the world record of 9.19 seconds (195.866 kph) set by a Czechoslovak competitor in 1979 in Duisburg.

In all, 119 competitors took part in this competitions.

**Diving.** Nineteen-year-old Shi Meiqin of China scored a total of 501.35 points to win the gold medal in the women's three-metre springboard diving event at the Second World Cup Diving Tournament held in Mexico City from June 12 to 14. Megan Neyer of the United States came in second with 483.40 points, followed by Valerie McFarlane of Australia with a score of 471.30 points.

Another Chinese woman diver Chen Xiaoxia won the platform diving with a score of 461.15 points. Second place went to Guadalupe Canseco of Mexico (421.15 points) and the American diver Wendy Wyler finished third with 397.65 points.

Li Hongping of China finished first in the men's platform diving event with a total of 613.25 points, followed by Carlos Giron of Mexico (575.95) and Bruce Kimball of the United States (550.60).

Eighteen world top class divers participated in this tournament. Four of them are Chinese.

**Gymnastics.** China's Zou Xiaohong won the gold medal in the balance beam and Wu Wenli in the floor exercise at the 10th World Women's Gymnastics Competition held in France on June 12 and 13.

Zou Xiaohong clinched the title of the balance beam with 18.95 points. Wu Wenli shared her title with Jana Labakova of Czechoslovakia, both scoring 19.40 points.

**Table Tennis.** Guo Yuehua of China, men's singles champion at the 36th World Table Tennis Championships, won the title at the World Masters Table Tennis Tournament held in Xianggang (Hongkong) by de-

feating Istvan Jonyer of Hungary, a former world champion, by 3:0 (21:13, 24:22 and 21:12).

**Field and Track.** Chinese athletes won six gold medals and one silver medal at the Fourth Annual Santiago Nakacawa Youth International Track and Field Meet that ended on June 14 in Mexico City. The Chinese men's team received the title of the best team and Liu Aicun was proclaimed the best athlete.

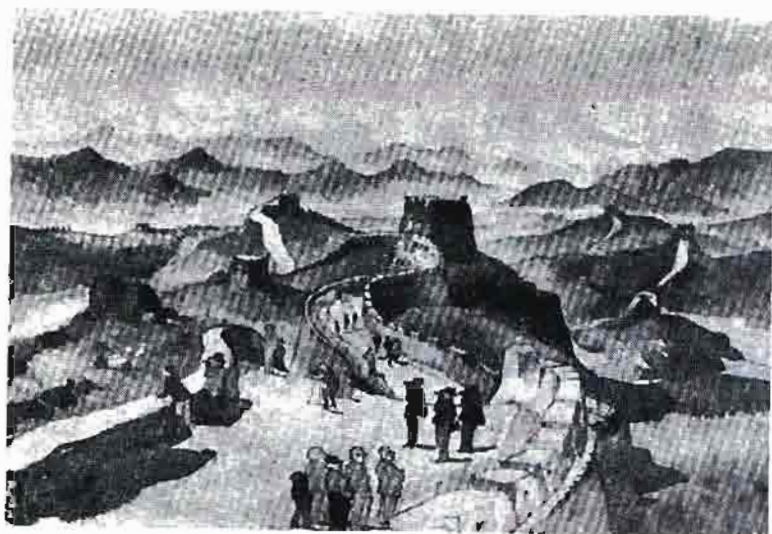
Chinese woman athlete Liu Aicun won the 1,500-metre and 3,000-metre sprints with scores of 4'37"6 and 10'44"8. Male athlete Zhang Bangheng captured the shot put gold medal with a throw of 16.08 metres. The three other gold medals were won by Li Baolian in the women's javelin event (55.83 metres), Peng Qinyun in the women's shot put (15.59 metres) and Huo Lianzhu in the women's 800-metre dash (2'14"9). Athletes from 23 countries and regions took part in the meet.

## ART

### Watercolours by Dong Kingman

The beautiful blue canals of Venice, the cafe-lined streets of New Orleans' French Quarter, San Francisco Chinatown's dragon dancers on New Year's Day and the snow-covered Summer Palace in Beijing all take on a fresh look when seen through the eyes of Dong Kingman. This Chinese-American painter's vibrant watercolours display a breadth, diversity and imagination which have earned him awards and recognition worldwide. Art lovers in Beijing were recently treated to an exhibition of 103 of his works, the painter's China debut.

The genius of Dong Kingman lies in his creative integration of Western and Eastern styles of



"The Great Wall" by Dong Kingman.

watercolour painting. Many of his works, particularly those with landscapes and foliage, reveal the influence of his Chinese heritage and early training in Chinese art; his buildings, people and street scenes, however, are decidedly Western, even impressionist at times. In the use of light, lines, rhythm and kaleidoscopic colour, Dong bridges the techniques of both artistic traditions, lending his paintings a characteristic depth and expressiveness unlike that of any other watercolour artist today.

Dong's subjects are invariably those of the big city — busy street scenes, parks, buildings, waterfronts, animals and people. Having lived in cities around the world most of his life, he is a keen observer of 20th-century urban life, rendering its noise, colour and activity with unique vividness and humour. The result is a style at once thoughtful and entertaining.

Born in California in 1911, Dong spent his childhood years in Xianggang (Hong-kong), where he began studying traditional Chinese painting at the age of 5. After returning to the United States in 1929, he

spent the early years of the Depression working as a waiter, newspaper boy and servant and painting on Sunday mornings in his spare time. After a few years he was able to study Western oil painting part-time, but soon went back to watercolour painting which has been his primary medium ever since. After his first solo exhibition at the San Francisco Art Centre in 1935, he established himself as a serious and rising artist and has painted prolifically ever since.

The recent Beijing exhibition of Dong Kingman's watercolours was part of a three-city tour of China including Hangzhou and Guangzhou.

## SCULPTURE

### Miniature Buddhist Statue

Carved into the side of a cliff in Leshan County, Sichuan Province is a towering 71-metre-high Buddhist statue, over 1,000 years old and the largest in China. Recently, an artisan from Suzhou completed a sculpture of similar artistic wonder — an ivory sculpture of Buddha only three millimetres tall, the smallest in the world.

Using a small, pointed carving knife, 32-year-old Shen Weizhong sculpts with strokes so delicate and thin that he must rely on instinct to guide his hand. His miniature Buddhist statue wears a long robe and sits cross-legged on a lotus flower. Its fingers are as fine as hair and its ears and face can only be recognized through a magnifying glass.

Last year, Shen engraved a classical poem of 28 Chinese characters on a 5-millimetre-long strand of hair, and carved the phrase "Our friends are all over the world" on two 4-



Shen Weizhong.

millimetre-long strands of hair in Chinese and English respectively



Carved ivory Buddha smaller than a rice grain (left).

Shen studied calligraphy and painting when he was a child and seal carving as a middle school student. Later, he worked as a die-sinker in a factory and made miniature carvings of ivory and bamboo in his spare time. Shen now works at the Arts and Crafts Institute of Suzhou in Jiangsu Province.

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CHINA TODAY (1)

# Population and Other Problems



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

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