# BEIJING REVIEW



A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

Deng Xiaoping on "Two Whatevers"

Military Leader's Works Published

Beijing Plans Urban Development



## **LETTERS**

#### Retirement

Once again, I write to commend you for a most interesting and, to me, a most meaningful article dealing with retirees ("When Leaders or Professionals Retire," issue No. 19). It is a credit to your social approach that you are examining the role of professionals, administrators and governmental leaders with an eye to what they can expect when they leave the ranks of direct working people and enter the ranks of "retirees." It is not an easy transition, which many of our members have learnt.

However, it is important that retirees continue to make a positive, social contribution, even if it means that they only broaden their own learning activities and share their knowledge with their contemporaries. This our group is doing, and doing well.

We are a large (100 members) organization, associated with a major university and consisting of people who have been in the professional or leadership ranks for most of their working years. They study, they research, they share ideas and they maintain a "youthfulness" which makes their retirement years as rich as their working years.

Interestingly, when many members read the article which I brought to one of our sessions, a desire was expressed to explore the possibility of visiting China for the very purpose of sharing our ideas with people in China. We are in the midst of doing just that. Thus, your magazine has borne some unexpected fruit.

Louis P. Schwartz New York, USA

#### Chinese-Type Modernization

The series of articles on Chinese-Type Modernization and "Facts and Figures" are interesting. In recent years, your country has achieved great results in economic, social and cultural development due to the reforms that have been carried out in the operation, management, planning and implementation in various These achieveundertakings. ments are supported by figures in the series of articles (regarding this, the Western press, however, is not always honest and sincere).

Generally speaking, I enjoy reading all your articles. My friends also highly appreciate articles on the international situation and those on how People's China marches towards modernization.

Your layout, illustrations and photos are also very good. But I

don't mean that there isn't room for improvement.

Alejandreo Torrejon M. Sucre, Bolivia

#### **Documents**

People like us who follow the developments in China only by reading your articles cannot know if the Sixth Five-Year Plan ("Documents," issue No. 21) is applicable just by glancing over it. However, it is still a good article with reference value for people who want to observe and follow China's developments. I plan to read it over again carefully and deepen my understanding. Supplementary documents like this are easy to keep and to excerpt.

Choei Ishigawa Kyoto, Japan

#### Sun Yefang's Economic Theory

As a student of Marxist economics, I enjoy reading *Beijing Review* and social sciences in China.

Sun Yefang was quite right to base his work on the law of value ("A Brief Introduction to Sun Yefang's Economic Theory," issue No. 24). Without the surplus (profit) created by the productive worker there would be no civilization.

What I feel to be lacking in Chinese publications is any consideration of the work of Marxist economists outside China. In some cases, their analyses are remarkably close in method to those of Chinese scholars.

Could you, or your colleagues on social sciences in China, spare some space to an analysis of, for example, such a classic of Marxist economics as "Unequal Exchange" by Arghiri Emmanuel (Monthly Review Press, 1972) or other similar works?

I.J. Kenna London, UK

#### Space Science

I enjoyed very much the article entitled "China's Space Science and Technology" in issue No. 14, 1983. I have had an interest in this field for a long time. Not long ago, I suggested you include such articles. The article, with much data, provided useful information about China's space science and technology.

Christian Leduc Paris, France

# Just released by CHINESE LITERATURE A Small Town Called Hibiscus

by Gu Hua

Translated by Gladys Yang pp. 262, paperback (ISBN 0-8351-1074-5)

One of the best novels to appear in China in recent years, in December 1982 it was awarded one of the first Mao Dun Literary Prizes. It covers almost two decades from the early 1960s, through the chaotic years of the "cultural revolution," to the return to normality after 1976.

For those interested in this complex period of modern Chinese history, this novel is a must.

Order directly from **China Publications Centre** (GUOJI SHUDIAN), P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China, or inquire at bookshops abroad.

# BEIJING REVIEW

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## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

#### Hu on Qinghai's Development

During his recent inspection tour of Qinghai Province, Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang suggested that the focus of construction work be shifted to northwest China at the turn of this century. He stressed the importance of developing agriculture and livestock breeding and the appropriate use of financial and material resources (p. 5).

#### Crackdown on Economic Crimes

Han Guang, secretary of the CPC's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, said at an informal meeting of the NPC Standing Committee that economic crimes had reached a record high since the founding of the People's Republic. He pointed out their causes and manifestations, and measures being taken against future economic crimes (p. 7).

#### Deng Xiaoping on "Two Whatevers"

The Chinese leader explains the inconsistencies with Marxism in the slogan: "We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave" (p. 14).

#### Military Leader's Works

The Selected Works of Zhu De which went on sale August 1 (Army Day) includes 65 articles written between 1931 and 1965 dealing primarily with military theory, strategy and tactics (p. 26).

#### Legislative and Judiciary Work

Much progress has been made in China's legislative and judiciary work since 1979. This feature presents a fairly comprehensive report of the achievements in the last few years, together with Shanghai's various forms of publicizing the legal system and the working of an island court (p. 19).

## Friendship Between Chinese and Americans

A group of writings prepared by Beijing Review for the forthcoming Ninth National Convention of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association as a tribute to its worthy work and a salute to its convention (p. 15).



New look of Beijing. Photo by Song Lianfeng

#### NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

## Safeguard workers' interests

What are the functions of trade unions in socialist China where the Communist Party is already in power? Are they officially run? What are the main challenges they face today? These are questions constantly raised by foreign visitors.

It is true that both the Chinese Communist Party and the trade unions are identical in representing the interests of the Chinese working class. But, trade unions differ both from political parties and from government and economic organizations. Though still accepting Party leadership, they are mass organizations set up and run by the workers themselves, with their officials appointed or removed through elections and other democratic procedures.

In the early days after the founding of the People's Republic, trade unions were highly instrumental in ensuring democratic rights and material benefits for the workers and enjoved high prestige among them. At that time, leaders of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions held that trade unions should represent the wishes of their members. While taking into consideration the long-term interests of the state and the whole society, one of their major concerns was to serve the particular interests of workers. This correct view, however, was subjected to repeated criticism as "economism."

Under the influence of "Left" ideology, the characteristics of the trade unions were ignored. They became appendages to Party and administrative organizations, thus di-

vorcing themselves from the workers. During the "cultural revolution," trade unions were nearly paralysed.

In October 1978, two years after the arrest of the gang of four, the Chinese trade unions held their ninth national congress. A critical review of the past "Left" mistakes was made and trade union work was again put on the right track. In his speech at the congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The trade unions should educate all members to take an active part in managing enterprises. . . . Our trade unions must work hard to protect the welfare of workers. They should urge and assist the authorities in enterprises and localities to do everything possible to improve the working and living conditions of workers, their canteens and Trade hygiene.... should fight for the democratic rights of the workers and oppose bureaucracy of every kind."

Since then, trade union work has greatly improved. At present, all of the country's big and medium-sized enterprises have workers' congresses which discuss and make decisions on all important issues in the enterprises (in small enterprises, all the workers discuss these issues). Leaders of the enterprises are required to listen to the opinions of the workers and accept their criticism and super-Workers' vision. congresses have become the main channel through which trade unions voice and help meet workers' wishes and demands. When the workers' congresses are not in session, the trade unions carry on day-to-day work as their working agencies.

In March, in line with a Party Central Committee directive, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions decided to further eliminate the influence of "Left" ideology in the work of trade unions. It asked the trade unions and cadres to:

- Concretely serve the interests of the workers;
- Protect the fundamental interests of the workers, encourage healthy trends and check unhealthy ones;
- Develop close ties with the masses and listen to their demands.

Today, "To speak and work for the workers" has become the motto for many trade union cadres. Trade unions are now strengthening their contacts with the masses and are gaining increasing trust.

At present, many problems remain in the Party's style of work. Quite a few leading bodies at various levels still have tendencies towards bureaucratism and towards ignoring the democratic rights of the workers. Not enough attention has been paid to workers' lives, production safety or labour protection. Therefore, if the trade union cadres really want to represent the interests of the workers. they must fight bureaucratism and other unhealthy tendencies. To overcome the many difficulties, they must work hard and be courageous. Nevertheless, they have the support of the Party Central Committee. This is not only conducive to the work of the trade unions but also to the improvement in the Party's style of work.

- Political Editor An Zhiguo

## Future development of Qinghai Province

China's major economic construction efforts will be shifted to the northwest at the turn of the century, said Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee, during a recent 10-day inspection tour of Qinghai Province. Earlier he visited Xinjiang.

In the next 15 years, he urged, Qinghai should do everything possible to pave the way for the shift.

The northwest includes Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai Provinces and the Ningxia and Xinjiang autonomous regions. It covers 2.5 million square kilometres, more than one-fourth of the total area of China.

