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BEIJING REVIEW

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A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



China's Position at
The Cancun Summit

•
Analysis of Wrong
Theory Concerning
"Cultural Revolution"

•
A Northernmost City

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

China at the Cancun Summit

Full text of Premier Zhao's statement presents the Chinese position on the establishment of a new international economic order and the basic principles for North-South co-operation (pp. 13-16). A first-hand report by a *Renmin Ribao* correspondent sums up this major international conference (pp. 9-10).

Sino-Vietnamese Relations

Last instalment of an important article presenting the manner in which mutual needs have produced an anti-China alliance between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union. The causes of the Sino-Vietnamese conflict as interpreted by Hanoi are listed and refuted one by one (pp. 16-20)

Discarding a Wrong Thesis

An analysis of the fallacious thesis which served as the theoretical basis for launching the "cultural revolution" (pp. 20-23).

More Employment in Jiamusi

Report from a northernmost city where the Party's new economic policy, plus local initiative, have generated numerous opportunities for employment (pp. 25-28).

Peng Jiamu and the Lop Nur Survey

The scientist who was lost during an expedition to this almost inaccessible basin in China's northwest posthumously receives the title of a martyr because of his remarkable con-

tributions (p. 7). Two recent expeditions by his colleagues to the same area have produced many new discoveries (p. 29).

Book on Demography

Review of China's first book in English on this subject of worldwide interest. The work contains 13 essays and case studies by more than 20 demographers (pp. 30-31).



Commune member Yu Wenlong and his family selling over 30,000 jin of surplus grain to the state.

Photo by Kang Jimin

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Sales of Weapons to Taiwan

According to the nine-point policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the peaceful reunification of the country, Taiwan can retain its armed forces. Is it justifiable then for foreign countries to sell weapons to Taiwan?

The nine-point policy announced by Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, clearly stipulates that after the peaceful reunification of the country, Taiwan will enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed force. As for the replacement of weapons by the armed forces in Taiwan, ar-

rangements will be made by the central government after reunification according to an overall plan.

The Taiwan question is China's internal affair. Taiwan has not yet returned to the embrace of the motherland. The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to arms sales by any country to Taiwan because it will inevitably affect and obstruct the realization of the great cause of reunification.

The situation before and after peaceful reunification is different. A clear distinction must be made between the two and they should not on any account be confused.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

Style of Work

What measures have you taken to overcome bureaucracy?

When Wang Chonglun became deputy secretary of the Harbin city Party committee in August last year, he lost no time in visiting many grass-roots units and over 300 families to get first-hand information and help solve whatever problems they might have. It was through his efforts that the difficulty of the city's 1.8 million residents to buy bean-curd, a popular food which used to be in short supply, was finally solved. His solid down-to-earth style of work and concern for the well-being of the people made the headlines in many newspapers across the country.

Bureaucracy exists to varying degrees in leading organs at

various levels in China, and in some departments it is very serious. The people complain, and our foreign friends often talk about it. Manifestations of the bureaucratic style of work are numerous, such as making arbitrary decisions without considering the opinions of the masses, red-tapism and dilatoriness in work, showing no concern for the livelihood of the people, and so forth.

The Chinese Communist Party has always advocated that leading members should not confine themselves to their offices but should go out to make investigations and get first-hand information so as to decide on policies and issue directives that really help solve problems. Unfortunately, this practice was undermined during the 10 tu-

multuous years of the "cultural revolution." Efforts have been made in the past few years to restore this work style which, it must be said, is one of the most effective ways to overcome bureaucracy.

China is now in a period of great social change. Modernization is a new task, and there is no ready model for us to follow. Leading cadres should therefore make greater efforts than ever before to overcome bureaucracy, thoroughly grasp the new situation and effectively solve whatever problems that may crop up.

Party and government leaders have taken the lead and set an example in making investigations. Chairman Hu Yaobang has over a period of 12 months toured the countryside in over a dozen provinces and autonomous regions to conduct on-the-spot investigations. Premier Zhao Ziyang spent more than a month on an inspection tour of Lankao County in Henan Province and Dongming County in Shandong. Later he went to Shanghai and the Shenzhen special economic zone. Vice-Premier Wan Li went with a group of leading comrades, specialists, engineers and technicians from transport and communications departments to make a 40-day investigation of 10 major ports and 17 railway lines, and put forward a six-point proposal to solve the problem of tardy unloading of cargoes from ships, the piling up of goods in the warehouses and railway traffic jam.

Not to be outdone, some leading comrades at the ministerial and provincial level have also done a good job in this regard. For instance, Minister of Textile

LETTERS

Learn From Lu Xun

Your detailed study of the hero Lu Xun was fascinating and an education in itself. The saga of this fighter of the people should lead all writers and all in the field of literature and the arts to learn from Lu Xun. What he did for the down-trodden masses and the Chinese people in those dark times should serve as an object lesson to the Chinese younger generations. Especially now, during the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, they should work for a strong, dignified New China.

Robert Djeng
Xianggang (Hongkong)

1911 Revolution

I liked the "Special Feature" on the 1911 Revolution (issue No. 36). Someone will no doubt say that the articles were too long. But I reply steadfastly that longer articles help further development of the mind.

Alex G. Macaskill
Lanarkshire, UK

Industry Hao Jianxiu went to areas in southwest China where the minority people live to get a better knowledge of their customs and habits so as to produce fabrics with colours and designs they like. To help solve problems, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Wen Minsheng one day queued up together with the people wishing to send telegrams at the Beijing Railway Station post office so as to know what measures should be taken to speed up work. Zhang Jingfu, first secretary of the Anhui provincial Party committee, and Zhou Zijian, governor of the province, went together to a small commune-run factory with only 100 workers and called an on-the-spot meeting to solve its difficulties in getting raw materials and bank loans

National Day

During the time of China's National Day this year, we foreign teachers working in Chongqing had many opportunities to celebrate the holiday. At my work unit, the Southwest Teachers College, the administration gave us a banquet for the occasion.

The same administration helped us to join a larger celebration which involved 20 or more foreigners teaching throughout Chongqing. It was held at the magnificent Hall of the People, which some of us think is the finest building in all Sichuan Province. We also toured the Sichuan Fine Art Gallery, met some of the artists whose works hang there, and enjoyed an expert performance by the Chongqing Acrobats.

Happily I was able to top off my holiday by climbing a local mountain. I tramped through the lush countryside with peasants, students and workers, including some of my best friends in China. The summit, with its red-silk clouds and ancient bamboo forests and rare stands of metasequoias, is unsurpassed in beauty and peacefulness. There I passed two nights as the only

needed for producing cotton textiles for export.

Making investigations is also a means of pooling the wisdom of the masses and learning from them. When leading cadres rid themselves of bureaucratic airs and show concern for the welfare of the masses, closer ties are established between them. This style of work is welcomed by the people and has enhanced their enthusiasm for work and increased their confidence in overcoming difficulties.

There are complicated social and historical reasons for the emergence of bureaucracy, and the struggle to overcome it will be a long one.

— Political Editor
Zheng Bian

foreigner ever to sleep in the 1,500-year-old Temple for Considering and Thinking.

Hua Luntan
Chongqing, China

Southern Africa

I appreciate articles concerning southern Africa. I like them because they explain the struggle of the people and how independence can be achieved and they also denounce fascist-ruled South Africa with its apartheid policies. There, blacks are being denied their rights of freedom in their motherland by the Pretoria regime.

Agripah N. Nehemisa
Gaberones, Botswana

Hegemonic Action

Articles on the Soviet Union have appeared in the "International" section in many recent issues of *Beijing Review*. The Soviet Union is indeed active in various parts of the world. As a superpower, it tolerates no opposition to its actions in the international arena. It throws its weight about as a superpower in Angola, Latin America, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the northern territories of Japan.

The United States reportedly plans to deploy neutron bombs in Europe. But this is only a task to be carried out in the future. The Soviet Union has already directed its SS-20 guided missiles against the capitals and key areas of many European countries. The mass media have exposed this, but it has simply ignored the world's condemnation. Moreover, the Soviet Union declares that a cut in its SS-20-guided missiles production is possible only when no neutron bombs are deployed in Western Europe, that it will reduce production if the other side gives up manufacture. In other words, the other side must not produce nor possess, while it can produce in a limited way and retains what has already been produced. It is so egoistic that even laymen like us can easily see through it. All who have any knowledge of international affairs will deem this unfair. I cannot but think that this type of action has become the customary practice of the Soviet superpower.

Jinji Kitamura
Takaoka, Japan

ECONOMIC

Developing Energy Resources

China's energy industry is developing in a sound way and has bright prospects. This was said by Yu Qiuli, Vice-Premier and Minister in Charge of the State Energy Commission, at a recent meeting in the capital celebrating the setting up of an energy advisory group.

Verified coal deposits in China now total 650,000 million tons, and water power resources which can be exploited is estimated to be 380 million kw. The total area of oil-and gas-bearing sedimentary rocks is about 4.2 million square kilometres on the mainland and 1.3 million square kilometres on the continental shelf less than 200 metres deep along the shore.

In the near future, China will give priority to tapping coal and hydropower resources, with

coal as the main source of energy, while the proportion of hydropower as another source will be increased. In the case of hydropower, emphasis will be on the exploitation of water resources in southwest, northwest and central-south China. The output of oil will be kept at the level of 100 million tons a year for some time in the future and, to expand reserves, prospecting and drilling on land and sea will be stepped up.

Fuel problem in the countryside will be tackled by developing biogas and fuel forests. Research on solar, geothermal, wind and other energy resources is being carried out.

The newly founded advisory group is a consulting organization under the State Energy Commission. Its main task is to give advice on the policies and planning of exploiting, utilizing and saving energy, the distribution of energy bases, the examination of technical and economic data for the construc-

tion of major energy bases and the possibility of joint ventures using foreign funds. The group is composed of 52 experts, scholars and engineers from various departments under the State Council, research institutes as well as universities and colleges.

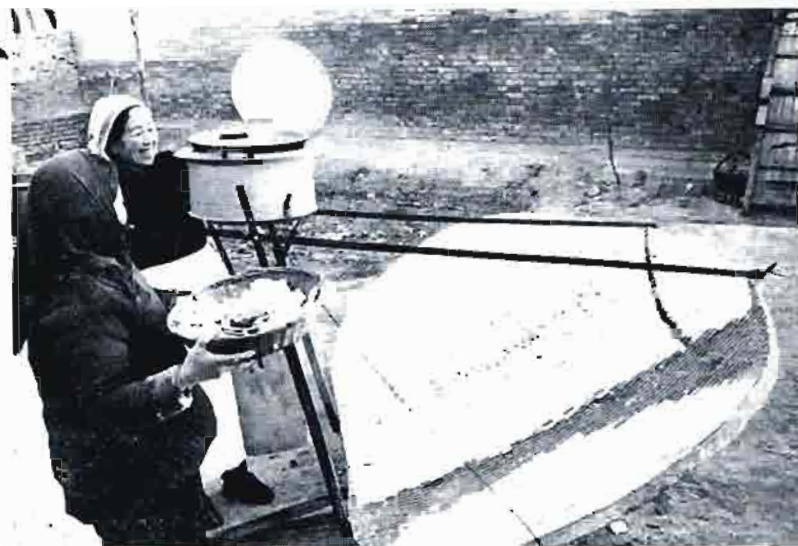
Between Peasants And Workers

Several weeks ago, a young peasant named Yang Xiaoyun in central China's Hubei Province expressed his willingness to sell 10 tons of grain to the state (four tons of which he must deliver to the state under a contract) and at the same time he hoped that he could buy a *Yongjiu* (Everlasting) brand bicycle produced in Shanghai.

