

# Newsweek



## Eroding Mao's Legacy

革命造反

兵衛紅

炮打司令部

中国共产党中央委员会  
关于无产阶级  
文化大革命的决策



**JOHN PAUL'S TRIUMPH**

For Pope John Paul II, it was a week of personal triumph. Rarely had Americans gathered in such astounding numbers to express exhilaration, joy and love. In order to catch a glimpse of the Pontiff, millions traveled miles through aching urban corridors and remote rural glens. Even drenching rains could not discourage the faithful—or John Paul. At the United Nations, he spoke as a statesman. At a rally for young people in New York City's Madison Square Garden, he cooed in contentment as kids broke into nine minutes of whoops and football cheers. But underlying the Pope's warm and gentle response was a stern, persistent pastor determined to remind his flock of its moral responsibilities. NEWSWEEK's coverage profiles the Pope's visit and assesses the meaning of his message. *Page 36*

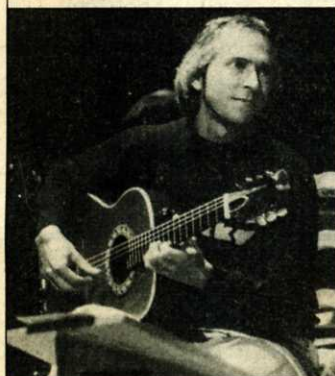


**ERODING MAO'S LEGACY**

Chinese Communists celebrated their 30th anniversary last week. But instead of listening to their leaders hail past glories and future greatness, they heard the Cultural Revolution described as "an appalling catastrophe," and the Gang of Four blamed for the "most severe reversal to our socialist cause since the founding of the People's Republic." It was all part of China's effort to downgrade Mao Tse-tung—Chairman Hua Guofeng did not even mention Mao's name during his anniversary toast—and to put China more firmly on the road to modernization. *Page 8*

**BACH TO ROCK**

Musical highbrows are calling John Williams a turn-coat. For years, Williams has been one of the most admired classical guitarists in the world. But now, at 38, the Australian-born musician is defecting to rock. He is lending his formidable virtuosity to the new British band called Sky that is headed rapidly toward the top of the pops. *Page 53*



**CARTER ON CUBA**

Jimmy Carter responded to the Soviet presence in Cuba with countermeasures that included Marine exercises in Guantánamo. He wanted his speech to cure cold-war jitters, and to break the ice for ratification of SALT II. The White House predicted the treaty could be approved soon, but Carter was criticized for not talking tougher to the Russians. *Page 14*



**SAGGING DOLLAR**

The U.S. moved to prop up the dollar—but not before gold prices went to a record \$444 an ounce. The turmoil came as the International Monetary Fund moved toward ending the dollar's central role in the world's monetary system. *Page 28*

**ASIA** ..... 8

- China: the final death of Mao (the cover)
- No U.S. arms for China
- China's legal revolution
- North Korea: an on-scene report from Kim's isolation ward
- South Korea ousts a Park opponent

**WORLD AFFAIRS** ..... 14

- Carter on Cuba
- Life at Guantánamo
- Beyond SALT II: a future for arms control?
- Uganda in chaos

**EUROPE** ..... 20

- East Germany: Brezhnev's birthday speech
- Britain: Labor turns left
- The man who spoke for Churchill
- The Soviets' new school of urban planning

**U.S. AFFAIRS** ..... 24

- More nuclear woes
- Campaign '80: is this any way to choose a President?

**BUSINESS** ..... 28

- World bankers scrutinize the U.S. dollar
- The experts' round table
- The debt crisis of developing nations

**SPECIAL REPORT** ..... 36

- John Paul's triumph
- The Pope in his own words
- The meaning of his message

**EDUCATION** ..... 50

- Museums as teaching centers

**MUSIC** ..... 53

- Classical guitarist John Williams turns to rock

**OTHER DEPARTMENTS**

- New Products and Processes .. 3
- Letters ..... 5
- Periscope ..... 7
- International Marketplace .. 34
- Newsmakers ..... 35
- Transition ..... 53
- Interview: Floris van Jaarsveld 56

**THE COLUMNISTS**

- George F. Will ..... 4
- Paul A. Samuelson ..... 32

Vol. XCIV No. 16, October 15, 1979  
 © 1979 by NEWSWEEK, Inc., 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. All rights reserved.





Protesters march through Peking: A youthful 'crisis of faith,' and complaints that Marxism and Communism have brought no benefits

**ASIA**

# ERODING MAO'S LEGACY

It was the 30th anniversary of Chinese Communist rule, and the 10,000 notables gathered in Peking's Great Hall of the People fully expected to sit through a long afternoon of speeches. But they were not prepared for the two-hour address delivered by Marshal Ye Jianying. The Cultural Revolution, the National People's Congress chairman said, had been "an appalling catastrophe" for the people. The policies of the "Gang of Four," he added, "constituted the most severe reversal to our socialist cause since the founding of the People's Republic." Marshal Ye stopped short of a direct attack on Mao Tse-tung himself, but he warned that it was folly to imagine that "men of genius" could make all the decisions. Such men, Ye said, were not "omniscient leaders whose every word is truth and must forever be obeyed."

Ye's speech last week marked a milestone in Chinese Communist history. Instead of the traditional recitation of past glories and future greatness, Ye declared that some Chinese leaders had been "imprudent . . . arbitrary . . . and boastful," and he predicted hard times ahead for his country. "It's one of the most remarkable documents of the international Communist movement," said one diplomat in Peking. "It's a Communist Party admitting that the founder made serious errors." At a state banquet the day after Ye's

speech, Chairman Hua Guofeng did not even mention Mao's name—the first time it had been omitted during an anniversary celebration—and China's leaders left little doubt that Mao's legacy was deliberately being eroded.

**ERRATIC POLICIES:** The reassessment—and downgrading—of Mao is not altogether new; it began with the Chairman's death three years ago. Nor is it as sweeping as the de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union in the 1950s. "Instead of denouncing Mao the way Khrushchev did Stalin," said Kenneth Lieberthal, a professor of political science at Swarthmore College, "the Chinese are being very careful to preserve him as a legitimizing symbol. At the same time they are saying that he made specific mistakes." Added a diplomat in Peking: "It is a widely shared view here that Mao was the major force behind the Communist successes before 1949—but the major reason for China's problems after 1949."

The three major disasters of the past 30 years—the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the anti-Rightists campaign—were deliberately set in train by Mao himself. Now his successors are trying to repair the damage, and attempting to discredit Mao's radical supporters who still hold positions of power.

The new leaders of China are also putting forth important new policies of their own. During the 30th anniversary speeches, they renewed their commitment to economic modernization. They supported legal reforms designed to guarantee that "blood baths and terror" would not be repeated. They announced new appointments to the party's Central Committee and Politburo that put the "moderates" more firmly in command. Ye even indicated that the late Chinese President Liu Shaoqi was about to be rehabilitated. Liu's purge in 1966 as a "renegade . . . swept into the garbage heap of history" signaled the start of the Cultural Revolution. "What they are saying is that China is on a road where Mao's ideas are no longer relevant," said one Western diplomat based in Peking.

**IMPATIENCE:** Deputy Prime Minister Deng Xiaoping, who was twice purged from the Chinese leadership by Mao, is the man behind China's new look. At 75, he is showing increasing impatience with the barriers he still faces: a dislocated economy, a disillusioned populace and a divided government that in the past has frequently come close to tearing itself apart. Deng's radical opponents have been weakened, but not broken. More important, many Chinese are reluctant to fall in behind Deng's poli-