Qinghai is at a high-altitude and much of its land is arid, which creates huge difficulties for development.

Before 1949, Qinghai had no railways, nor any industry, except eight handicraft workshops. Furthermore, it was plagued by disease and was educationally underdeveloped.

In the 33 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the province has built more than 1,300 kilometres of railway lines and 15,000-kilometre-Its civil air long highways. services cover more than 4,000 kilometres. It has more than industrial enterprises. 1.300 with a 300-fold increase in its industrial fixed assets. province's agriculture and livestock breeding also have made great headway.

In education, the province now has seven colleges, more than 30 secondary technical schools and numerous regular middle and primary schools, with a total enrolment of 750,000.

Public health services have been improved and living standards have been raised. Compared with other parts of China, however, Qinghai and the whole northwest are still very backward.

Hu Yaobang said that the development of Qinghai, to a great extent, should rely on the key state construction projects and that preparatory work will be decisive for this new drive. He suggested that the province concentrate its efforts on developing agriculture and livestock breeding so that the province can become a major livestock centre. The province, one of China's principal pastoral areas, has more than 33 million hectares of exploitable pastureland.

He also stressed the importance of the appropriate use of financial and material resources during the construction upsurge.

He suggested that in addition to agriculture and livestock breeding, investments also should be made in the following four spheres:

- Energy resources. Particular efforts should be devoted to developing electricity.
- Transport. Local efforts should be combined with state assistance to build a transportation network throughout the province. Helicopters will be used on the vast plateau area.
- Developing medium-sized and small industries to serve people's daily needs. The province should strive to turn out some top-quality products in the next few years.
- Training scientific and technical personnel. This will be achieved by increasing investments as well as tapping intellectual resources.

Hu then listed some of Qinghai's strong points:



Hu Yaobang with Qinghai Party, government and army officials.

The province's hydropower potential is 20 million kw, in addition to abundant solar and It also has wind resources. large coal, petroleum and natural gas resources. Its salt deposits top 50,000 million tons, of which the reserve of sylvite accounts for 97 per cent of the country's total taking its place in the front rank of the world; and its long-fibre asbestos deposit is the largest in the country.

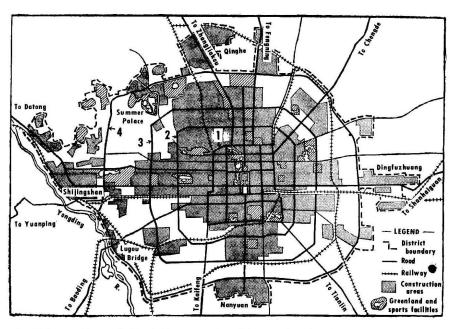
Finally, Hu stressed the necessity of fostering among the young people an enterprising spirit, noble ideal and dedication to the motherland and the people.

# Beijing: urban construction plan

Recently the Party Central Committee and State Council approved a draft plan for Beijing's overall urban construction. The plan establishes the principles for 17 basic issues concerning the city's nature, size, environment and layout, satellite towns, transformation of the old city, residential quarters and service utilities, mass transit system and transportation to the rest of the country, water and energy supply and landscaping and afforestation.

The plan pointed out that Beijing's urban and other development should embody the city's characteristics as the nation's political and cultural centre.

• Industrial construction should be strictly limited and undertaken with skill and precision. The growth of heavy industry should basically be brought to a halt and major efforts devoted to developing foodstuffs, electronics and other light industries that conform to



1 — Erhuan (Second Ring) Road 2 — Sanhuan (Third Ring) Road

3 — Sihuan (Fourth Ring) Road 4 — Waihuan (Outer Ring) Road

Beijing's role as the nation's capital.

- Agriculture should serve the daily life of Beijing residents. The outskirts should be developed so that the city can become basically self-sufficient in the supply of major non-staple foods such as vegetables, milk, eggs, meat and north-China fruit.
- The size of the city, already too large, should be strictly controlled. To limit the population growth, the family planning policy should be conscientiously carried out and the population should be gradually dispersed. By the year 2000, the population of the municipality should be no larger than 10 million and that of the urban areas should be kept within four million.
- The mountains should be transformed and rivers harnessed, the land should be afforested and pollution should be reduced. Trees should be planted throughout the 660,000 hectares of mountain area and urban areas should be built into a garden-city. Afforestation

should accompany the construction of satellite towns on remote outskirts. By the year 2000 wooded areas should be increased to 28 per cent of the capital's total as compared with 7.5 per cent today.

- While gradually transforming the old city, areas close to the city proper should be developed, complete with needed utilities and the remote outskirts should be actively developed. In this way, over-concentration of construction in the urban areas will be remedied and the layout of the city will become more rational.
- In urban construction, modernization should be dovetailed with the protection of historical relics and sites. The unique style of the old city should be retained for future generation.
- The construction of a comprehensive urban highway system should be accelerated so as to build up a network of belt ways crisscrossed by radial ones (a radial pattern of main highways leading outward from the city centre).

• The Beijing railway hub should be expanded and a modern postal service and telecommunications network should be built.

A commission for the planning and construction of the capital was recently formed, with the mayor as its chairman. The commission will examine and implement short-term and annual plans as components of the overall plan, organize the drafting of rules and regulations concerning urban construction and management and co-ordinate the relations of the various fields of endeavour.

# Curb the scale of capital construction

In mid-July, the Chinese Government ordered a halt to all capital construction projects that are not included in the state plan for screening.

In addition, projects which are included in the state plan but have poor technology without the conditions for construction also will be stopped for screening.

All capital construction projects scheduled to begin this year that have not yet begun construction will be re-examined.

The order was announced by newly appointed State Councillor and concurrently Minister of the State Planning Commission Song Ping. He reiterated that the decision taken at the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress last June on a strict control over the scale of capital construction must be firmly put into practice.

The trend of growth in the scale of capital construction has continued unabated since 1982. China planned to reduce its total investment in capital construction this year by 4,800 million yuan compared to last year. But instead, in the first six months, the total sum increased by 17 per cent over that of the same period of last year. The primary cause for the increase has been that many projects outside the state budget have begun, using bank loans and self-collected funds.

If this trend is allowed to developed unchecked, the scale of investment in capital construction could far exceed the state plan. It could thus exacerbate the strain on the supplies of energy and building materials, causing competition between ordinary and key projects for these resources. This phenomenon is extremely harmful to the stability of the national economy.

# Crackdown on economic crimes

Economic crimes, including smuggling, graft, bribery, speculation and fraud, have grown to a record high since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

The struggle against serious crimes in the economic field, launched in January last year, has achieved marked results. By the end of April this year, 192,000 crimes had been investigated, and more than 131,000, 71 per cent of the total, had been resolved.

More than 30,000 offenders have been sentenced and 8,500 people have been expelled from the Party. More than 24,400 people, influenced by the struggle and inspired by the Party's policies, have voluntarily surrendered and confessed their crimes.

These statistics were revealed in a report on economic crimes by Han Guang, Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Chinese Communist Party, to an informal meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on July 25.

In his report, Han Guang divided economic crimes into the following major categories:

- Large-scale smuggling, tax evasion, illicit trading in foreign exchange and goods and materials by personnel of government agencies, enterprises or institutions.
- Large-scale speculation and fraud by unlawful elements.
- Embezzlement, accepting bribes and theft by state employees, including a few leading Party cadres.
- Organized smuggling of precious cultural relics, gold, silver, rare gems and medicinal herbs out of China, as well as smuggling of large amounts of industrial goods, narcotics, pornographic materials and reactionary publications into China.
- Economic crimes perpetrated by remnants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and other recalcitrant elements intended to disrupt the socialist economy.
- Indiscriminate hiring of inveterate criminals by state and collectively run enterprises in the belief that they are good at making money.

Han Guang said that some serious economic crimes are closely linked with unhealthy tendencies within the Party.

"However," he said, "the overwhelming majority of our Party members and cadres are good or fairly good. They perform their duties honestly and serve the people wholeheartedly. Only a small handful defy laws and discipline."

As the domestic and international, subjective and objective factors which cause the serious economic crimes cannot be eliminated overnight, the struggle against them must be carried on, Han said. He listed the following measures against future economic crimes:

• Concentrate on major cases, especially recent ones.

- Avoid making policy mistakes and do not confuse legally permitted economic activities with economic crimes.
- Carry out widespread and regular anti-corruption education by citing typical cases.
- Sum up experience and perfect the various regulations.
- Give concrete leadership to the struggle in line with its development.
- Strengthen the work of public security departments, the procuratorates and courts, customs offices and industrial and commercial administrative organizations, as well as to the tax collecting departments, so that they consider anti-crime activities an important aspect of their regular functions.

## Chinese leaders on Kampuchean problem

Premier Zhao Ziyang said that the key to the Kampuchean problem was the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country.

Zhao said this when he met with Australian Foreign Minister William Hayden, who arrived in China on July 30 at the invitation of Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian.