China's light and textile industries have developed at a rapid pace in the last few years, and its output of bicycles now ranks first in the world. Last year 13.02 million bicycles were produced, 29 per cent more than in 1979, of which 3.61 million were made in Shanghai. Output for the first nine months of this year was 12.145 million, 27.2 per cent more than that of the same period of last year.

Why is it so difficult then for a peasant to buy a bicycle?

Since the downfall of the gang of four, especially since the adoption in the last two years of the system of responsibility in production which guarantees more pay for more work, and a series of flexible economic policies, the peasants' income has increased year by year and their livelihood has improved markedly.



Henan peasants using solar energy to cook meals.



Yang Xiaoyun with the bicycle he has bought.

Take Yang Xiaoyun for example. He lives with his parents and there are altogether six persons in his family. Thanks to their hard work, they have reaped 14.3 tons of grain from 1.4 hectares of land allocated to them under a contract and their small plots for private use. In addition, the family raises five pigs, 70 chickens and 100,000 fry, apart from an ox which they share with another family. The family has 3,600 yuan in bank savings and their per-capita income this year is expected to be 770 yuan. Families like Yang Xiaoyun's are found in increasing numbers in China's rural areas today.

Now that they are better-off, the peasants wish to buy more consumer goods, particularly wrist-watches, bicycles, sewing machines, TV sets and clothing. Though the output of light industrial and textile goods has increased by a big margin each

year, it still falls short of the growing demand of the people, especially that of the 800 million peasants.

The peasants' increasing needs and their enthusiasm in selling surplus grain to the state have greatly encouraged factory workers to turn out more goods for the rural market. Yang Xiaoyun's wish to buy a bicycle was promptly fulfilled. Not contented with having raised their production quota for this year from 1.935 million to 2.125 million bicycles, workers of the Shanghai Bicycle Plant are determined to produce an additional 5,000 bicycles for those peasants in Yang Xiaoyun's native town who wish to sell more grain to the state. According to a press report, more than 1,100 peasant households in Yang's native place — Yingcheng County of Hubei Province — have each sold and delivered over 5 tons of grain to the state.

The Shanghai Bicycle Plant's action has given a fillip to other factories and trades. The Tianjin Bicycle Plant and the Shanghai No. 1 Sewing Machine Factory have decided to further raise their output to meet the needs of peasants who sell above-quota grain to the state

National Garment Exhibition

The largest national garment exhibition since the founding of the People's Republic opened on September 25 at the Capital Exhibition Centre in Beijing and will close on November 5.

The exhibition confirms that the Chinese garment industry with a time-honoured history deserves world acclaim for its superb workmanship, colourful designs and distinctive national flavour. Today some 10,000 clothing enterprises employ nearly one million workers

and staff across the land. The total national output value of the garment industry in 1980 was six times that of 1952, and triple the 1965 figure.

On sale and display at the exhibition are 1.3 million garments, complete with 700,000 accessories including hats, shoes, bags and purses, suitcases and other leather goods from 21 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

Clothes that were monotonous in colour and style have given way to a great variety of well-tailored clothes such as Sun Yat-sen suits, Western suits, jackets, parkas, frocks, skirts, Chinese-style gowns for women and overalls. Fashionable and attractive, children's wear is also on display. The fabrics range from cotton to wool, silk, linen and synthetic fibres

With their incomes rising steadily, people in China spend increasing amounts on clothing. According to the State Statistical Bureau, per-capita expenses on clothing in 1980 averaged 41 yuan. City dwellers spent an average of 111 yuan — one-fourth of their annual living expenses — on clothing. In the countryside, it was 25 yuan, or one-seventh of expenditures for day-to-day living.

In 1980, the national per-capita consumption of cloth of various kinds was 10 metres, 76 per cent more than in 1952. This figure is not high compared to cloth consumption in developed countries, but it is no mean feat for China to provide clothing for its huge population of 1,000 million. Before liberation it was not uncommon to see people in rags; even those who could manage a living often had to wear patched clothes.

Export of ready-made clothes figures prominently in China's trade with foreign countries. In 1980, the garment industry's earnings in foreign exchange accounted for 2.89 per cent of the total value of exported goods. By contrast, the 1952 figure was only 0.13 per cent.

POLITICAL

Peng Jiamu Posthumously Honoured

The Shanghai municipal people's government conferred the title of revolutionary martyr on Peng Jiamu, a biochemist

The expedition, led by Peng Jiamu, started in May 1980. Rich in natural resources and archaeological ruins, the Lop Nur region has a very harsh environment and is inaccessible to traffic. This was why no systematic exploration had been carried out there before. In 1964 and 1979, Peng had carried out some investigations on the fringes of Lop Nur. In 1980 he and his team succeeded in surmounting all kinds of difficulties and crossed the dried-up lake basin, which was on the ancient Silk Road, thereby unravelling the age-old secrets of the region. Unfortunately, on June 17 when the team continued their way eastward, Peng lost his way while out searching for water.

Under the direct guidance and concern of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, four major search parties were sent out by planes and motor vehicles from June 18 to December 20, 1980. They combed an area of more than 4,000 square kilometres, but to no avail.

The region where Peng Jiamu lost his life is a large desert several hundred square kilometres in area. The temperature at that time was very high and wind and sand storms were frequent. Moreover, he was in poor health and had not had a good rest for six days. Most probably he must have fallen unconscious from weakness and have been buried beneath the drifting sands. Records show that there were similar accidents previously.

Peng Jiamu was born in Guangdong Province in June 1925. A graduate of the de-

partment of agro-chemistry of Central University in Nanjing in 1947, he later became a research fellow of the Shanghai Institute of Biochemistry. In 1979 he was appointed Vice-President of the Xinjiang branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. For three decades Peng Jiamu had worked indefatigably and made important contributions in establishing new bases for scientific research, exploiting natural resources and organizing multi-purpose expeditions. He was a specialist in plant virus, with important achievements in curing diseases of tangerine, mulberry and jujube trees, wheat, maize and vegetables.

When a physical checkup in 1957 showed that he had cancer, arrangements were made for him to go to hospital for treatment and rest homes for recuperation. But later he insisted on going to the border provinces to make general surveys of natural resources, and had journeyed to Xinjiang on 15 occasions. His findings laid the groundwork for future researches.

After Peng Jiamu's death, his colleagues had carried on his work and made two trips to the Lop Nur region to complete a study of this area (see p. 29 for details).

Peng's revolutionary will and dedication to his work have won the praise of his colleagues in China's scientific circles. The Chinese Academy of Sciences has called on all scientific personnel, workers and cadres to learn from his "spirit of utter devotion to the cause of socialist construction.



Peng Jiamu collecting specimens of desert plants in the Lop Nur region.

who died in mid-June last year during a scientific expedition to Lop Nur in northwest China. A commemoration meeting in recognition of his contributions was held recently in Shanghai.

Danish Prime Minister's Visit to China

Prime Minister Anker Joergensen of the Kingdom of Denmark paid an official visit to China from October 19 to 29. He was the second Danish Prime Minister to visit China following Poul Hartling who came to this country in 1974.

During the visit, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, Premier Zhao Ziyang and Vice-Premier Wan Li met with him on separate occasions. They exchanged views on major international issues and on developing bilateral relations.

During his meeting with the Danish Prime Minister, Deng Xiaoping said that the two countries have maintained very good relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations, and that both sides share identical views on many international issues. In the current very turbulent situation, China will join efforts with the other countries to work for a fairly long period of peace. Deng Xiaoping cited facts to show that the focal point of the Soviet Union's strategy is in Europe, and said that to cope with Soviet hegemonism, some solid work must be done to close the ranks of all forces opposing Soviet aggression and expansion.

Prime Minister Joergensen stressed the importance of co-operation among European countries and said that Denmark will work for such co-operation and unity. Denmark will remain a member of NATO, he said, and will strengthen its defence capabilities and work for the relaxation of the international situation



Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping meets Danish Prime Minister Anker Joergensen.

In the name of Premier Zhao Ziyang, Vice-Premier Wan Li gave a banquet on October 20 in honour of the Danish Prime Minister and his party.

In his speech at the banquet, Wan Li paid tribute to the Danish people's industriousness, wisdom and contributions to world civilization. He said that the Chinese people love to read the fairy tales by the world-famous writer Hans Christian Andersen. "After decades of hard work," he said, "the Danish people have turned resource-poor Denmark into a developed country with modern industry and agriculture."

Prime Minister Joergensen said in his speech at the banquet that Denmark is following China's development with great interest. He expressed the hope that Denmark will continue to make contributions to China's modernization programme, which has already started in agriculture, industry and other fields, with Danish techniques and equipment.

Referring to the situation in Europe, Joergensen said that,

generally speaking, co-operation in the European Economic Community is good and that the countries in the EEC have identical views in foreign policy and their co-operation continues to develop.

Wan Li expressed his appreciation of this co-operation and the way problems are solved through negotiations. Referring to the relations between China and the European Economic Community, Wan Li pointed out that China attaches great importance to strengthening its co-operation with the European Community, because this is a question of strategic importance.

A programme of scientific, educational and cultural co-operation between China and Denmark for 1982 and 1983 was signed in Beijing on October 22. The two-year programme stipulates that the two countries will carry on exchanges and co-operation in the fields of scientific research, education, culture and art, broadcasting and television.

An Important Meeting in the North-South Dialogue

Report From Cancun

THE North-South summit in Cancun has ended. The summiteers had extensive exchanges of views on a number of issues connected with the North-South relationship and unanimously agreed that global negotiations should be held to discuss North-South issues. This will certainly help to improve the North-South relationship.

Many participants from developing countries pointed out that the convocation of the Cancun summit was in itself of great importance, because the large number of developing countries, after winning political independence, urgently demand that the unfair and irrational old international economic order must be reformed so as to build up independent national economies. This just demand, how-

ever, was neglected for a long time and the North-South economic contradictions sharpened as a result. This meeting of heads of governments and states, from eight developed countries and 14 developing countries, coming together to discuss how to improve the North-South economic relations, shows that reshaping the old international economic order and readjusting the North-South relationship on the principle of equality and mutual benefit have become a current of the times.

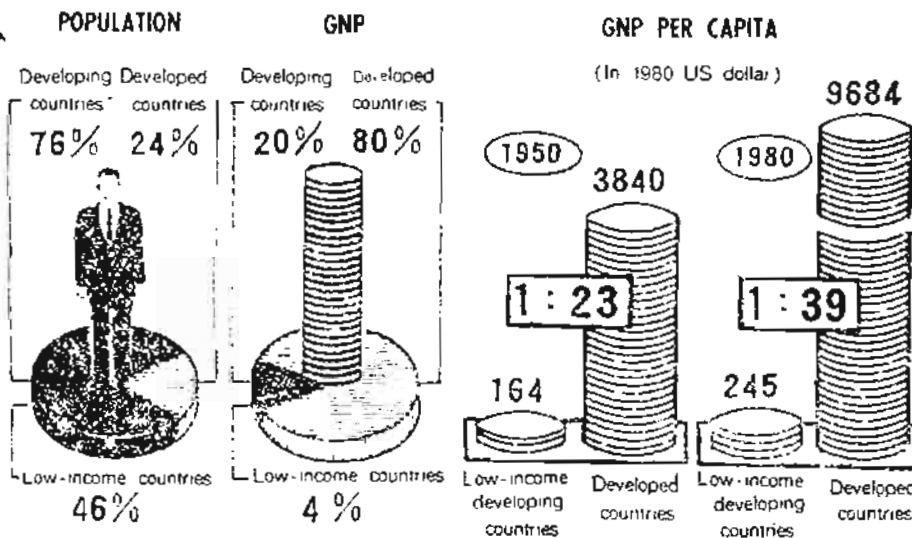
The Spirit of Co-operation and Understanding. President Portillo of the host country rightly stressed in the closing speech at the meeting that improving the North-South relationship was the common objective for all participants to work for.