Zhao accused Viet Nam of playing "tricks" on the Kampuchean issue and that it had not changed its basic position on Kampuchea. He quoted a Chinese proverb as saying, "Whoever started the trouble should end it."

Zhao said that if the Vietnamese made up their minds to openly announce a withdrawal and really pulled back the first group of their troops, the settlement of other issues involving Kampuchea would not be difficult. However, he said, Viet Nam has insisted on linking any withdrawal with international recognition of the fait accompli of its invasion of Kampuchea, and has refused to pull back its troops.

On bilateral issues, he told Hayden that there had been "new developments" since he visited Australia in April, which accorded with the mutual interests of the two countries and were conducive to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

Zhao said he hoped Australia and China would make further efforts to improve their relations.

The Australian Foreign Minister said that the friendship between Australia and China has a firm foundation, and is very valuable. We will continue our efforts to strengthen this friendship, he said.

The Chinese and Australian Foreign Ministers had two rounds of talks, during which they exchanged views on bilateral relations, the Kampuchean problem and other international issues of common interest.

Wu stressed that the relevant resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchea must be implemented.

After the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, Wu said, it would be up to the Kampuchean people themselves to settle their internal problems including the choice of their own social system and the form of government to be set up in Kampuchea.

He pointed out that China is in favour of a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue. However, he said, he has serious doubts about the sincerity of Viet Nam in seeking such a solution. Wu said he considered that a political settlement would be a very difficult and drawn-out task.

China does not object to dialogue being conducted by any country with Viet Nam, he added. If Viet Nam genuinely wishes to withdraw from Kampuchea and is prepared to undertake practical measures to do that, Wu said, it would not be difficult for Viet Nam to improve relations with China.

Hayden said that the major threat to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region was the continuing problem in Indochina, aggravated by the Soviet Union's involvement in Viet Nam and Viet Nam's continued occupation of Kampuchea.

The Australian Foreign Minister said he considered it an unhealthy situation for Viet Nam to remain isolated from the international community and become even more reliant on the Soviet Union.

He said that the search for flexibility does not mean that one side alone has to compromise or to be flexible about its basic national interests or its fundamental principles.

There can be no question of being flexible about the principle of the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, Hayden said. When he talked about the need for flexibility on all sides, he said, he was talking only of flexibility about means rather than ends.

Hayden stressed that on the Indochinese issue Australia is not attempting to play a role of negotiator or mediator. Rather, it is trying to facilitate discussions and dialogues and to stimulate a search for a solution, he added.

## Burundi Foreign Minister in China

During a meeting with Laurent Nzeyimana, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Burundi, Premier Zhao Ziyang said that the friendly relations as well as the scientific and technological co-operation between China and Burundi are satisfactory. He also said that China attaches great importance to developing its relations with Burundi and will continue to make efforts in this regard.

Premier Zhao spoke highly of the Burundi Government's policies in international affairs and in developing its national economy. He praised Burundi for its success in becoming self-sufficient in food grains.

Laurent Nzeyimana visited China from August 4 to 9 at the invitation of Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian. In the talks between the two foreign ministers, the two sides reiterated their support for the Namibian people's struggle for independence and the struggle of the people in South Africa against racism. They also voiced their support for the people of Chad, and stressed that the Chad question should be settled in line with the stand of the Organization of African Unity.

The two sides exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East, Kampuchea, Af-

ghanistan, Central America, and on North-South relations and found that their countries shared similar views on the issues. They also expressed their opposition to foreign occupation and big-power interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

# China's growing economic relations

Seven foreign oil companies on August 6 signed contracts with the China National Offshore Oil Corporation for petroleum exploration, development and production in two areas in the Zhujiang (Pearl) River mouth basin in the South China Sea.

Premier Zhao on August 6 assured the oil companies that China is faithful to the contracts it signs.

"Although China's laws have yet to be perfected," Zhao said, "the political situation is stable and there will be continuity in our policies."

Zhao said that it is true, as some foreign friends have said, that China's legal system is incomplete, its efficiency is low and services are poor. However, he said, it is also a fact that things are getting better. "What is more important is that the open policy China now pursues to attract foreign capital and technology to help develop its resources is a long-term, unswerving policy, rather than something expedient," he stressed.

The seven foreign oil companies are the Occidental Petroleum Corporation of the United States, Elf-Aquitaine Chine of France, Tricentrol P.L.C. of Britain, Hispanica de Petroleos S.A., Total Chine of France, Ampol Exploration Ltd. of Australia and Oil and Gas Division of CSR Ltd. of Australia.

\* \* \*

China and Belgium on July 30 signed an agreement for a Belgian loan to China and contracts to set up a joint venture to manufacture the S1240 stored control digital telephone exchange equipment and the direct supply of such equipment to China.

According to the loan agreement, the Belgian Government will provide the Chinese Government with a long-term, interest-free loan of 300 million BF in 1983. It will be used to cover part of the expenses for equipment and labour services provided by Belgian enterprises and to improve China's telephone exchange system.

China became the 95th member state of the Customs Cooperation Council on July 18. The General Administration of Customs said that China's application to join the Brussels-based international governmental customs organization was forwarded to the Belgian Government, which keeps the "Convention Establishing a Customs Co-operation Council," by the Chinese Embassy in Brussels that day.

South Asia

## Regional co-operation strengthened

THE conference of the foreign ministers of seven South Asian countries - Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka - adopted a Declaration on South Asian Regional Co-operation (SARC), an Integrated Programme and a joint communique after two days (August 1-2) of deliberation in New Delhi. This shows that these countries intend to actively pursue regional co-operation in economic and social development. It is a big event in the history of South Asian relations and will help promote the prosperity and development of each country and consolidate peace and stability in the region.

Since May 12, 1980, when the President of Bangladesh, the late Ziaur Rahman, suggested to the leaders of South Asian countries that a South Asian summit conference be held' to discuss ways of increasing cooperation among them, a series of negotiations have produced decisions to co-operate in a wide range of fields covering agriculture, rural development, health and population control, telecommunications, communications and transport, science and technology, meteorology, sports and culture. Organizations to facilitate co-operation have also been established.

The declaration adopted by this foreign ministers' conference outlines the following objectives of SARC: To promote the welfare of their peoples; to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region; to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance. This is clearly the best way to seek common prosperity.

The third world countries have waged a long and persistent struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order. Past experience demonstrates that to change the old irrational international economic order it is necessary, first of all, to strengthen unity and co-operation among the developing countries, that is, to stress South-South co-operation. Regional co-operation among the seven South Asian countries is a concrete example of South-South co-operation and is a practical step towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

Although problems and disputes remain in their bilateral relations due to the colonialist legacy and hegemonist intervention, the countries of South Asia want to live in harmony and, with the development of regional co-operation, the peoples of these countries will enhance mutual understanding and trust in each other and will solve their disputes through consultations in the interests of regional peace and stability.

China and the South Asian countries are all third world countries and close neighbours. China has friendly relations with these countries and has expressed appreciation and support for the efforts of the seven countries to strengthen their mutual co-operation. Premier

Zhao Ziyang has expressed China's hope that through friendly consultations based on equality and mutual benefit, relations among the South Asian countries will improve and cooperation will gradually be realcontribute This will ized. greatly to the prosperity and development of the countries concerned and will help maintain the peace and stability of the region.

- Ren Yan

# Central America Israel expands its intervention

I SRAEL, which has long served US interests in the Middle East, is now shipping arms to pro-US insurgents in Central America, at the specific request of the US Government.

A senior officer of the Reagan administration was quoted by a US newspaper on July 21 as saying that at the request of the United States Israel has agreed to ship weapons captured during its incursion into Lebanon last year to anti-government elements of Nicaragua.

Israeli arms supply to Central America can be traced back to 1976, when it began to sell its Merkaral tanks and Kfir C2 aircraft to the region. In an article early this year, Lebanon's French-language weekly Nouveau Magazine said the Israeli arms supply to Central America "plays a supplementary role to US actions" and Israel "will provide support when Washington, for political reasons, finds it inconvenient to support a (pro-US) regime."

With the present escalation of military involvement in Central America, the US Government has found a new role in the region for its old friend, Israel. A US government official made no bones about it when he said that what prompted the United States to ask Israel to assume this role is the Reagan administration's desire to circumvent congressional vetoes of secret

support to Nicaraguan rebels.

This expansion of Israeli military intervention from the Middle East to Central America must be watched closely. These actions will certainly be condemned by world public opinion and will further isolate both Israel and the United States from the world community.

- Tang Tianri

#### Sri Lanka

#### Roots of recent ethnic violence

WIDESPREAD ethnic riots have recently plagued Sri Lanka, including Colombo, the capital. Rioters have burned and looted shops and houses, most of which belong to the minority Tamil people. Incomplete reports list nearly 300 dead in the clashes between the two ethnic groups, Sinhalese Tamils. Thousands and homeless and huge economic losses have made the government's task of restoring order difficult.

Similar riots in 1977 left 200 dead. In 1979 and in 1981, the country was twice brought to the brink of ethnic violence. The ethnic problem in Sri Lanka has deep historical roots.

#### **Tamil Minority**

Roughly 70 per cent of Sri Lanka's 15 million people are Buddhist Sinhalese, and 20 per cent are Hindu Tamils who are originally from southern India. More than half of the latter came to the island in ancient times. These indigenous Tamils, or Sri Lankan Tamils, mainly live in the northern and eastern parts of the country with Jaffna as their informal capital, also a centre of recent disturbances. The remaining Tamils, or Indian Tamils, were brought from the sub-continent in the early 1900s

by the British colonialists to work the British rubber plantations on the island. In the 1950s, the descendants of the Indian Tamils numbered 1 million, accounting for about 60 per cent of the country's total work force and 80 per cent of the plantation workers.

After independence, the Sri Lankan Government granted citizenship only to those Tamils who had lived in the country for more than two generations. Later, India and Sri Lanka signed two agreements to repatriate about 500,000 Indian Tamils to India. However, the agreements have not been carried out completely and there are still half a million Tamils in Sri Lanka who remain stateless today.

Long-term contradictions have existed between the Sinhalese and Tamils in employment, wages, housing and education. A major source of Sinhalese hostility was the fact that although the Tamils were a minority, they occupied high positions in the administrative agencies and in business during the rule of Britain. After the nation's independence from Britain in 1948, special consideration was given to Sinhalese employment in government positions. On the contrary, Tamil

employment in state organs decreased sharply. However, they are still strong in business and finance and this rankles the Sinhalese. The Tamils, on the other hand, complain that they are discriminated against in the country.

#### Separatist Movement

Following the growing activities of the Tamil Tiger guerrilla organization in May, the call for a separate Tamil state in the north of the country has become louder and louder. The Tamil Tiger has engaged in guerrilla attacks on the government, and the government has announced a state of emergency and implemented a policy of chasing and capturing guerrilla members. On July 23, a military truck was ambushed and 13 Sinhalese soldiers were killed in Jaffna, an attack believed to have been carried out by Tamil guerrillas fighting for separate state. Members of the majority Sinhalese population sought revenge for the ambush, triggering off riots throughout the country.

Since Junius Jayewardene became President in 1977, he has pursued a policy of national concord. He declared that Sinhala and Tamil were to be the national languages of Sri Lanka (though Sinhala remained the official language) and abolished the official distinction between citizens by descent and citizens by registration, thus removing the stigma of second-class citizenship attached to the latter. However, the internecine antagonism between the two ethnic groups has never stopped.

Early last month, President Jayewardene finally hinted that he would take resolute measures to eliminate the terrorists. Calling for an end to the nationwide division and violence. the President said the Sri Lanka Government has decided that the separatist movement not be allowed to spread. He announced that those who advocate the division of the country would be stripped of their civil rights.

The government then issued a decree banning three political parties, the People's Liberation Front, the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. A minister of state declared that "the present situation in the country is not merely a Sinhala-Tamil riot. It is a deeper conspiracy, part of a major plot to overthrow the government" of which the chief planners were "foreign elements" and certain political parties.

In New Delhi, the Indian Government earlier expressed its concern over the measures

taken to control the situation in Jaffna District, and later, sent its Foreign Minister Narashimha Rao to Sri Lanka to exchange views with Sri Lankan leaders. India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sought to ease the tension when she told a news conference: "We are against any secessionist movement in any sovereign India . . . does not country. want to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country." But in Madras, capital of southern India's Tamil Nadu State. demonstrations have taken place demanding that the Indian Government intervene.

Resolution of the Tamil problem which has led to bloodshed on several occasions will take time and will need support and understanding both at home and abroad.

- Ren Wenhui

#### Africa

### Tensions rise in Western Sahara

 $\mathbf{F}^{\scriptscriptstyle ext{IGHTING}}$ between the Moroccan Royal Army and the guerrilla forces of the Western Sahara People's Liberation Front (Polisario) has erupted again since early July. A reported 3,000 Polisario guerrilla force launched a large-scale attack on Moroccan positions in M'sied, north of Smara, on July 10. This was the biggest conflict since July 1982. Maghreb Arab Press reported that Polisario guerrillas in 150 military vehicles and tanks late last month attacked Moroccan positions in M'sied. The press release said that Moroccan troops had repulsed Polisario attacks and had destroyed three

of its tanks and 41 of its military vehicles.

Observers believe that Polisario guerrillas reopened attacks on the Moroccan: army in the hope of forcing Morocco to hold direct talks with them on the Western Sahara issue.

#### **Background**

The Western Sahara issue is a historical question left over from long years of colonial rule. In 1884, Spain occupied Western Sahara and in 1958 annexed it as a Spanish province. Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria have all supported the anti-

colonialist struggle of its people. The Polisario, formed in May 1973, actively opposed Spain's colonial rule in its early days.

Under the pressure of the international decolonization movement, Spain signed a tripartite agreement with Morocco and Mauritania in Madrid in November 1975, ending Spanish rule in Western Sahara.

Both Morocco and Mauritania have claimed sovereignty over this area. After Spain withdrew its last troops from Western Sahara, the two countries dispatched their troops to the northern and southern parts of this region. Algeria opposed the division of Western Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania. and supported independence for Western Sahara through selfdetermination under the Polisario. Under the leadership of the Polisario, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic was founded on February 27, 1976, with the support of Algeria. resulted in frequent fighting between the Polisario and Morocco and Mauritania, and both Morocco and Mauritania severed diplomatic relations with Algeria.

When the Daddah government was toppled by a military coup in July 1978, Mauritania abandoned its claim to sovereignty over Western Sahara, and withdrew its troops. The Moroccan troops rapidly occupied the whole of Western Sahara.

The fighting in Western Sahara has caused great losses to all parties concerned. Many African and Arab countries have made great efforts to seek a reasonable settlement of the Western Sahara question through peaceful negotiations. The UN and the OAU have also supported self-determination for the Western Saharan people.

A resolution on the Western Sahara issue was adopted in June at the 19th OAU Summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The resolution urges the parties to the conflict, Morocco and the Polisario Front, to undertake direct negotiations to achieve a ceasefire and create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination in Western Sahara.

#### Deadlock

However, no progress has been made on implementing the OAU resolution in the past six weeks. A meeting on implementing the OAU resolution scheduled for July 20 failed to materialize, and the Western Sahara issue remains unsolved.

Morocco still refuses to recognize the Polisario or hold talks with it. Before visiting Algeria, Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba announced in May that Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria would hold a summit, but the meeting has not been convened.

In a recent TV speech Moroccan King Hassan II said that to solve the Western Sahara issue, a referendum will be held in Western Sahara at the end of this year, but he stressed that no matter what the results were, no one could force Morocco to hand Western Sahara over to the Polisario. His speech aroused strong resentment from the Polisario, which led to the recent armed clashes between the Polisario Moroccan troops.

The deadlock over the Western Sahara issue has made some African countries worry about the future of the region. Leaders of many countries and parties concerned recently have stepped up their efforts to settle this issue.

- Zhong Tai

#### Nigeria

## General elections get under way

THE Nigerian general elections began on August 6 and thousands of voters flocked to polling stations throughout the country to elect one of the six presidential candidates. This year's elections, including the election of president, governors, senators, members of the house of representatives and state assemblies, will be completed on September 3. This is the first general election held by the civilian government since 1979 when the military junta returned power to the citizens.

Nigeria won its independence on October 1, 1960, and the Federal Republic of Nigeria was proclaimed on October 1, 1963. However, the Federal Republic was overthrown by the military only two years after it was formed. Military juntas then controlled Nigeria for 13 years. On October 1, 1979, the military government led by Olusegun Obasanjo voluntarily handed over power to the government of the National Party which won the general elections, and Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected president. Thus emerged Nigeria's second Federal Republic.

In accordance with the current Constitution of Nigeria, the English-style parliamentary democracy of the first Federal Republic has been replaced with a presidential system. The legislative, judicial and executive powers are separate. Legislative powers are vested in a National Assembly consisting

of a Senate and a House of Representatives, and the president is directly elected from among the presidential candidates of legal parties.

There are six registered political parties in Nigeria at present, but the competition is actually between Shagari, the presidential candidate of the ruling National Party, and Obafemi Awolowo, the candidate of the biggest opposition party, the Unity Party.

The National Party has a wide foundation throughout the country and exercises the power of the government so it has an advantage in the elections. The Unity Party, the People's Party and the factions of the Greater Nigeria People's Party and the People's Redemption Party which opposed the party in power last year have formed an alliance which makes the outcome of this election uncertain.