Premier Zhao Ziyang of China said in his speech: "At present, the world is confronted with two major questions: One is the maintenance of peace and the other is the promotion of development. These two questions are related and inseparable." Leaders of many countries concurred. They pointed out that deteriorating economies of certain developing countries and tense North-South relations have often led to unrest in these countries which affords loopholes for hegemonists to carry out aggression and expansion. Improving the North-South relations is therefore not only an economic issue, but also an important political issue directly affecting the maintenance of world peace and stability.

Obviously, improving the North-South relationship is a matter of great importance and urgency to both the developing and the developed countries. Precisely because of these circumstances, the spirit of co-operation and understanding came to the fore at the Cancun summit.

Necessity of Global Negotiations. According to the agreement reached earlier in August at the preparatory meeting of the foreign ministers, the principal goal of the North-South summit was to create conditions for global negotiations aimed at closing the economic gap between the industrial and the developing countries. To improve the North-South relations, the holding of global nego-

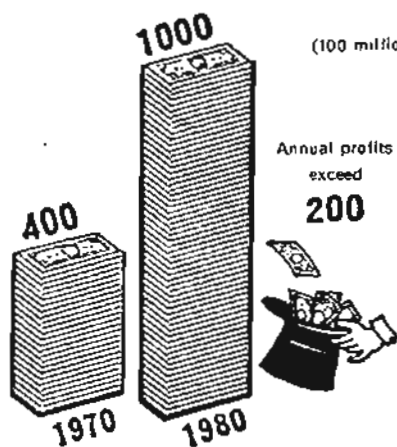
WIDE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR



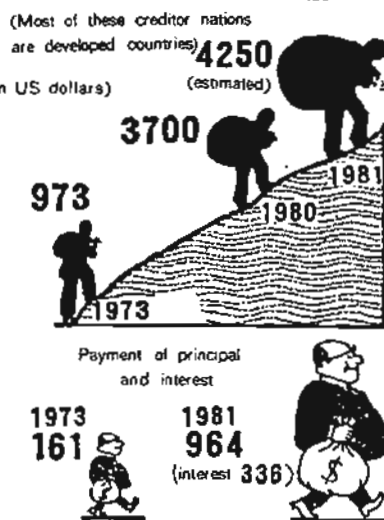
* Developing countries here refer to those within the capitalist economic system

THE NORTH EXPLOITS THE SOUTH

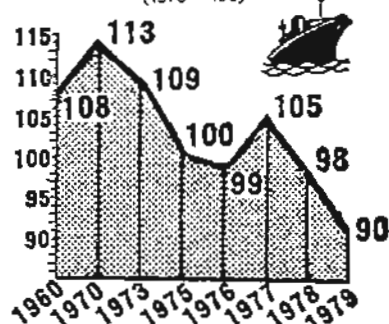
GROSS DIRECT PRIVATE INVESTMENTS
OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES



LONG-TERM DEBTS OF NON-OIL
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES



IMPORT-EXPORT PRICE RATIO
INDICES OF NON-OIL
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
(1975 = 100)



Import-export commodity price ratio index — price index of exported goods divided by price index of imported goods. As the price rise for exported goods is less than for imported goods, developing countries, the same quantity of goods exported in 1979 got 20 per cent less goods in return than in 1970.

tiations to establish the new international economic order is not only the way to attaining this fundamental objective, but is also the most urgent current task. The proposal was raised long ago, but for various reasons it was not accepted. Recently, the West European Community and some other developed countries have one after another clearly expressed support for global negotiations. At the Cancun meeting, US President Reagan reaffirmed the United States' stand taken at the Ottawa meeting in July this year. He said that the United States agreed to participate in global negotiations under the precondition of "four ground understandings." The unanimous agreement on the necessity of holding of global negotiations was one achievement attained at the Cancun meeting.

At Cancun, participants discussed in a serious and positive manner some of the more pressing issues of food grain, energy, trade and finance certain developing countries face. This is helpful to

enhancing mutual understanding and finding concrete measures later to solving these issues.

The US Attitude and the Missing "Natural Ally." Divergences of views also emerged in the two days of discussions. This was quite natural as the positions of the developed and developing countries differ and even economic conditions vary among the developing countries. These all can be solved later, gradually, through consultations. However, the US attitude on some questions gave rise to some uneasiness. It is said that no unanimity was reached over preparatory procedures for global negotiations because the United States saw things differently from all the others. On finding solutions to the urgent problems that the developing countries are confronted with, the United States stressed one-sidedly free economy, market forces and private investments and insisted that the existing international economic bodies should not be reshaped. These US views, of course, were criticized by some

developing countries. Is the United States, as the largest developed country, really willing to take a positive attitude to improving the North-South relationship? Or is it agreeing to take part in global negotiations merely to avoid finding itself out in the cold while it is actually trying to defend the old international economic order by every possible means?

The two co-chairmen's statement and the speeches of leaders from several countries expressed regret that the Soviet Union had refused to participate in the North-South summit. Many newsmen at the Cancun summit said that this refusal alone revealed the true colours of the self-proclaimed "natural ally" of the developing countries.

To improve North-South relations is an arduous struggle to change the old international economic order and to establish a new international economic order. Obstruction is unavoidable. But the whole process of the Cancun summit demonstrated that the tide of the times cannot be stemmed.

— Yuan Xianlu

No One Loves an Aggressor

THE resolution "On the Situation in Kampuchea" adopted by 100 votes for to 25 against at the 36th UN General Assembly on October 21 emphasizes the necessity of all foreign [Vietnamese] troops withdrawing from Kampuchea to pave the way to the finding of a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean question.

The resolution deplors the fact that "foreign armed intervention continues and foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus causing continuing hostilities in that country and seriously threatening international peace and security."

A Just Cause Wins Hearts and Minds. This is the third time in succession that such a resolution on Kampuchea has been passed by an overwhelming majority at the UN General Assembly. It is heartening to see that the number of countries voting for it has increased year after year, with six more added last year and three more this year. The number of countries supporting Kampuchea's lawful seat in the United Nations, too, has also increased, by three last year and by five this year.

These are not just figures. They are of immense political import. The two increases demonstrate the irrefutable truth that a just cause enjoys abundant support, while an unjust cause finds little support.

Is the Situation "Irreversible"? Viet Nam, with the backing of a superpower, in 1979 sent troops to invade and occupy Kampuchea, a weaker neighbouring country, and has estab-

lished a puppet regime in Phnom Penh. The situation there is "irreversible," Viet Nam declares, and has been trying to get the United Nations to accept it as a fait accompli. But the world community refuses to be coerced and for three years in succession the UN General Assembly has passed a resolution urging Viet Nam to withdraw its troops.

The Vietnamese assertion that the situation in Kampuchea is "irreversible" deceives nobody. What has happened in the past three years proves that the situation is far from being "irreversible." The Vietnamese forces, 200,000-strong, have not been able to wipe out the Kampuchean patriotic forces. On the contrary, Kampuchean resistance against aggression has grown stronger and the Vietnamese invaders are caught in a nightmarish predicament of their own making. They find themselves engulfed by a people determined to drive them out of the country and the various Kampuchean patriotic forces they face strengthening their unity.

Viet Nam's claim that the situation is "irreversible" is de-

signed to foist its puppet Heng Samrin regime as the representative of Kampuchea on the United Nations. It is with this in mind that Viet Nam carried out a sham election in Phnom Penh earlier this year. This move to give its puppet regime some semblance of legality and to win international sympathy has not achieved its goal. The increased support for Democratic Kampuchea at the current UN General Assembly session shows this, and that Viet Nam is more isolated than ever.

The United Nations' refusal to accept the Vietnamese aggression as a fait accompli and the Heng Samrin regime as the legal representative of Kampuchea is a blow against aggression struck in support of international justice and in defence of international norms of behaviour.

The UN General Assembly's vote on the Kampuchean issue this year and the last two years clearly show that no one loves an aggressor. This recent resolution is heartening encouragement to the Kampuchean people waging a courageous fight against the Vietnamese aggressors.

— Zhong Tai

Changes in the Greek Political Arena

GREECE'S Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) caused a major upset when it won the October 18 national election by capturing 48.08 per cent of the vote.

PASOK now controls 174 of the 300 seats in Greece's parlia-

ment. Andreas Papandreu, the party's leader, has formed a new government to replace the defeated New Democratic Party. This marks the first time Greece has had a "Left-wing" party in power since the end of World War II.

Most of PASOK's members are "Leftists" from the "free and centralist alliance." Their victory results from long years of hard work.

In the general election of 1974, the year after the Greek military junta's collapse, PASOK only managed to win 13 per cent of the votes cast. The party's influence grew in 1977 when it captured 25.3 per cent of the vote. This permitted it to increase its seats in parliament from 12 to 93, a number sufficient to make it the nation's largest opposition party.

Given the major differences between the political programmes of PASOK and the New Democratic Party, it is clear that Greece is headed for significant change.

Reasons for the Victory

PASOK's dramatic victory is largely attributable to the problems which have undermined Greece's economy during the seven years the New Democratic Party was in power. Compared to the rest of Europe, the nation's industrial and agricultural systems are weak and underdeveloped. Although the New Democratic Party made efforts to improve the situation, Greece experienced continuing deficits in its foreign exchanges and rising inflation.

In addition to the rising cost of goods, the nation's inflation rate rose from 25 per cent in 1979 to 26.2 per cent in 1980. This year's financial deficit is expected to be 350 billion drachmae. These conditions contributed to a significant decline in the New Democratic Party's popularity with Greek voters.

PASOK has promised to rehabilitate the nation's economy by curbing inflation, promoting

production and socializing big business. It has also promised to fix the price of agricultural produce in accordance with the needs of the nation's peasants. The recent election results indicate that these promises struck a responsive chord with many Greek voters.

Greek foreign policies also played quite a role in the general election. During the campaign, PASOK's representatives recommended an independent and pluralist foreign policy. They sharply attacked the pro-West policies of the New Democratic Party, charging that they subjected Greece to undue pressure from the United States and the West.

PASOK's representatives also criticized the New Democratic Party for joining the EEC and for rejoining NATO. They claimed these actions infringed on the nation's sovereignty and undermined its best interests. PASOK's representatives also charged that the New Democratic Party had ineptly handled Turkish relations.

The Greek military junta's intervention in the coup d'état in Cyprus in 1974 led to the Turkish Government's sending in troops. This resulted in significant conflict between Greece and Turkey. Tensions between the two countries have been further exacerbated in recent years by disputes about maritime rights to the Aegean Sea.

Although representatives from the two countries have conducted numerous negotiations on these matters, no significant progress has been made towards solving them. Many voters apparently concluded that the government's inability to resolve them resulted from New Democratic Party's ineptitude and the United States' pro-Turkish policies.

Given the increase in anti-American sentiments among the Greek populace, the New Democratic Party attempted to change its stance during the recent political campaign. On the eve of the election, its leaders announced their intention to suspend negotiations with the United States on two naval communications bases in Greece. This move was obviously designed to curry favour with the nation's voters.

International Reactions

PASOK has announced intentions to withdraw from NATO, suspend ties with the EEC and close US military bases located in Greece. These intentions have generated considerable concern in the United States, primarily because of Greece's strategic position in the Balkan region and the eastern Mediterranean Sea. If Greece withdraws from NATO, the alliance's southern flank will be exposed. This would inevitably lead to changes in other sections of Europe.