As the elections progressed, frequent conflicts among the parties have occurred. In mid-June President Shagari called the leaders of the six parties to a meeting and worked out concrete measures to guarantee peaceful, free and fair elections.

The outcome of the elections will not only have a significant effect on Nigerian society and the economy, but is likely to make some impact on the African countries south of the Sahara.

- A Qi

# The "Two-Whatever" Policy Does Not Accord With Marxism

(May 24, 1977)

#### Deng Xiaoping

FEW days ago, when two leading comrades A of the General Office of the Party Central Committee came to see me, I told them that the "two-whatever" policy will not do. In accordance with this doctrine, my rehabilitation is unjustifiable, and it is likewise unjustifiable to affirm that the activities of the broad masses of people at Tian An Men Square in 1976 were "reasonable"2. For us to apply what Comrade Mao Zedong said on one particular question to another, to apply what he said in one particular place to another, to apply what he said at one particular time to another, or to apply what he said under one particular condition to another - all this certainly will not work! Comrade Mao Zedong himself said on several occasions that some of his own statements were wrong. He said that no one can avoid making mistakes so long as he works, and that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin all made mistakes, for otherwise why did they often revise their manuscripts time and again? The reason they did so was precisely that some of their original viewpoints were not completely correct, not Comrade Mao so perfect or not so accurate. Zedong also said that he himself had made mistakes too, that there has never been a person whose statements are all correct or who is absolutely correct all the time. He said that if one is given an assessment of 70 per cent for achievements and 30 per cent for mistakes, that will be quite all right; and that he himself would be very glad and satisfied if future generations could give him such a "70-30 evaluation" after This is an' important theoretical his death.

Excerpts from a talk with two other central leading comrades. Here is an unofficial translation.

question, a question of whether or not we can persevere in historical materialism. One should approach this question in the way advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong if one is a thoroughgoing materialist. Marx and Engels did not put forward any "whatever" doctrine, nor did Lenin and Stalin, nor did Comrade Mao Zedong himself3. I told the two leading comrades of the Central Committee's General Office that, in my letter to the Central Committee of April 10 this year, I proposed that "from generation to generation, we guide our whole Party, whole army and the people of the whole country with the accurate and comprehensive Mao Zedong Thought, so as to push forward victoriously the cause of the Party and socialism and the cause of the international communist movement." It was after lengthy consideration that I made this proposal. Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system. Comrade Luo Ronghuan4 and I waged struggles against Lin Biao, criticizing him for vulgarizing Mao Zedong Thought instead of regarding it as a system. When we say we should hold aloft our banner, we mean precisely that we should study and apply this ideological system of Mao Zedong Thought.

#### NOTES

- 1. The "two-whatever" policy refers to the statement that "we will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave," a statement contained in the joint editorial, entitled "Study the Documents Well and Grasp the Key Link," of Renmin Ribao, the journal Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao on February 7, 1977.
- 2. This is a criticism of Hua Guofeng, then Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, for his mistake of sticking to the "two-whatever" policy

in his speech at the central working conference of March 1977. In 1975, Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Mao Zedong, took charge of the work of the Party Central Committee and began straightening things out in the various fields, thus bringing about a marked turn for the better in the domestic situation. But, Mao Zedong, who could not bear to accept Deng Xiaoping's systematic correction of the mistakes of the "cultural revolution," launched late that year the so-called movement "to criticize Deng Xiaoping and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts." January 1976, Zhou Enlai passed away. Around the Qingming (Clear and Bright) Festival, April 4 of the same year, mass movements broke out in Beijing and many other cities to mourn for the late Zhou Enlai, oppose the gang of four and show disapproval of the criticism of Deng Xiaoping. gang of four did their utmost to suppress the revolutionary activities of the masses. On April 5, large numbers of people took action in protest at Tian An Men Square in Beijing. At the time, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong made a wrong assessment of the Tian An Men Incident, regarding it as counterrevolutionary, and dismissed Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the Party. After the smashing of the gang of four, the masses of people, inside and outside the Party, strongly demanded that Deng Xiaoping be rehabilitated and that the assessment of the Tian An Men Incident Hua Guofeng stuck to the "twobe reversed. whatever" policy in his speech at the central working conference of March 1977, stating that "the movement 'to criticize Deng Xiaoping and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts' was carried out according to the great leader Chairman Mao's decision, and the criticism was indispensable," and that "there were indeed a handful of counter-revolutionaries" who "fabricated the counter-revolutionary Tian An Men Incident." However, he had to say that it was necessary to "let Comrade Deng Xiaoping come out to work at an opportune moment," and that "it was reasonable that the masses went to Tian An Men Square during the Qingming Festival to mourn for the late Premier Zhou." Here, Deng Xiaoping pointed out the inconsistencies in Hua Guofeng's speech and criticized the mistake of the "twowhatever" policy. In July 1977, the Third Plenary Session of the 10th Party Central Committee adopted a resolution, restoring Deng Xiaoping to all his posts inside and outside the Party. In December 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee criticized the mistake of the "two-whatever" policy, decided to cancel the erroneous documents issued by the Central Committee on the movement to "counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts" and on the Tian An Men Incident, and solemnly announced the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and the reversal of the assessment of the Tian An Men Incident.

- 3. This sentence means that none of them Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong said that whatever he said or did was absolutely correct and could never be altered.
- 4. Luo Ronghuan (1902-63), native of Hengshan, Hunan Province, was at the time Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

## For Mutual Understanding and World Peace

These are not easy times for the relations between nations. The many and complex unsettled issues have set in motion a constant, queasy uncertainty about what the future will bring.

Yet however high tensions may mount in state relations, the peoples share a common desire for mutual understanding and for peace. So it is for the enduring friendship that has been forged between the peoples of China and the United States on both sides of the Pacific.

The US-China Peoples Friendship Association goes to its Ninth National Convention in Los Angeles in early September with a proud record of significant contributions to people-to-people friendships. In the present turbulent world situation and political climate, it faces many new problems and challenges.

We have great confidence that the USCPFA will continue to be an essential link between our two peoples. As a tribute to its work and a salute to its convention, we are publishing a message from Wang Bingnan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, a story about a specific 35-year-old US-China friendship, and a tribute to the late Mary Dimond, president of the Edgar Snow Fund. — Ed.

## A Salute to USCPFA

by Wang Bingnan



THE US-China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) is the largest American national people's friendship organization with China. After friendly contacts between the peoples of China and the United States were initiated in 1971, scores of US-China friendship societies were organized across America. At the end of August 1974, these organizations convened the First National Convention in Los Angeles and founded the USCPFA. The national organization has embodied the friendship and sincere sentiments of the American people towards the Chinese people and played a positive role in the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding between the two peoples.

The USCPFA has accomplished a great deal. It has sponsored many educational activities in the United States about China such as showing of Chinese films and slides, conducting symposiums and lectures, holding exhibitions and publishing journals and pamphlets.

It has organized many kinds of delegations to China, thus enabling the Americans to gain personal knowledge of China; it also has helped China's visiting scholars and students studying in the United States to solve the difficulties they encounter.

The USCPFA, in co-ordination with other organizations, often receives visiting Chinese delegations as well as recommending teachers or experts to work in China. Some regional

associations also have helped establish friendly relations between American states and China's provinces or between the two countries' cities. These activities help an increasing number of Americans to keep abreast of events in China and enhance friendship between the two peoples.

Since its founding, the USCPFA has established contacts with the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries. For more than a decade, close contacts and co-operation have existed between our two organizations, and friendly ties have grown steadily.

The Chinese people and the American people are great peoples who have a tradition of friendship. Prior to the normalization of relations between the two countries, our two peoples surmounted numerous difficulties to find channels for contact and to promote mutual understanding. We are extremely pleased to see that contacts between the two peoples have greatly developed in recent years and have played an increasingly important role. No matter what happens in the future, contacts and friendship between our two peoples will continue to develop.

The USCPFA will convene its Ninth National Convention in Los Angeles on September 3 to 5 this year. We wish the convention success.

## A Testimony to Friendship

by Our Correspondent Zhou Zheng

THIS fading picture was taken 39 years ago. Some people in it are long dead. But those who are still alive, both Chinese and Americans, cherish an unforgettable memory of that past experience. I chanced to see this picture at the home of Liu Yang, second from the left, whose name now is Cao Yifeng, a senior research officer of the Chinese People's Air Force

College. He was an interpreter at the time, and he told me the whole story.

On August 20, 1944, an armada of US B-29 Superfortresses were returning to base in Chengdu, China, after a daylight raid on Yamata, the "Pittsburg of Japan." One B-29 had been showing signs of trouble, but the crew thought the plane was in good enough shape



William Savoie (fifth from left) and Liu Yang (second from left), then interpreter.

to make the trip back. Then, after nightfall, the B-29 caught fire, and Lieutenant Colonel Savoie, the pilot, ordered his crew to bail out. Five of the 12 crewmen landed safely in one of the Liberated Areas. Six were missing and one was captured by the Japanese. At dawn some militiamen found the 5 red-faced bignosed foreigners in haystacks and paddy-fields, and escorted them to a local New 4th Army base.

Liu Yang recalled that stitched on the backs of their flying-jackets were Chinese characters saying: "We are Americans who came to China to join the fight against the Japanese. Please give us your help." Being a remote area in the northern part of Jiangsu Province, the place had rarely seen any foreigners. But people turned out in large numbers to greet the foreign guests, bringing with them whatever food they had. An old peasant woman brought with her all the eggs she had saved for her daughter to eat after childbirth.

After they rested for two weeks, the five lucky survivors were escorted to the General HQs of the New 4th Army, where they were accommodated in several newly white-washed rooms in the homes of the local peasants. Two orderlies, two bodyguards and an interpreter were assigned to look after them.

At that time, the New 4th Army was fighting the Kuomintang blockade as well as the Japanese. Life was very hard for both officers

and men. Nevertheless no efforts were spared for the well-being of the American friends. Eggs, chicken and bacon were bought from the peasants, and what was more difficult, milk powder and coffee were bought from the Japanese occupied cities. Even such "luxuries" as a basketball and playing cards were found for them. Division Commanders Su Yu and Zhang Yunyi paid them a courtesy call in person.

On Oct. 14 of that year, they were handed over to the Kuomintang's 5th Army, after negotiations between the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee in Yanan and the Kuomintang government in Chongqing had been completed. When they said farewell, the Americans expressed their desire to visit China again some day in the future.

This desire was fulfilled over 30 years later. In 1979 two of the men, William Savoie and Ernest Brundage, came to China for the second time with a tourist group. In requesting Chinese visas for the trip, they said they hoped they could meet anyone connected with their 1944 rescue. I really marvel at how the China International Travel Service managed to locate Liu Yang, now using his own name, Cao Yifeng. When the American guests landed at Beijing Airport. Liu Yang was in a small group of Chinese who greeted them. So deep were the impressions left by the five-week-long friendship 35 years earlier that they immediately

recognized each other, even though the then strapping young men now had greying temples and white streaks in their hair.

The two foreign friends were cordially received once again. They travelled the length and breadth of the country, were able to meet seven people connected with their rescue in 1944 and made many new friends. During their stay in Beijing, Yue Daiheng, then chief of the China International Travel Service, gave a banquet in their honour, which was highlighted by the presence of the commanding officers of the Chinese People's Air Force, Gen. Cao Lihuai, Deputy Commander, and Gen. Huang Liqing, Deputy Political Commissar.

## Mary Clark Dimond

(1918 - 1983)

The news of the untimely death of Mary Clark Dimond on June 9 in Kansas City, Kansas, was received with great sadness by many people in China. Those who knew her personally were deeply grieved at the loss of a long-standing, loyal friend of the Chinese people. Huang Hua, now Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Wang Bingnan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, were among those who sent condolences to her family.

Mrs. Dimond was the president of the Edgar Snow Fund Inc., at the University of Missouri-Kansas City and initiated a programme for Chinese scholars to do research and teaching at the university. She also established the university's Edgar Snow collection honouring the Kansas City journalist of worldwide fame who wrote about the Chinese revolution in progress.

Mrs. Dimond accomplished many other things in her active life. In her later years, she developed her skills as a versatile photographer.

The following poem was submitted to us by Cecile M. Franking, a writer and wife of the noted American neurosurgeon, William Q. Wu. The Wus have long been active in the USCPFA. — Ed.

"Mary Clark Dimond has done more for US-Chinese understanding than all the ambassadors put together."

 Leonard Woodcock, first US Ambassador to the PRC



Mary Clark Dimond.

Her endless vision
encompassed the world —
diffuse as sunlight,
its force was love
its goal was peace.
In the path of her father,
with her hand in her husband's,
she bridged US and China —
softly in manner
the essence of grace.
Yet with steely precision

she handled reality —
images exact
as her stark photographs —
composing events,
trusting world leaders,
who came at her call
to attest to her goal
and affirm her world vision.
She cannot be dead.

- Cecile M. Franking

Beijing Review, No. 33

## Legislative and judiciary work in China

by Our Correspondent

Zhang Zhiye

The following three articles give a general description of China's legal system. Future developments in this field will be covered by our later issues from time to time. — Ed.

## **New developments**

CHINA'S legal system has been strengthened since 1979. The new Constitution adopted by the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1982 represented an important step towards the establishment of a complete socialist legal system. In the meantime, legislative and judicial work also entered a new period of development.

#### Legislation

An important function of a socialist legal system is to pro-

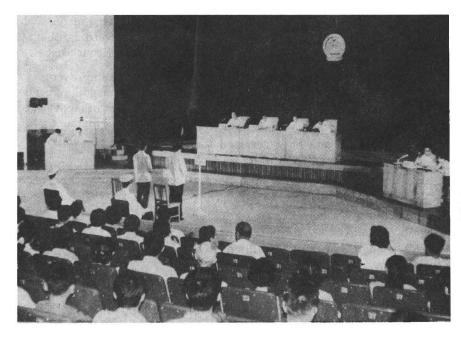
vide a series of laws to govern social behaviour. In 1979 the Committee of Legislative Affairs was established under the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to consider legislative matters. Since then, the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee, the State Council and its ministries and commissions have enacted or approved 700 laws, decrees and regulations.

They include the Criminal Law, the Law of Criminal Procedure, the Provisional Law of Civil Procedure, the new Electoral Law, the Organic Law of the Local People's Congresses and People's Governments, the Organic Law of the People's Courts, the Organic Law of the People's Procuratorates, the new Marriage Law and the Nationality Law.

People's congresses and their standing committees at the provincial level also have formulated local laws and regulations.

A number of new laws are being drafted, including one on the inheritance of property.

Acting on the provisions of the recently adopted Constitution, the legislative department has made amendments or added new stipulations to laws governing state agencies such as the



The Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court hears a criminal case.

August 15, 1983



Song Sufeng (handcuffed) was sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment for libel by the Hangzhou City People's Court for publicly slandering a young woman to prevent the woman, who subsequently drowned herself in a river, from marrying her son.

Organic Law of the National People's Congress, the Organic Law of the State Council, the Organic Law of the Local People's Congresses and People's Governments and the Electoral Law for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses. These laws were amended only when it was necessary so that the overall stability of the law is maintained.

#### The Judiciary

Judicial organs have been established at all levels. The number of judicial workers increased from 90,000 in 1978 to 300,000 in 1982. Economic tribunals have been set up by the Supreme People's Court, the higher people's courts and nearly 300 intermediate people's courts.

Lawyers and notaries and their organizations have been restored. Central, provincial, prefectural and county governments have set up departments of justice to take care of legal education and publicizing the legal system, and the work of lawyers and notaries.

The principles governing the judicial organs in China are: The people's courts exercise judicial power independently and the people's procuratorates exercise procuratorial power independently. The public security departments, the procuratorates and the courts work in close coordination and check on each other's work. In this way efficiency is raised, miscarriages of justice prevented and the correct implementation of the law ensured.

Since 1978, the people's courts have re-examined 1.2 million criminal cases mostly from the "cultural revolution" period (1966-76) and have reversed the verdicts on 31,000 of them.

During the same period, the courts also have tried 620,000 counter-revolutionary and other criminal cases, passed judgments on 1.77 million civil cases and settled 16,000 cases of economic disputes. These cases were generally completed within the period of time prescribed by law.

An important duty of the people's court is to handle appeals and protect the citizen's right to appeal through passing judgment. China's courts have heard many appeals — 180,600 in 1982 alone.

For a while, it was not uncommon for people from all over the country to travel to Beijing to plead their cases. Consequently, the Supreme People's Court convened a meeting in April 1982, at which opinions were worked out on such cases before forwarding them to the local courts concerned.

With the improvement of the legal system and judicial work, the number of appeals contesting the judgment of first instance has dwindled.

The people's procuratorates, while handling cases forwarded by public security bureaus, now also directly accept and investigate more cases than before. Their achievements in investigation are particularly striking in the drive to crack down on serious economic offences.

In the first 10 months of 1982, people's procura-

torates at the provincial level and special procuratorates of the military and railways accepted 55,300 cases of corruption and bribery, 35,500 of which have been filed for investigation. Of the 20,200 cases that have been investigated, 12,300 have been forwarded to the people's courts for prosecution. In this process, they retrieved 76.2 million yuan of losses for the state.

Publicizing the legal system is seen as a means to prevent crime. Some people's procuratorates take no legal proceeding against those who commit minor offenses that do not constitute criminal offenses, but instead give them a chance to reform themselves through education.