Despite the criticism which their announced intentions have generated from abroad, PASOK's leaders say they are primarily interested in improving Greece's economy. However, Papandreou has repeatedly indicated — before and after the election — that he does not intend to adopt a radical attitude or unreasonable policies.

These assurances seem to have provided some comfort to leaders in the United States and other sections of the West. Nevertheless, no one can say for sure at this time whether Greece's change in government will prove good or bad for the West.

— Zhang Qihua

For a New International Economic Order

— Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's statement delivered
At the Cancun Meeting on October 22, 1981

At present, the world is confronted with two major questions: One is the maintenance of peace and the other is the promotion of development. These two questions are related and inseparable. If our present meeting brings about positive results in strengthening international economic co-operation for development, it will contribute to the maintenance of world peace.

Developing Countries' Economic Growth Impeded

The emergence of a large number of developing countries marks a fundamental change in the world situation since World War II. These countries have become an independent and significant force on the international political scene. However, their status in the world economic system is far from commensurate with this fact. Their economic development is still being subjected to all kinds of external obstruction. As a result, the overwhelming majority of these countries are in grave economic trouble. To date, over 30 least-developed countries remain in abject poverty. Most of the primary-product-exporting countries are faced with worsening terms of trade and growing deficits in their international balance of payments. Many developing countries whose principal exports are manufactured goods incur losses from trade protectionism and are burdened by heavier debts and, as a result, their economic growth is slowing down. Even the oil-exporting countries find it difficult to carry out their industrialization programme smoothly because of the monopolistic control of technology, trade and banking, etc., in international markets. Besides, their balance-of-payments surplus obtained through trading of their limited non-renewable oil resources cannot retain its full monetary value under worldwide inflation. In a word, the devel-



Premier Zhao Ziyang at the opening session of the Cancun meeting on Oct. 22.

oping countries, which may differ in their conditions, are in the same plight. They were subjected to prolonged imperialist and colonialist domination and plunder in the past, and now are still heavily fettered by the unjust and inequitable international economic relationship. It is against this historical background and under the prevailing circumstances that all the developing countries have come to share the strong demand for the reform of the old international economic order and the establishment of a new one. This demand of theirs conforms with the process of social development, it is just and fully justified.

Old International Economic Relationship Must Go

True, the developed countries are plagued by economic stagnation and inflation. The economic crises in the developed countries have deep inherent social causes of their own. The

prosperity of the developed countries was, in the past, built on the impoverishment of the underdeveloped countries. As the developing countries have already achieved independence and the people are increasingly awakening, it is more and more difficult to maintain this old international economic relationship. If the developed countries should persist in their unjust and inequitable approach towards the developing countries, tension in the North-South relations could hardly be avoided. If the economies of the developing countries cannot register unimpeded growth, the developed countries are bound to face dwindling sources of raw materials and contraction of markets for their exports. Therefore, it is unwise for the developed countries to reject outright the demand to reform the old international economic order under the pretext of their economic difficulties. Many far-sighted persons in the developed countries have, out of their own national interests, come to realize the importance and urgency of restructuring the existing international economic order and improving the North-South relations. This kind of view which conforms to the historical trend of our time is well received by the developing countries.

Basic Principles for Co-operation

In this context, the developing world and many developed countries have called for "co-operation instead of confrontation" in the North-South relations.

It goes without saying that such co-operation should be based on the continuous restructuring of the unjust and inequitable international economic relations. Otherwise, co-operation could hardly be maintained and confrontation avoided. Therefore, international economic aid, private investment, transfer of technology, trade, money and finance should be guided by the principle of being just and reasonable and of equality and mutual benefit. It is essential to respect the sovereignty of the developing countries and not interfere in their internal affairs or control their economic lifelines. It is essential to help the developing countries build their independent national economies and not make them more dependent. It is essential to redress the present status of the developing countries in which they have no decision-making power in international economic affairs. Of course, in economic construction, the developing countries need to rely on their own strength and carry out the necessary

domestic reform in the light of their own conditions. However, the unjust and inequitable old international economic relationship has seriously hampered their efforts to this end. Only by restructuring the old international economic order, will it be possible to ensure smooth economic growth of the developing countries, thus improving the North-South relations and revitalizing the world economy.

China's View of a New International Economic Order

A global and integrated approach should be adopted and unremitting and solid efforts made for the establishment of a new international economic order. At present, many developing countries, especially the least-developed countries, have indeed some urgent problems which should be accorded priority. But the solution of these problems should constitute a step towards the global and integrated solution, meet the needs of the long-term development of the developing countries and facilitate the process of establishing a new international economic order. It should not serve as limited measures divorced from the fundamental objective of establishing a new international economic order.

Over the years, the developing countries have worked hard and put forward many reasonable proposals in order to establish a new international economic order and reach an early solution of some pressing problems. The Chinese Government has made a serious study of these proposals. We consider it proper to promote world co-operation for development in accordance with the following principles:

1. Give active support to the developing countries in all their efforts to develop their national economies, achieve economic independence and practise collective self-reliance.
2. Restructure the existing international economic order in keeping with the principles of being just and reasonable and of equality and mutual benefit.
3. Correctly and closely integrate the fundamental objective of establishing a new international economic order with the solution of the current urgent problems of the developing countries.
4. The developing countries are entitled to adopt development strategies suited to their own conditions. The developed countries should

China's Viewpoints on Settling Specific Problems

On October 23, at the Cancun summit, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang reiterated China's stand and views on the settlement of specific problems. Following are the main points:

Urgent Need and Long-Term Development

WHILE solving the questions in specific fields, it is necessary to take into consideration the immediate and urgent needs of the developing countries as well as their needs for long-term development. Take food and agriculture for example. It is necessary to increase urgent food assistance to the developing countries and at the same time to help them develop their agricultural production and enable most of the food-deficient countries and regions to attain self-sufficiency. As to energy, it is necessary to consider the needs of the developing countries for importing petroleum and solving their balance of payment problems and at the same time to help them in developing energy, including new and renewable energy. In the field of trade, it is necessary to remove the protectionist trade barriers to exports from the developing countries and at the same time to improve the parity price in trade for their primary products, to strengthen their manufacturing capability and stabilize their export earnings. In the monetary and financial fields, it is necessary to improve the terms of loans and other forms of capital transfer and at the same time to redress, step by step, the status of the developing nations in international financial bodies where they have had no say.

It is obvious that a gradual reform of the

existing international economic relations is a necessity both to meet the pressing needs of these countries and to resolve long-standing issues.

Aid Should Be Conducive to Economic Independence

The developing countries need to accumulate funds with which to tide over their present economic difficulties and proceed to national construction. But their independent capital accrue ment, which is the main source of their funds, is fettered by the unjust and inequitable international economic order. International economic assistance and private investments provided in specific conditions can be of help to the economies of the developing countries, but they should be conducive to the establishment of independent national economies in these countries and must not increase their dependence or impose on them specific modes of development.

The Solution of Problems Within the Framework of Global Negotiations

Questions in specific fields are closely interrelated. We support all suggestions conducive to the settlement of the urgent problems of the developing countries, especially questions concerning the least-developed countries. We support all suggestions conducive to the reform of the international economic structure. We maintain that any discussion and settlement of these questions should be tied in with and brought within the framework of global negotiations, but not as their substitute.

not make domestic reforms in the developing countries a precondition for the establishment of a new international economic order.

5. Earnestly promote the North-South negotiations aimed at improving the economic status of the developing countries in the interest of the growth of the world economy and the maintenance of world peace.

For Earlier Global Negotiations

In order to improve the North-South economic relations, the most urgent task we face now is to launch global negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations as soon as

possible and enable them to make substantive progress. This is a main objective stated explicitly in the letter of invitation issued for this meeting. Now many countries have urged a real start on global negotiations within the framework of the resolution of the 34th session of the UN General Assembly before the end of this year, or no later than early next year. China firmly supports this proposal.

I wish to appeal to all the leaders present to join in the expression of the desire to start global negotiations at an early date and the commitment that we shall exert all our efforts to enable these negotiations to achieve positive results.

At present, the international political and economic situation is very grim indeed. The improvement of North-South relations is closely related to the struggle against hegemonist aggression and expansion and the maintenance of world peace and stability. The questions under our consideration are not only economic issues of great importance, but also political issues with great strategic significance. The people of all countries place great hopes on this meet-

ing. We must not let them down. Our meeting must succeed; it cannot afford to fail.

China stands ready to work hard together with all the other governments and peoples for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the maintenance of world peace.

(Title and subheads are ours. — Ed.)

Facts About Sino-Vietnamese Relations (3)

Background and Causes of Viet Nam's Anti-China Policies

Following are excerpts from the last two parts of the article "Facts About Sino-Vietnamese Relations" published in the quarterly magazine "Journal of International Studies," No. 2, 1981. The first part "Mainstream of the History of Sino-Vietnamese Relations" and the second part "Origin and Development of the Present Differences" were carried in our issues Nos. 41 and 42. — Ed.

REVIEWING the history of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations during the past decades, one can see that the Le Duan clique began opposing China in the mid-1960s. Because Viet Nam's national-liberation war was not yet over and the Vietnamese surely needed China's aid, anti-China moves had to be limited during that time. After the conclusion of the Paris Agreement in 1973, and particularly after the liberation of south Viet Nam in 1975, the clique grew increasingly unscrupulous in its anti-China activities.

After the military victory against US aggression, the Vietnamese authorities became overbearing. They secured thousands of millions of US dollars' worth of arms and equipment in the war and boasted that Viet Nam was "the third strongest military power in the world." Being obsessed with ambitions, they concluded that the time was ripe for them to carry out an "Indochina federation" programme and to proceed to pursue hegemony in Southeast Asia. This smug calculation was strongly opposed by China, but it gained broad support from the Soviet Union.

To realize global hegemony, the Soviet

Union needs to establish support bases in Southeast Asia so as to speed up its southward expansion. With the success of this move, Soviet military forces could advance southward 4,000 kilometres from Haishenwei (Vladivostok), posing a direct threat to the Strait of Malacca and linking Soviet forces in the western Pacific with those in the east Indian Ocean. Simultaneously, this would be an aid to the Soviet strategy of moving southward to the Persian Gulf from the land, a drive to link the theatre with the Soviet chief battle front on the European continent and establish a strategic setup of global expansion and domination. Because of this, Moscow put a high value on the Le Duan clique. As for the Vietnamese authorities, since their strength is far from adequate to carrying out regional hegemony and dominance in Southeast Asia, they need support and aid from the Soviets. Thus, the two have speedily formed an alliance

Given these circumstances, the Le Duan clique's hostility and hatred for China became ever stronger, as it was increasingly eager to use anti-China activities to set up collaboration between Hanoi and Moscow. In 1976, Hoang Tung, editor-in-chief of the Party paper, said in his interview with a Swedish journalist: "During the war, it was vital for Viet Nam that both China and the USSR helped north Viet Nam to the full. Today it is no longer so vital for this country to follow that policy. . . . The good relationship with the USSR plays a very important role for Viet Nam today. It is precisely in the interests of Viet Nam that the Soviet Union has a strong desire to reduce Chi-

nese influence in this part of the world... Just on these questions, we begin to lean more and more to the Soviet Union."

He told the truth. From this people can see that the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations is due to the Vietnamese authorities' pursuit of regional hegemony. Their anti-China activities over the Sino-Vietnamese boundary question and their persecution of Chinese residents in Viet Nam are closely related to their intensified expansion on the Indochina Peninsula, both being a component part of their regional hegemonic policy.

To cover up the real causes for the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and shirk its own responsibilities, the Le Duan clique has accused China of being "anti-Viet Nam" and "menacing" Viet Nam. They have also invented all sorts of charges to support these false allegations, including:

(1) China was afraid of a strong Viet Nam so that the more victories Viet Nam's national-liberation war achieved, the more "anti-Viet Nam" China became. Xuan Thuy, Member of the Secretariat and Head of the Liaison Department of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, said: "The more victories Viet Nam achieved, the more the Chinese authorities were grieved. Particularly since the entire liberation of south Viet Nam and the unification of the country, they became more indifferent to Viet Nam, and were responsible for the deterioration of the Sino-Vietnamese relations as they are today."¹ Pham Van Dong said: "At the moment our people's war against US aggression and its hirelings in the south achieved complete victory in 1975, Beijing considered the birth of a peaceful, independent and unified socialist Viet Nam as an impediment to its ambition of expansion in Southeast Asia."²

As a matter of fact, the Chinese people were elated by Viet Nam's victory in its wars of resistance to French and US aggression. They regarded these as the victories of the revolutionary peoples against imperialist wars of aggression. Moreover, the Chinese people provided support to the Vietnamese in both cases. Both Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai had said: "The Chinese people have always regarded the Vietnamese people's struggle as their own and the Vietnamese people's victory as their own victory." This conveys the true feelings of the Chinese people, feelings which the Vietnamese leaders have acknowledged in the past.

At a Beijing rally celebrating the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam on May 2, 1975, the Vietnamese Ambassador to China, Nguyen Trong Vinh, expressed "heartfelt gratitude" to the Chinese leaders who attended and "shared the happiness of victory" with the Vietnamese people. He said: "Our victory is also a victory of the great, wholehearted and effective assistance in many fields of the fraternal Chinese Communist Party, Government and people." In September, Le Duan led a delegation to Beijing, and in his talks with Comrade Mao Zedong he said: "Our country has never been so happy as today. This is because we have achieved nationwide liberation... Without your country as a vast rear area, without the route you provided and without the assistance you rendered, our success would have been impossible... We always hold that it was China and not the Soviet Union that offered us the most immediate, urgent and vital assistance."

China never tended to dramatize its aid to Viet Nam. But who can imagine China, the country that provided such an enormous amount of aid to Viet Nam, would be "grieved" at Viet Nam's victory. If China were really intent on expanding in Southeast Asia and considered Viet Nam an impediment to its realization of this objective, why did China offer "the most immediate, urgent and vital assistance" to Viet Nam to help it to complete its independence and unification?

(2) China opposed Viet Nam because the latter refused to accept the policies and viewpoints China intended to "force on" it. Xuan Thuy said: "Because Viet Nam had different views and stands with China, and particularly about the cultural revolution and the theory of the three worlds, China tried in every possible way to create an unstable situation in Viet Nam in a vain attempt to sabotage her peaceful construction."³

What are the facts?

Shortly after the polemics began between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union, differences developed between China and Viet Nam. Always stressing the need to maintain friendship and unity, China explained its own viewpoints to Viet Nam, hoping that the differences between both sides might be reduced. They should at least seek common ground on major issues while leaving differences on minor ones. China's leaders once told Le Duan that the different views on the

Soviet Union should not affect the unity between China and Viet Nam.

As for the theory of the three worlds, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said to Le Duan in 1975: Talking about this question today, I did not expect any fraternal Party to agree with our opinion. It does not matter that we have differences on certain questions. You may say yours and we may say ours, with each reserving his own opinions, and this is normal. As for the "cultural revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong said to the Vietnamese leaders at an earlier date: We are carrying out the great cultural revolution, but you should not do this. What should also be pointed out is that though there existed ideological differences between China and Viet Nam, we still did our best to assist Viet Nam during those years.

(3) China menaced Viet Nam from the north and tried to annex Viet Nam. A memorandum of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry on the Sino-Vietnamese boundary question issued on March 15, 1979 charged China with "having launched a large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam which was aimed at annexing the country." Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnamese Minister of Foreign Affairs, said in February this year: "China must stop building up armed forces at our border so as to remove the menace from our border areas."

Under what circumstances did China decide to begin a self-defensive counterattack?

As we mentioned before, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Communist Party of Viet Nam held in the summer of 1978 decided that China and Democratic Kampuchea were the immediate enemies of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese authorities' directives to all lower-level organs referred to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy" and "an opponent in a new war." The slogan "Do everything to defeat China" was put forward. The Outline for Education on the New Situation and Tasks, issued by the General Political Department of the Vietnamese People's Army on July 8, 1978, stipulated that "an offensive strategy" should be adopted against China and that "counterattacks and offensives be carried out both within and beyond the frontier." These principles and policies resulted in Viet Nam's intensified military provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border and increased incidents of bloodshed.

During the six months before February 16, 1979, Viet Nam initiated intrusions into 162

places along the Chinese border, killing and wounding over 300 Chinese people. The Pingmeng area of Napo County in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region is a place closely related to the Vietnamese revolution. Thirty years ago, the Pingmeng people risked their lives to protect and help Comrade Ho Chi Minh when he was carrying out his revolutionary activities there. During the Vietnamese people's war against US aggression, Pingmeng was one of the main channels through which large quantities of Chinese materials were transported to Viet Nam. But since 1978, this area has been the scene of over 100 armed Vietnamese provocations. After visiting the Sino-Vietnamese border, Shuzo Aoki, journalist of *Tokyo Shimbun* of Japan, wrote a report on January 1, 1979: "Seeing the state of affairs of Youyiguan and Dongxing one may have this true impression: At least the status quo shows that the Vietnamese side is making incessant provocations while the Chinese side is exercising great restraint. But this restraint is approaching to the limit."

When China came to the end of its patience, it began to counterattack on February 17, 1979. But on March 5, China started pulling out all its frontier troops from Viet Nam after attaining its set goals. China's counterattack was entirely justified and conformed to the principles of self-defence recognized by international law.

China always firmly opposes any activities of expansion. It has no intention whatever of annexing any other country's territory, nor is there a single Chinese soldier stationed beyond China's boundary. During the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against US aggression, China sent air defence, engineering, railway building, rear service and other support units to Viet Nam, involving a total of 320,000 people—the largest number was 170,000 a year. They were all summoned back to China after finishing their tasks. In 1979, though China was compelled to strike back in self-defence, it ordered all its frontier troops to withdraw immediately after attaining set objectives. If China had really been attempting to annex Viet Nam, it would not have acted in this way. There are indeed some countries which have attempted to annex their neighbours. One example is provided by the Vietnamese authorities, who have dispatched over 200,000 troops to Laos and Kampuchea in a determined effort to set up an "Indochina federation."

It is true that China has deployed troops

along the Sino-Vietnamese border. This is partly for self-defence and partly for pinning down part of Viet Nam's forces on the northern line. This helps the Kampuchean people's struggle against aggression and maintains peace in Southeast Asia. The Chinese People's Liberation Army always follows Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked we will certainly counterattack." Viet Nam's disapproval of China's deployment of troops in the frontier provinces suggests that Hanoi is eager to move more troops from the northern line to the southern line to undermine the independence of Kampuchea and the security of other Southeast Asian countries—an indication of its regional hegemonic policy.

(4) The Vietnamese troops are stationed in Kampuchea to deal with "China's menace."

An article entitled "On the Kampuchean Question," published in a Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* on November 24, 1979, claimed that Viet Nam's war of aggression against Kampuchea was a "fierce counterattack" against the "anti-Viet Nam aggressive war" which was launched by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and was "engineered, organized and directed" by China from the "back" of Viet Nam, and that it was a war to eliminate the enemy troops at their starting point.

How impudent the Vietnamese authorities are when they call their war of aggression against Kampuchea a war of aggression against Viet Nam by Democratic Kampuchea at the instigation of China. The resolutions on Kampuchea passed by an overwhelming majority of votes at the 34th and 35th General Assemblies of the United Nations have clearly identified the aggressor in the war between Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

It is true that China has given support to various patriotic forces in Kampuchea in their fight against Vietnamese aggressors as well as the Kampuchean puppet regime. The Chinese Government and people will continue this endeavour until Viet Nam stops its aggression against Kampuchea. Not only China, but most of the countries in the world (the Southeast Asian countries in particular), have been supporting the patriotic forces of Kampuchea. We do this in order to safeguard Kampuchea's national independence, maintain world peace and the security of Southeast Asian countries. It is the Vietnamese authorities that are menacing the national independence of Kampuchea. With their troops stationed in

Kampuchea, they are also menacing world peace and the security of Southeast Asian countries. S. Rajaratnam, Second Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, said recently to a journalist of *The Strait News*: "On ASEAN's part, we don't think China a threat to us; however, we regard the 200,000 Vietnamese troops now stationed in Kampuchea as a kind of threat to us."

Viet Nam's recent propaganda about sending its troops to Kampuchea to deal with the "menace" from China reveals that it is creating pretexts for its hanging on in Kampuchea and its clinging to regional hegemony. Vietnamese actions in Kampuchea match those of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. On the pretext that Afghanistan is suffering an outside "threat," Moscow refuses to remove its troops from Afghanistan.

The Way to Improve Sino-Vietnamese Relations

The Vietnamese leaders should be held responsible for the deterioration of the Sino-Vietnamese relations. The Chinese Government and people deeply regret this. China still hopes the two countries can get along as friendly neighbours. In 1979, China rapidly put forward proposals of principle for improving relations at the negotiations between the two countries held at China's suggestion.

Because the deterioration of the Sino-Vietnamese relations results from Viet Nam's pursuit of regional hegemony, normalization of the relations should proceed from opposing hegemonism. Therefore, China proposed that both China and Viet Nam affirm the following principles: "Neither side should seek hegemony in Indochina, Southeast Asia or any other part of the world, and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. Neither side shall station troops in other countries and those already stationed abroad must be withdrawn to their own country. Neither side shall join any military blocs directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries or use the territory and bases of other countries to threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries."⁶

Viet Nam at first rejected any discussion of the basic question of opposition to hegemony. Though it subsequently mentioned the question at the negotiation table and brought forward "five contents," it did not refer to such crucial

issues as not stationing troops in other countries, troops already stationed abroad being withdrawn to their own country, opposing any other country seeking hegemony, not joining military blocs and refusing to offer other countries military bases. This is because these problems involved the issues vital to Hanoi's regional hegemony, the collaboration between Viet Nam, the small hegemonist, and the Soviet Union, the chief hegemonist. Given this, what is the point of restoring negotiations between China and Viet Nam?

Though the Vietnamese authorities have encountered increasing difficulties in pursuing hegemony, they will not give up. Perhaps, they may consider mending their ways when they are at the end of their rope in the face of more powerful opposition. On behalf of the Chinese Government, Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council, stated during his recent visit to Malaysia: What China is opposed to is the policies of aggression and expansion of the Vietnamese leaders. China would like to improve its rela-

tions with Viet Nam as soon as they abandon these policies and give up regional hegemony.

The deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations has created new obstacles to friendly intercourse between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. But anyone who seeks hegemony will sooner or later fail. The adverse current in the present Sino-Vietnamese relations, like those ancient wars instigated by the feudal monarchies of the two countries, will be a temporary episode in the tens of hundreds of years of fraternal relations between the two countries. □

NOTES

1. In an interview with a Kyodo correspondent, July 9, 1978.

2. At the mass rally in celebration of Viet Nam's National Day in Hanoi, September 1, 1978.

3. At a press conference in Havana, July 29, 1978.

4. Speech by Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation at the Second Plenary Meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations in Hanoi on April 26, 1979.

On the Party Resolution

Why Should a Theory Be Discarded?