In the 1980-82 period, 289 people in Wuxi in the south China province of Jiangsu were treated leniently because their misdeeds were not terribly serious or because they had shown repentance. Of these, 209 were not arrested, 53 were exempted from prosecution and no charge was filed against 27. Some of them were placed in a programme for regular education and examination. As a result, 44 per cent of them confessed and improved their behaviour; 45.5 per cent began to take their own misconduct seriously but sometimes wavered; 8 per cent did not really accept that they had done anything wrong or even committed other small offenses; and 2 per cent went on to commit crimes and were arrested.

To prevent crimes, the judicial departments help local people draw up codes of conduct and rules for maintaining social order, and make suggestions to government agencies and enterprises to improve their management. They also help the units where crimes have taken place to adopt remedial measures.

#### **Protecting the Economy**

A saliant feature in China's efforts to develop its legal system is the employment of legal means to boost and protect the economy. Since 1979, China has enacted 260 economic laws and regulations. Eleven of them were adopted and promulgated by the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. They include the Law on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment, the Law Governing Economic Contracts, the Income Tax Law Concerning Foreign Enterprises, the Law Governing the Protection of Marine Environment and the Trade Mark Law.

At present some new laws are being drafted, including the law on planning, the law governing mineral resources, the land law, the labour law, the grasslands law, the customs law, the patent law and the regulations governing state industrial enterprises.

The Economic Law Research Centre of the State Council has developed a plan for more economic laws in the 1982-86 period. The economic legislation is intended to shore up the state's leadership, organization and management of the socialist economy. It is also designed to enable state agencies to better use objective economic laws in guiding economic construction, consolidate the results gained during restructuring economic system, facilitate China's economic exchanges with foreign countries and speed up the development of economic construction.

Economic laws have helped solve many problems in economic construction. For example, due to increasing tapping of subterranean water for industrial use, Shanghai's ground sank an average of 1,760 mm

(2,630 mm in a few places) in the 45 years between 1921 and 1965, an average of 40 mm a year. Two laws were enacted in 1961 and 1963 to govern the tapping of subterranean water, and two more were added in 1979 and 1982 to limit the amount of water tapped, which basically ended the subsidence. Now sinking of ground has been reduced to 3-5 mm and in some places the ground has risen slightly because of the increase of subterranean water.

Legal means have also promoted economic reforms. In the Economic Shenzhen Special Zone in Guangdong Province, the laws on the construction of special economic zones guided systematic reforms in the management of foreign exchange, foreign affairs, the market, the border area and transport and communications. These have curbed smuggling and trade in contraband goods among some enterprises and individuals.

In 1982, despite the recession of the world economy, Shenzhen imported 19.4 per cent more foreign investment projects than in the previous year. Compared with 1981, investment by foreign businesses rose 163.5 per cent; total industrial output value increased 47.8 per cent; total agricultural income rose 8.6 per cent; and foreign exchange income shot up 77.6 per cent.

#### Training Judicial Personnel

At present China has 11 schools that provide on-the-job-training for judicial cadres. Ten more such schools will be established. In the last few years, 70,000 judicial cadres across the country have received professional training, 11,000 are currently being trained, and more are enrolled

#### FEATURE/LEGAL SYSTEM

in correspondence and TV training programmes.

In the 1950s, China had four institutes of political science and law in addition to four university law departments. Today the China University of Political Science and Law offers a wide range of courses. The Zhongnan Institute of Political Science and Law will soon be established, and law departments have been universities. opened in 22 Moreover, a number of secondary law schools and spare-time law schools have sprung up.

A group of 300 experts began in July 1980 to compile teaching materials for legal education. Under the co-leadership of the Ministry of Justice and the

Ministry of Education, this group has put together 54 textbooks and related reference totalling 17 million books. words, on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, the history of legal system, and criminal law, law of procedure, civil law and international law. Based on these textbooks, 14 concise versions have been edited for secondary law education and the training of judicial staff.

The textbooks provided virtually all the major teaching materials needed by both required and elective courses in law departments. One-third of the textbooks were edited for the first time since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

## Shanghai publicizes the legal system

O<sup>N</sup> April 17 this year, 500 judicial workers — policemen, judges, procurators and lawyers — took to the streets of Shanghai where they set up more than 30 advisory booths to

publicize the socialist legal system.

Of the 3,500 people received in that single day, many asked informational questions, but



Beijing legal workers give advice to citizens on the street.

some sought both counsel and

One septuagenarian. for example, was having trouble paying his bills because his two sons refused to provide for him. He poured out his grievances to a lawyer at one of the booths and asked anxiously what he should do. The lawyer told him that his sons' actions were in violation of the Marriage Law. The lawyer suggested that his first step should be to approach the leaders of his sons' workplaces and ask for assistance in getting them to comply with the law. "If that fails, you can sue them." he said.

Street publicity work is but one of the many forms Shanghai uses to disseminate knowledge of the law. According to a leader of the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Justice, most criminal cases involve mainly larceny (there are only a small number of cases of murder and robbery) and tragic results of intensified contradictions among the people. He concluded that through preventive work these crimes can be vastly reduced. The publicity of legal system aimed, said the official, at helping the citizens observe the law, prevent crimes and supervise the correct law enforcement.

#### Showcases and Exhibitions

Glass-front wooden showcases are another popular form used in Shanghai to publicize the legal system. Set up in front of public security bureaus, courts and procuratorates of the Shanghai municipality and its various districts and counties, these showcases display explanations of laws and criminal cases, and include photos and illustrations and sometimes self-critical articles by law-breakers. Similar showcases also line the

major streets. All told, Shanghai has 230 such public bulletin boards. It is not uncommon to see people crowding before them avidly reading the displayed materials.

In the neighbourhoods, state law is explained on "black-board newspapers" while villagers on the outskirts of Shanghai learn the meaning of law through public address networks.

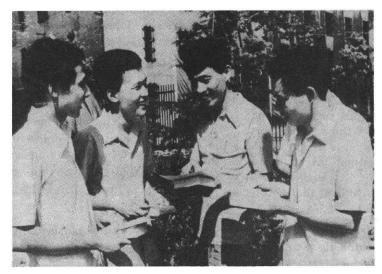
Exhibitions are often held in parks, cultural palaces and libraries focusing on one particular topic. They usually include pictures, explanations and objects.

Not long ago, Shanghai held an exhibition entitled "Learn This Lesson Taught by Blood — How Contradictions Within the People, When Running Beyond Control, Can Result in Murders and Injuries."

Aided by 200 photographs, the display explained 58 criminal cases caused by "little misunderstandings," or "petty bickering" that arose from strained marriages, or from love, family or neighbourhood relations. Some 400,000 people visited the display. A number of delinquents who attended it told the police that they would remember for ever how their ignorance of law had led them astray.

An exhibition on opposing corruption and bribery jointly sponsored by the Shanghai People's Procuratorate and the Shanghai Municipal Trade Union Council received 430,000 viewers in three months from 3.900 factories. enterprises. government organizations and schools. Citizens from neighbouring cities such as Suzhou, Wuxi and Hangzhou also attended it.

Some law-breakers were so inspired by it that they turned



Students of the 245 inmates of the Shanghai Municipal Penitentiary who received middle school diplomas on July 30 for studying while serving their terms.

themselves in. A sock mill manager, for example, confessed to the local procuratorate that he had taken 3,000 yuan in bribes.

#### Law Courses in Schools

Education in law has become part of the curricula of middle schools in Shanghai. Similar lessons are taught on an experimental basis in a number of primary schools. The courses provide a basic introduction to the legal requirements of good citizenship. For instance, some students thought that fighting, cursing and gambling had nothing to do with law, the school used crimes that resulted from fights and gambling to show the relationship between law and morality.

Some students take their lessons to heart. One good example is a 14-year-old junior middle school girl. Her uncle abused and maltreated her grandmother. Her father (her uncle's brother) was so angry that he thought of inflicting an injury on him by way of punishment. The girl used what she had learnt from the law class to

dissuade her father. The uncle's action of maltreating grandma violated the law, she told him, but on no account should the family physically attack him, for that is a violation of the law. The right thing to do was to sue him at the court, she said. The father did what his daughter said and the court duly punished the uncle.

Law classes have enabled students to take an interest in law. In one middle school several students formed a law study group and over 100 teenages became regular participants in their forums. Some students already plan to major in law after graduating from middle school.

## Publicity Geared to Court Trials

Trials are not merely designed to punish criminals but to educate the public.

All trials in China are open to the public except when state secrets or privacy are involved. Sometimes loudspeakers are installed in the suburbs of Shanghai to broadcast the court proceedings.