— An analysis of the theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"

by Xi Xuan

The theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" has definite implications: it refers to such kind of "political revolution" as the "cultural revolution," in which "one class overthrows another." This theory should be cast away because it conforms neither to Marxism nor to the reality of China. But discarding it doesn't in the least mean the end of the revolution. On the contrary, the Chinese people are continuing their revolutionary struggles unabated in all fields.

THE "cultural revolution" was a nightmare for every just-minded Chinese. The nightmare is long gone now, but people are still pondering why it came to be. According to the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China (hereafter referred to

as the resolution) adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in June 1981, the direct cause of the "cultural revolution" lay with Comrade Mao Zedong, who as the Party leader committed some ideological, political and organizational mistakes. The theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" served as the guiding ideology for launching the "cultural revolution." The resolution has already repudiated this wrong theory in no uncertain terms, but where it went wrong deserves further analyses.

This theory was the summary of a whole series of theories, especially those concerning the class struggle under socialism, set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. The theory first appeared in its entirety in the article "Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution" published jointly on November 6, 1967 by the editorial depart-

The author is a theoretician.

ments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*. Though the summary was not made by Comrade Mao Zedong personally, it had his approval and was the fundamental guiding ideology for all political activities of the Party and state during that period. It was written into the political reports to the Ninth (1969) and 10th (1973) National Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party and the Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress (1975). Owing to the influence of the personality cult, even after the downfall of the gang of four, the same theory was again written into the Party Constitution adopted by the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (1977) and the Constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress (1978). It was not until the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee* (1978) that the mistakes of this theory were brought to light.

To judge the theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," one should not take it at its face value, but take into account its definite implications. Its quintessence is like this: After the proletariat seizes political power and sets up the socialist system, it is still necessary to carry out the revolution in which one class overthrows another, and revolutions of this kind should be repeated several times. The "cultural revolution," the memory of which is still fresh in people's minds, was precisely the practice of this theory. Now it has become clear that this theory is entirely wrong because it runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and is alien to the actual situation in China.

Starting Point Wrong

The theory bases itself on the assumption that during the entire historical period of socialism there are still classes and class struggle. This assumption, however, does not conform with Marxism-Leninism. One of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles is that socialism means the elimination of classes. The proletariat seizes political power for the purpose of using it to wipe out classes and the system of exploitation, so as to open up broad avenues for the development of the productive forces. The view that during the entire historical period of socialist society classes and class struggle still exist invariably leads to the

wrong conclusion that "classes cannot be eliminated under socialism."

Let's have a look at the historical facts.

In the Soviet Union, the private ownership of the means of production underwent socialist transformation after the property of the bourgeoisie was expropriated and the farm collectivization was accomplished. In 1936, Stalin correctly declared that exploiting classes had been wiped out in the Soviet Union. In China, after the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce was basically accomplished in 1956, the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held that year formally declared that "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in our country has been basically resolved, that the history of the system of class exploitation, which lasted for several thousand years in our country, has on the whole been brought to an end, and that the social system of socialism has, in the main, been established in China." This thesis was confirmed once again in the resolution because it conforms to both Marxism-Leninism and the reality of China.

The existence of classes is based on a certain type of ownership of the means of production. Therefore, the change in the ownership of the means of production is inevitably followed by a change in the state of classes. In China, the landlord class and rich peasants were overthrown during the agrarian reform and the agricultural co-operative movement respectively. With the basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, the bourgeoisie was deprived of its ownership of the means of production, the means to exploit the labourers and the position to enslave them, hence the loss of its economic foundation upon which it existed as an exploiting class, and of its characteristics as a class. The resolution pointed out: "The system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, and exploiters no longer exist as classes." This conclusion is entirely correct.

Kang Sheng, who worked hand in glove with the gang of four, dished out the fallacy that in a socialist society people are differentiated into classes according to their political attitudes and ideological conditions. He did this to back the theory that classes and class struggle exist throughout the socialist period, and that the bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party. This fallacy which violates the Marxist-Leninist theory

* See p. 25.

that people are divided into classes on the basis of their relationship to the ownership of the means of production is bound to cause confusion in practice. If classes were divided according to people's ideology and political attitudes, would there be a yardstick for this purpose? As a matter of fact, one's ideology and political attitudes differ over time. It is impossible to make scientific judgments of classes by using people's thinking as a yardstick.

The disappearance of the exploiting classes does not mean the dying out of class struggle. This is because the existence of exploiting classes, although related to class struggle, is not the same thing as class struggle. The exploiting classes are overthrown when they are deprived of the means of production and when the means of production change hands, but the termination of class struggle takes a much longer process.

Class struggle will exist in certain fields for a long period of time after the exploiting classes are overthrown; it can even intensify under certain conditions. This is because there are still counter-revolutionaries, enemy agents, spies, criminals who stop at nothing to disrupt the socialist order and because of new exploiters who engage in embezzlement, robbery and speculations. Some of them already exist, new ones will be engendered. All are linked with the historical influences of the system of exploitation and exploiting classes that existed for so long in China, and with the exploiting system and exploiting classes abroad. Therefore the struggle between the people and these undesirable elements still falls into the scope of class struggle. However, with the abolition of the exploiting system and the disappearance of the exploiting classes, they have lost the political and economic basis to lean upon; they are scattered, unstable and their numbers and scope of activity are greatly limited. This kind of class struggle is not between two full-fledged antagonistic classes; it is, if anything, the remnant of class struggle left behind by history. In other words, it is a peculiar form of the class struggle under socialism.

A Revolution Without Economic and Political Foundation

According to the theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," after the socialist system is established, it is necessary to carry out political revolution in which one class overthrows another and to

wrest power from Party persons in authority who take the capitalist road. But such "revolution" has neither economic nor political basis.

With the accomplishment of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man, the principle of "to each according to his work" is gradually implemented and the obstacles to the development of the productive forces are removed. Although contradictions remain between the relations of production and the productive forces, they can be resolved within the framework of the socialist system. There is no class force like those in the old relations of production that hinders the regulation of the relations of production and the development of the productive forces. Before the "cultural revolution," China made tremendous progress in socialist construction. In this process we did go a tortuous path sometimes and committed mistakes, even such serious mistakes as the "great leap forward" of 1958. But these were not caused by socialist relations of production, but by lack of experience and mistakes in leadership. This necessitates our constant efforts to sum up experiences, correct mistakes and adjust our plans. Working precisely in this way, the Party Central Committee has had remarkable results. This shows that there is no economic basis for a "cultural revolution" in which one class overthrows another.

Since its establishment, the people's democratic dictatorship in China has undertaken the tasks of suppressing counter-revolutionary forces of all kinds, opposing imperialist aggression and carrying out large-scale economic and cultural construction. Workers, peasants and intellectuals of different nationalities are equal politically, and the fundamental interests of the state and the people are in harmony. Undeniably, there are certain undesirable aspects in the Party and state, there are shortcomings in various systems and there is bureaucratism and other unhealthy tendencies among government functionaries. Most of these social and political contradictions, however, are not manifestations of class struggle. There does not exist a political hierarchy operating within our organs of state power that represents the antagonistic class. As to the contradictions among the people, they should be judged appropriately and resolved correctly in compliance with the Constitution, law and the Party Constitution.

At the onset of the "cultural revolution," it was said that there was a bourgeois headquarter

ters headed by Liu Shaoqi, which was following a revisionist line and had planted agents in various central departments and in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. A call was issued to bombard this headquarters, wrest power from it and get rid of the "erroneous" line. All this proved to be groundless. As a Party and state leader, Comrade Liu Shaoqi worked under the leadership of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong and his actions were known to both the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. He followed the principles and policies laid down by the Party Central Committee. Like anyone else he had shortcomings and made mistakes, but he never refused to correct them when they were pointed out by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. The Party and government leadership at various levels under the central authorities also carried out the principles and policies laid down by the central authorities and they made it a point to correct their shortcomings and mistakes whenever they were pointed out by the higher authorities. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, large numbers of frame-ups, false charges and wrong sentences have been redressed, the victims exonerated and the "Left" mistakes corrected in various fields, all in an effort to put the country back in order. This shows that neither a bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi, nor a revisionist line ever existed, and consequently there never were agents planted at various levels by this so-called "bourgeois headquarters."

All in all, there was no political basis for launching the "cultural revolution" in which one class was to overthrow another.

Carry on the Revolutionary Struggle In All Fields

According to Marxism-Leninism, the task for the proletarian revolution under the capitalist system is to wage class struggle to overthrow the bourgeois rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what a "political revolution" means. After seizing political power, the proletariat undertakes socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production to abolish the system of exploitation and release the productive forces. Lenin called this "social revolution." Both the "political revolution" and the "social revolution" have been

accomplished in China with the establishment of the People's Republic and the completion of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. But this does not mean that the task of socialist revolution has been fulfilled and that no further revolutionary struggle in various fields is needed in the days to come.

Just as the resolution pointed out: "Socialism aims not just at eliminating all systems of exploitation and all exploiting classes but also at greatly expanding the productive forces, improving and developing the socialist relations of production and the superstructure and, on this basis, gradually eliminating all class differences and all major social distinctions and inequalities which are chiefly due to the inadequate development of the productive forces until communism is finally realized. This is a great revolution, unprecedented in human history." Different from the "political revolution" and the "social revolution," this unprecedented revolution, which also includes the transformation of the productive forces, is a revolution in the wider sense of the word.

Revolution under socialism differs from revolution to overthrow exploiting classes and the system of exploitation, in that they have different central tasks and that they are carried out in different ways. Before the exploiting classes are overthrown, the central task for the proletarian revolutionary struggle is to topple the political and economic rule of the exploiting classes and set up the rule of the proletariat and the labouring people; under socialist conditions, the central task is to develop the social productive forces and, in normal situations, to accomplish things related to the central task. The revolution to overthrow the system of exploitation is carried out through fierce class struggle. But, the revolution of present-day China is carried out within the framework of the socialist system, under leadership, step by step and in an orderly manner. The latter is more profound and arduous than any previous revolution and can be completed only after long-term hard struggle.

The Chinese Communists have repudiated the theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and have cleared up the ideological confusion it caused. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, they are continuing their revolutionary struggle in various fields and fighting for the final goals of socialism and communism. □

On Certain Historical Events

"The Two Whatevers" and Discussions On Criteria for Truth

"The two whatevers" read as follows: "We firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and we unswervingly adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave." This formulation appeared in a joint editorial of the Party organ *Renmin Ribao*, the Party journal *Hongqi*, and the army paper *Jiefangjun Bao* on February 7, 1977. It was a wrong guideline pursued by Hua Guofeng.

Mao Zedong made numerous immortal contributions to the Chinese revolution, but the mistakes he committed in his later years should be corrected. Hua Guofeng's implementation of the "two whatevers" policy hampered the rectification of errors made during the "cultural revolution" and other mistakes.

Deng Xiaoping charged that "the two whatevers" ran counter to Marxism. He made this point in a letter to the Party Central Committee on April 19, 1977. "We must throughout the generations use the accurate and complete Mao Zedong Thought to guide the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country and successfully push the Party, the cause of socialism and the history of international communism forward," wrote Deng. He also expressed the view that we must not continue to support incorrect policies. His letter subsequently became a guide for discussions on criteria for truth.

The article "Practice Is the Sole Criterion for the Test of Truth," published in *Guangming Ribao* on May 10, 1978, explicitly reaffirmed the basic Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge: "Whether or not a theory correctly reflects the objective reality, whether or not it is a truth, can only be tested through social practice." This represented a negation of "the two whatevers." The article evoked a strong response and generated a national discussion of "the two whatevers." This discussion, which began in June 1978, reached its zenith in November the same year. Through the discussion, people increased their understanding of Marxism-Leninism and rid themselves of the spiritual yoke of personality cult and dogmatism which prevailed for a time in the past.

Redressing Unjust, False and Wrong Cases

As a result of the "Left" mistakes committed during and prior to the "cultural revolution," especially the ruthless persecution of veteran cadres by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, numerous unjust, false and wrong cases remained for many years unredressed among the cadres inside and outside the Party, Party members and the people. As the work of setting things right was carried out in various fields according to the Party Central Committee's instruction, many victims and their families demanded rehabilitation. But between 1976 and 1977, the work of redressing wrong cases was impeded by Hua Guofeng's advocacy of "the two whatevers."

When Hu Yaobang took charge of the Central Party School in October 1977, he directed some comrades to investigate and study the question concerning cadres, and on this basis they wrote a long article, "Correct What Was Reversed by the Gang of Four Concerning the Line on Cadres" (published in *Renmin Ribao*, on October 7, 1977). The article called for immediate liberation of large numbers of cadres who had not been rehabilitated or had been denied jobs on various pretexts. Shortly after the article's publication, the Party Central Committee received thousands of letters from various localities demanding that the Party's policies on cadres, intellectuals and patriotic personages be implemented. The Party Central Committee subsequently appointed Hu Yaobang the Head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee. This resulted in an acceleration of the process of redressing unjust, false and wrong cases.

Following the Party Central Committee's instructions, *Renmin Ribao* published several Special Commentator's articles urging the "exoneration of unjust cases, the redressing of false cases and the correction of wrong cases." Published on November 15, 1978, the article "Seek Truth From Facts, Correct Mistakes Whenever Discovered" suggested that "if mistakes are found in any cases, no matter who made the approval, the organizations at the same level have the full right to correct them." It stipulated that the work of rehabilitating cadres who were falsely charged be completed during the first half of 1979.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978, big advances were made in the rehabilitation work. Those who were wrongly designated as Rightists

during the 1957 anti-Rightist struggle were also exonerated.

Third Plenary Session of 11th Party Central Committee

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Beijing from December 18 to 22, 1978.

The session, which turned out to be one of the most important Party meetings since the founding of the People's Republic, ushered in a new period. The session put an end to the indecision which had hampered Party work since the fall of the gang of four in October 1976. It also produced a conscientious effort to correct the "Left" mistakes committed during and prior to the "cultural revolution."

The Third Plenary Session re-established the Party's traditional Marxist ideological line. The session repudiated "the two whatevers" policy, evaluated the discussion on criteria for truth and stressed Mao Zedong's tremendous role in the protracted Chinese revolutionary struggles. The session pointed out that the theoretical task of the Central Committee is to lead and educate the Party and the people, recognize the great contributions of Mao Zedong, master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, integrate the universal principles of

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the Chinese socialist modernization drive and develop those principles in light of the new historical conditions. The session also formulated a guiding maxim: "Emancipate the mind, use the brain, seek truth from facts and unite as one to look forward to the future."

The Third Plenary Session clearly re-established the Marxist political line. It decided that the slogan, "Taking class struggle as the key link," was unsuitable to socialist society. It also decided to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization and devote increased attention to solving the serious imbalance which existed in major sectors of the national economy. The session also conducted detailed discussions of agricultural issues and approved the national economic plans for 1979 and 1980.

The Third Plenary Session also re-established the Marxist organizational line. Several major events which occurred during the "cultural revolution" were examined. Important issues involving the merits and demerits of some major leaders were also resolved. When Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the work of the Party Central Committee in 1975, he corrected some mistakes committed during the "cultural revolution," thereby bringing about marked achieve-

(Continued on p. 28.)

Report From the Northeast

Employment Transformation

by Our Correspondent Shen Yantai

FIVE years ago, Jiamusi (which is located in China's northernmost province of Heilongjiang) was experiencing a major employment problem.

A disturbingly large percentage of its 520,000 residents were awaiting jobs. The little business activity taking place in the city was sporadic and uninspired.

The problem was particularly severe for young people. Thousands of them were unable to find jobs of any kind.

During the past two years, however, Jiamusi has experienced a dramatic transformation in its economic and employment situations. The city's once desolate commercial districts are now bustling with activity. Many shops which previously opened late and closed early have begun to keep their

doors open from dawn to dusk, or even late into the night, in order to keep abreast of customer demand.

In addition, hundreds of new shops have been opened and the city's streets are now filled with trucks and carts delivering a wide variety of goods.

Jiamusi's free markets are proving to be particularly successful. Each day they attract large crowds of enthusiastic customers interested in purchasing vegetables, meat, fruits and numerous handicraft items.

At the same time, there has been a heartening decline in the number of youths awaiting jobs. Most important, the large groups of young people who wandered the streets five years ago have virtually disappeared.



Tian Ping (first from left) and three members of the restaurant staff.

Comrade Wang, a cadre in the city government, claims that Jiamusi's transformation is primarily attributable to the flexible economic policy of the Party and a shift in its line regarding employment.

"For most of the years between 1957 and 1978, our business and commercial activity suffered because of restrictive policies resulting from the influence of 'Left' thought," he said.

"Industry and commerce run by individuals on a small scale, as well as handicraft operations, were considered 'hotbeds of capitalism.'

"As a result, they were discouraged and the state's commercial enterprises gradually took over all economic activity in the city."

Since individual businesses and handicraft operations nearly stopped, people began to depend almost totally upon the state for employment. Unfortunately, the state was not in a position to provide jobs for everyone.

One of the most important negative results was a drastic decline in the number of services available to Jiamusi's residents. The state did not have the resources or flexibility to provide restaurants, tailor shops, hotels and specialty shops on the scale required.

"This resulted in a great number of inconveniences," explained Comrade Wang.

"The situation was further complicated by the increasing number of young people graduating from school each year. After a time, we found ourselves faced with an unacceptable situation.

"On the one hand, there were no workers to perform urgently needed tasks, and on the other, large numbers of young people were forced to wait while the state sought suitable employment for them."

Jiamusi's residents were not the only ones in China faced with such problems. Similar conditions existed in many other sections of the nation. This, of course, was only one of the many disastrous results from the Party's "Left" mistakes in its guidelines. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the Party addressed this and other problems at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978.

In an attempt to stimulate increased economic activity and to produce more jobs, the Party decided to implement, among other policies and measures, an economy which takes the state-owned sector as the major part, but is supplemented by collective and individual sectors.

This historic decision is primarily responsible for the transformation of Jiamusi and many other similarly situated cities throughout China. In a short period of time, the people of the nation have exercised surprising initiative and imagination.

In Jiamusi, for example, 1,580 production, commercial and other service enterprises were established in 1979-80. Most of these were set up with funds provided by individuals and collectives.

Between 1979 and 1981, 70,152 young people from Jiamusi were employed. This included more than 90 per cent of those who sought employment during that period.

A Collectively Run Restaurant

The Sanjiangchun restaurant is one of the many new businesses established in Jiamusi during the past two years. The restaurant was started by a neighbourhood committee interested in providing jobs for young people. In order to assist the committee, the district Party committee and the city departments in charge of industry and commerce transferred Tian Ping to the restaurant to serve as its manager.

In addition to Tian Ping, who was the director of a glove factory before being transferred, the restaurant employs 10 young women. Their ages range from 18 to 25. In order to save money, Tian Ping and the other members of the staff took part in building the restaurant and installed its stoves.

The women initially invited two retired chefs to teach them the art of cooking. The

restaurant's food is now prepared by two members of the staff, both of whom have developed into skilled cooks. The restaurant's menu, which contains a few dozen dishes, is proof of their expertise.

The government has provided a significant boost to the restaurant's success by exempting it from commercial tax for three years (this is standard policy for all individually and collectively owned enterprises). In order to facilitate its customer's schedules, the restaurant opens early and closes late. Dishes are modestly priced and the service is excellent. As a result, the restaurant is proving to be both popular and profitable.

Including wages and bonuses, each of the restaurant's employees is paid 70 yuan per month—a sum which exceeds that paid to similarly employed workers in state enterprises.

A New Limited-Liability Company

Many Jiamusi residents have pooled their resources and established limited-liability enterprises during the past two years. The Xinya Limited-Liability Company, which was set up with fifty 500-yuan shares, is typical. The company's shareholders include cadres, workers and other residents.

The company is managed by Zhang Weiyuan, a retired cadre. It employs 14 young people and sells a wide variety of items, including cigarettes, wine, candy, tea, household goods, hardware, cold drinks and fresh fruit. Sales targets have been exceeded for each of the eight months the company has been in operation.

Net profits amount to 4,600 yuan, 40 per cent of which has been distributed to shareholders in the form of dividends. The remaining 60 per cent has been retained in the company's accumulation fund. Each employee's wages exceed 50 yuan per month.

A Hairdresser's Shop

About one half of Jiamusi's female residents like to get their hair permed at regular intervals. Until recently, they experienced numerous problems when they tried to make appointments with local hairdressers. Given the small number of shops in the city, they had to schedule appointments and wait for long periods before getting their hair done.

In response to this situation, Luan Yuge, 29, and Luan Yumei, 26, set up their own hairdressing shop in 1980 with 600 yuan borrow-

ed from their relatives and friends. They provide service to their customers at times convenient to them.

The two sisters had reservations when the thought of setting up the shop initially occurred to them.

"We were worried because we did not feel that it was proper for young people to be self-employed," said Luan Yuge. "After carefully studying the Party's principles and guidelines, we realized that such shops have an important role to play in the nation's economy."

In order to prepare themselves, the sisters spent time studying the techniques of local hairdressers. They then went to Shanghai for further study. Their hairdressing shop has proven to be one of the most successful new businesses in Jiamusi.

"We have been extremely busy since we opened," said Luan Yumei.

"We earn 120 yuan a month apiece and we are now financially comfortable.

"Each month we deposit some money in our savings account at the local bank."

The sisters have been so successful that they have attracted the attention of several city officials. Both the vice-secretary of the city Party committee and the vice-mayor of Jiamusi have visited their shop and offered encouragement.

"We are very confident now," said Luan Yuge, who indicated that she and her sister are now members of the city's individual labourer's association.

A Factory-Run Collective Farm

The Jiamusi Textile Mill, which employs 10,000 people, has set up a collectively owned farm in order to provide jobs for its employees' children.

Located in a mountainous area on the outskirts of the city, the farm employs mainly young people. Although initially devoted solely to agricultural production, the farm has added industrial and commercial components. In addition to raising pigs, cattle, sheep, soybeans, ginseng, rice and fruits, the farm has established a weaving shop which has 207 young employees and produces dacron cloth and canvas.

The highly productive farm supplies the textile mill with a variety of products, including rice, flour and soybean oil and some meat products. Last year it provided 30,000 kilogrammes of pork to the mill.

The farm is proving to be very profitable. Its annual industrial and agricultural output has reached 750,000 yuan. Profits amount to 203,000 yuan per year. In addition to their fixed wages, 30 per cent of the farm's increased income is given to its youthful employees in the form of bonuses. An additional 20 per cent is given to them as food allowances. Because of the farm's success, its employees earn more than they could if they were employed in factories and commercial enterprises in the city.

This autumn, 500 children of the workers and staff from the mill will graduate from school. In order to provide employment for them, the collective farm has built a new workshop which has the capacity to utilize 600 workers. Plans are also afoot for a deer farm, a ginseng plantation and a 20,000-square-metre fishpond.

Now, Jiamusi has 95 such farms and more than 20 agriculture-industry-commerce complexes employing a total of 16,500 young people.

A Factory for the Disabled

The Social Welfare Factory in the Xiangyang District of Jiamusi is a collectively owned enterprise established with assistance from the civil affairs department of the district government.

It operates several workshops which specialize in wood carving, sewing, iron wire weaving, rubber products and arts and crafts. Many of its products are sold at a local department store where they are well received because of their consistently high quality. The factory's chil-

dren's clothing and its exquisitely embroidered shirts, pillow cases and bedsheets are particularly popular with local consumers.

The factory, which is a source of great pride in Jiamusi, employs 210 people—85 of whom cannot see, hear or speak.

Until recently, most of Jiamusi's blind and deaf residents had to depend on relatives and state subsidies. This left them depressed and dispirited. Since the factory opened, all that has changed. Now that they are able to earn salaries, their outlook on life has significantly improved. Several workers at the factory say they are particularly pleased about their present ability to contribute to the state's welfare in addition to helping themselves.

Although Jiamusi's residents are enjoying improved economic and employment circumstances, much work remains to be done on both fronts. According to Comrade Wang, 12,000 young people will graduate from school and expect jobs this year.

The city government, which recently conducted an employment conference, is taking a positive approach to the situation. In order to maintain the city's present positive momentum, the government has developed a long-range municipal employment plan.

In addition to a number of state-assigned jobs, the plan also calls for significant expansions in the individual and collective sectors of the local economy.

Given these developments, Jiamusi's future looks bright—a significant improvement over the situation which existed five years ago. □

(Continued from p. 25.)

ments in various fields of work. Mao Zedong did not agree with Deng's actions. As a result, he launched the movement "to criticize Deng Xiaoping and repulse the 'Right-deviationist trend' of reversing the past correct verdicts." On April 5, 1976, a huge crowd of people assembled in Tian An Men Square to mourn Zhou Enlai and denounce the gang of four. This was designated as "a counter-revolutionary incident." The plenary session revoked the Party Central Committee's document on the above two events, changed the verdicts passed on Comrades Peng Dehuai, Tao Zhu, Bo Yibo, Yang Shangkun and others and reaffirmed their contributions to the

Party and the people. It also redressed a series of other cases.

The session elected Comrade Chen Yun Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, Comrades Deng Yingchao, Hu Yaobang and Wang Zhen to the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. It also elected the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline Under the CPC Central Committee.

Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party has resolved a number of issues which have existed since the founding of the People's Republic. It has also continued the arduous tasks of construction and reform, thereby bringing about an excellent economic and political situation in China. □

SCIENTIFIC SURVEY

Discoveries in Lop Nur Basin

A scientific expedition that was stopped once by tragedy was completed to a remote desert basin over the summer, and has spawned several new theories about the area's geographic history.

A team of scientists from the Xinjiang branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences developed the new views as a result of a lengthy examination of the Lop Nur basin situated in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in China's northwest. A similar expedition in May 1980 ended when its leader, Peng Jiamu, the academy's vice-president, disappeared while trying to find water. His body was never found.

Once a busy area on a famous traders' route from China to Europe called the Silk Road, Lop Nur became a desolate desert sometime in the sixth or seventh century. Lop Nur's drastic change and its rich cultural relics have always fascinated Chinese and foreign geologists and archaeologists, who have arrived at a variety of explanations.

The findings of the recent trips led the scientists to discount an earlier theory that the Lop Nur basin was a shifting and alternating lake which eventually dried up completely. They now believe, based on satellite pictures and aerial photographs in addition to their own investigations, that the lake did not shift. Instead it was quite shallow and its shape and size changed in accordance with changes from its contributing rivers.

It was generally believed that

a form of sand-dune like hills in the area called Yardangs were formed through wind erosion. The recent expedition discovered that flood erosion was also a major factor.

The expedition members also found new information about the distribution of rare elements such as potassium salt and other natural resources.

During the expedition, scientists twice crossed the dry Lop Nur. They drilled five shallow wells and collected water, soil, rock and sand samples, as well as a number of cultural relics. More than 1,000 pictures were taken.

MEDICINE

"Qigong": Relief for Hypertension

Recent test results indicate that *qigong*, a traditional deep-breathing exercise, can help reduce high blood pressure.

The Beijing No. 2 Hospital and the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences tested 47 patients similar in sex, age, profession and physical condition. The 22 members of the experimental group did the *qigong* exercises every day. By the end of three months, their systolic pressure had dropped an average of 8.1 mmhg and diastolic pressure 5.5. Moreover, they need smaller dosage of medicine. The 25 members of the control group, who did not do the exercises, registered no pressure drop.

In traditional Chinese medicine, *qi* means both the air one breathes and also one's basic constitution—resistance to illness, adaptability to the environment, and ability to recuperate.

Slow walking is the main

qigong exercise, but the exercises include various sitting, lying and standing positions, for 30 to 60 minutes daily.

He Qingnian, a lecturer at the Traditional Chinese Medicine Research Institute of Beijing, said: By doing *Qigong*, a patient with high blood pressure can strengthen his bodily function through regulating his breathing, controlling his thinking and relaxing. *Qigong* is also recommended for patients with insomnia, coronary heart disease and cancer. But further theoretical research into the traditional breathing exercises is required, he said.

Doctors of Western medicine also believe *qigong* is helpful for lowering blood pressure. Dr. Wang Yizhong, head of cardiovascular disease research department of the Beijing No. 2 Hospital, said that one of the main causes for hypertension is strong and consistent nervousness. Breathing exercises help regulate the central nervous system and help relax the sympathetic nerve system, thus improving the balance of blood pressure.

This traditional Chinese exercise dates back more than 3,000 years. A collection of illustrative plates, depicting 44 *qigong* postures, was found among relics unearthed from a tomb of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) at Mawangdui on the outskirts of Changsha in Hunan Province in central China in 1972.

Research organizations using modern scientific methods to study *qigong* have been set up in 24 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Researchers include scientists of high-energy physics, dynamics, electronics and biology.

New China's First On Demography

China's Population: Problems and Prospects (In English)

Written by Liu Zheng, Song Jian and others,

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China's present population is a little over one billion, which means that one out of every four people on the earth is Chinese. This, naturally, has drawn the concern of the statesmen, theoretists, economists and people in general throughout the world on such questions as the present state of China's population, its population policy, its desirable population size and projections of its population growth.

Since the 1970s, China has popularized family planning throughout the country with fairly positive achievements in population control. Asian, African and Latin American countries that practise "family planning," as well as theoretical circles in other countries have taken a great interest in the theory that guides China's population control.

The newly published *China's Population: Problems and Prospects* of the China Studies Series is a fairly comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis which is concretized by a great

amount of statistical figures, facts and case studies.

The first Chinese demographic study published in English since the founding of the People's Republic, the book includes 13 essays and case studies by more than 20 Chinese demographers and demographic research staff. Xu Dixin, President of China Demographic Society and noted economist, said in the book's preface. "We might term this volume the first 'flowers' from this field of endeavour."

Essays and case studies collected in this book can be classified into: 1) demographic theory, 2) population policy, 3) population problems, 4) population prospects.

The first article, "Population Planning and Demographic Theory," by Liu Zheng, Vice-President of China Demographic Society, discusses China's population theory — the Marxist theory of "two kinds of production" — after repudiating such erroneous theories as "rapid population growth represents the law of population development under socialism" and "the more people the better."

The theory of "two kinds of production" has two main tenets: 1) Production is the foundation of the existence and development of society. Production itself embodies the production of material goods and tools, as well as the production of human beings themselves. 2) Material production is closely and intrinsically linked with the production of human beings. This kind of relation is manifested through the law of the unity of opposites because human beings are both

producers and consumers. 3) The production and reproduction of human beings are in essence the reproduction of labour force, and the constant renewal of the labour force provides the necessary condition for the normal reproduction of material goods.

The third article, "A Survey of Population Growth Since 1949," briefly sums up the five main characteristics of China's population development from 1949 to 1979: First, there has been a high rate of increase. The population increased at an average rate of 2 per cent during those 30 years. Second, the base number of the population has steadily increased, and the time-span for adding 100 million people has shrunk from 8-9 years to 5-6 years. Third, the population is young, with 38.6 per cent under age 15. Fourth, the rural population forms a very large proportion of the total population. It accounted for 89.8 per cent in 1950, and in 1979, it was still 86.8 per cent of the total. Finally, population density varies widely. Over 90 per cent of the population lives in coastal southeast China and on the middle and lower reaches of Changjiang (Yangtze) River, inhabiting 40 per cent of the country's land area, while less than 10 per cent lives in the northwest on 60 per cent of the land. These five characteristics indicate the difficulties in controlling China's population growth.

"Shanghai: Population Developments Since 1949" and "Anhui Province: Population Growth and Planning," two case studies, separately introduce the population developments in Shanghai, China's most populous city, and Anhui, a province where the rate of population increase has been

quite fast and the population density is high.

"Rationalization of Population Distribution" analyses China's population structure. "Urban Population — Age Structure and Projections for the Future" predicts the coming changes in population age structure and their effects on city planning.

"Population Policy" by Hou Wenruo, a researcher on the staff of the Research Institute of Demography under the China People's University, briefly but comprehensively introduces the history of China's population policy. According to him, China's population policy has passed through four major phases:

The first phase (1949-52): The state was unable to promulgate a clear-cut population policy. Population growth remained unplanned. Nevertheless, China changed from having a high birth rate, a high death rate and a low rate of increase to having a high birth rate, a low death rate and a high rate of increase.

The second phase (1953-65): Family planning and planned control over population growth gradually emerged as concrete plans during the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57). However, due to the interference of "Left" mistakes, the planned birth control measures were not put into practice until the early 1960s.

The third phase (1966-71): The work of the state family-planning agencies came to a standstill, population figures soared and the population became an unprecedented problem.

The fourth phase (from 1971 to the present): The policy of planned control over population growth began to be seri-

ously implemented throughout China. China's current population policy is summed up as: to encourage late marriage and late child-bearing, to strengthen mother-and-child care and to encourage each couple to have only one child. At the same time, however, all necessary treatment will be given to those suffering from infertility. As for the people of the various national minorities, on the one hand, measures are adopted to help them propagate and, on the other hand, technical advice is offered to those who are willing to practise family planning.

"Population Development — Goals and Plans" by Song Jian, Vice-President of China Demographic Society, studies China's desirable population size for the country's 9.6 million square kilometres of land. The author states that the population will increase to a level where it becomes necessary to stipulate a limit to its growth. The author's ideal population size is between 650 million to 700 million, which he determines in three ways. First is his prediction of China's future economic development and the number of industrial and agricultural labourers it requires; secondly his analyses of the country's food resources and the composition of the people's diet; and thirdly, his studies on ecological balance and fresh water resources.

In conclusion, Song Jian proposes: Beginning immediately, the average birth rate should be drastically reduced to reach the total fertility rate of one child per couple by 1985. From 2000 to 2020, the total fertility rate should be raised to 2.16 per couple and by 2070, the total population will be stabilized at about 700 million — China's desirable population size.

— Hong Zao

Publication News

In honour of the 1981 International Year for Disabled Persons, the Beijing Braille Publishing House has published a set of *Who's Who* of Chinese and foreign blind persons for China's 1.6 million blind readers. Listed among them are the Egyptian writer Taha Hussein and the American deaf and blind author Helen Keller.

Other publications in braille include the Soviet novel *How the Steel Was Tempered* by N. Ostrovsky, *Family Guide* and *English-Chinese Dictionary*.

The publishing house prints about 200 braille titles annually on politics, science and technology, medicine and health, art and literature as well as school textbooks. Periodicals in braille include *Knowledge and Life*, *Art and Literature Journal* and *Science Knowledge*.

The Beijing Braille Publishing House also publishes books for sighted readers, such as *How to Educate Blind Children*. A tabloid *Friends of the Blind People* acquaints the readers about the daily life and work of the blind people in China and abroad.



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