#### **FEATURE/LEGAL SYSTEM**

In the course of handling criminal cases, judiciary workers often present formal proposals to help departments to plug the legal loopholes in their rules and regulations. During a robbery trial, a district court found that four such cases had occurred in the same factory in two years, involving 10,000 yuan. Investigations showed that the factory management was in disarray and that neither cadres nor the workers knew much about the law and that they did not think it was a serious problem when factory property was stolen.

The court made a judicial proposal that the factory should revamp itself, tighten up its management and emphasize fostering a strong sense of law among all those on its payroll. The court dispatched its staff members to the factory to make reports and answer workers' questions about law. As a result, theft was basically terminated in that factory.

#### Other Media

In Shanghai, performances and publications also serve as vehicles for the dissemination of knowledge about the legal system. Operas and dramas are often staged, and slides shown before a movie starts, to publicize the law.

Law also has become a popular topic for local performing arts such as *pingtan* (storytelling and ballad singing in the Suzhou dialect), Shaoxing opera, Shanghai opera, comedies and cross-talks.

Many cultural palaces present criminal cases as vivid stories to entertain and educate audiences. One story teller is a bank staff member. Since the promulgation of the new Constitution, he has developed several new stories such as "Saving Money for Young." "An Uncalled-for Lawsuit" and "1,300 Yuan." Couched in lively, humorous language, his stories spell out the new Constitution from different angles. In three months he spoke at neighbourhoods and schools on 45 occasions, entertaining 3,400 people. Usually he speaks 12 times a month without asking for pay. "Like my fellow countrymen, I had enough of the gang of four who left the legal

system in shambles," he explained. "That is why I feel obligated to use stories to help the public understand the law and prevent history from repeating itself."

With a total circulation of one million, the 48-page *Minzhu Yu Fazhi* (Democracy and the Legal System) is a popular magazine which reports on legal activities and related topics. It features several columns such as "Case Studies," "Forum," "Investigative Reports," "Notes From Lawyers" and "Mail Box."

Readers often write to Minzhu Yu Fazhi for legal advice. The magazine has solved problems for many a man frustrated by a legal dispute. Numerous delinquents have been persuaded by the magazine articles to give up crime and have mailed stolen money and objects to the editorial department, usually with a message promising to turn over a new leaf. Legal columns also have begun to appear in Shanghai newspapers. Wen Hui Bao, for example, devotes one of its Friday pages to legal information and reports.



A law class at the Nanyang Model Middle School in Shanghai.

### An island court

I T began as fist fight. Yu, a peasant on Hengsha Island at the estuary of the Chang-jiang River, kicked one of his fellow islanders in a furious quarrel. No permanent injury was inflicted, but Yu was to suffer from his impetuous act.

His opponent, with the backing of a production brigade cadre, stayed out of work for six months while demanding "compensation" from Yu.

At the time, Hengsha Island had no court. For many years, when anything really serious happened, islanders had to go some distance ashore to seek justice, which was both time-consuming and costly.

Yu knew he had been wronged. He felt he had no alternative but to go to the cadre to protest the latter's decision. "You should pay," came the answer. So at the end of that year, 600 yuan was docked from Yu's income from collective distribution.

That did not end the story. Yu's opponent, whose greed seemingly knew no bounds, stayed home doing nothing for nearly another year and still insisted that Yu should pay for his "losses." But this time things did not go the way he wished.

It was early 1981 and a court had just been established on the island to serve both Hengsha and a neighbouring island. Yu lost no time in filing a lawsuit.

Before the court, both the other man and the brigade cadre had to admit their wrongdoings. By a court ruling, Yu's opponent was requested to return Yu the money and pay for his own laziness.

This case not only saved Yu from going bankrupt but also boosted the prestige of the court among the islanders. Today it is handling an increasing number of cases. In 1981, it heard twice as many cases as had been filed by the islanders with the court ashore in the previous year. In 1982, it tried 90 cases, 50 per cent more than in 1981. The increase is actually a good thing, showing that the court has become more accessible and peasants have settled many long-standing issues.

For example, one peasant woman had been compelled by her parents to marry a man she did not love. The marriage soon went sour when it turned out that the man was impotent. The wife requested a divorce. But when the matter was brought to the commune head-

quarters, her request was denied because her husband refused to agree to end the marriage.

The issue could have been settled at the faraway Baoshan County court but the wife was too shy to go there. "I couldn't stand seeing so many strangers," she said. She even attempted suicide.

The advent of the island court gave her hope. She pleaded her case with the court soon after its establishment. On the basis of fact-finding studies, the court explained the law to the man and granted the divorce. "The court saved my life," said the woman.

The court's good reputation is partly a function of its two staff members' diligent work style. Transport on the island is primitive and the best means are bicycles. When they go out to make investigations, they often miss meals. They keep receiving clients as late as nine in the evening. Late nights often find them mediating disputes among islanders.



Court staff members in Shanghai's Putuo District handling a neighbourhood dispute.

## BOOKS

## Introduction to 'Selected Works of Zhu De'

Selected Works of Zhu De (in Chinese)

《朱德选集》

Published by the People's Publishing House,

Distributed by China Publications Centre (Guoji Shudian), P.O. Box 399,

Price: paperback RMB 1.60 yuan, hardcover RMB 4.20 yuan.

Selected Works of Zhu De edited by the Editorial Committee on Party Literature under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party went on sale throughout China on August 1 (Army Day).

Comrade Zhu De (1886-1976) was one of the founders of the Chinese people's army and the People's Republic of China. He made great contributions to the victory of the Chinese people's liberation and the cause of socialism. He also made outstanding contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, Mao Zedong's military thinking in particular.

The book contains 65 articles — 32 published for the first time — written between 1931 and 1962. Many of the articles deal with military affairs: the theory of the people's army, people's war and strategy and tactics. Other works present his views on economic work and Party building.

These works are an expression of the spirit of seeking truth from facts and proceeding



Zhu De reads out the order of the headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on October 1, 1949 at the founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China.

from reality to action. Many of the articles emphasize the need to have confidence in the masses, rely on them and become one with them.

#### Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-36)

During the 10 years from the Nanchang Uprising in August 1927 to the end of the Agrarian Revolutionary War in 1936, Zhu De, together with Mao Zedong, made invaluable contributions to the founding and development of the people's army and revolutionary bases.

Six articles Zhu De wrote during the period are included in the Selected Works.

"How to Create an Iron-Willed Red Army" was written in July 1931 prior to the third campaign by the central revolutionary base to counter the Chiang Kai-shek "encirclement and suppression" campaign. The article calls on all commanders and men of the Red Army to

raise their proletarian consciousness and unite with the masses for the joint struggle of seizing political power and emancipating the proletariat and all other labouring people politically and economically.

It says the Red Army must strengthen political training, improve military skills and enforce strict discipline.

"The Course and Lessons to Be Drawn From the Great Victories in Huangpi and Dongpi Battles" was written in May 1933 after the central revolutionary base conducted a successful campaign against the fourth "encirclement and suppression." They adopted the concentrating principle of troops on wiping out enemies one by one in mobile warfare. The "encirclement and suppression" campaign ended in failure, with three enemy divisions wiped out.

The article focuses on the tactical reasons for victory and points out the Red Army's weak points in commanding and lessons to be drawn.

"Telegrams on the Battle Involving Four Crossings of the Chishui River" contains some telegrams sent during the battle after an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee in January 1935 at Zunyi in Guizhou Province. At the meeting, the leading position of Mao Zedong in the Party and in the army was established with the election of a new Central Committee headed by Zhu De and other comhim. rades assisted Mao Zedong in commanding the battle, which, at a crucial juncture in the Long March, helped the Red Army extricate itself from a dangerous situation and regain the initiative.

#### War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1937-45)

Zhu De was the Commanderin-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Liberated Areas during the eight-year war of resistance against. Japanese aggression. Zhu De went to the north China front to command battles and worked out the strategy and tactics of the guerrilla war against Japanese aggression. He gave instructions on establishing and expanding the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy's rear and for enlarging people's armed forces. Among the 17 articles is "On Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Warfare" written in 1938. says wide-spread anti-Japanese guerrilla war behind the enemy's rear is inevitable and of great significance. It discusses the basic conditions for waging such a war and the tactics for it. The article guided and encouraged the people in initiating and expanding the guerrilla war.

"On the Front of the Liberated Areas" is a military report delivered at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1945.

It reviews the opening and expansion of the front of the liberated areas and sums up the experience of the liberated areas in waging the resistance war. It discusses in detail the military line of the Chinese people in this war, the principle for the establishment of a people's army and the way to maintain, train, command and deploy troops. Mao Zedong's theories on people's war and on the people's army pervade the article.

#### Third Revolutionary Civil War (1946-49)

During this period Zhu De was a member of the Secretar-

iat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Commander-in-Chief the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Together with Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, he commanded the national people's liberation war. He also offered some concrete proposals after making investigations about economic construction. The book includes 16 articles written in this period.

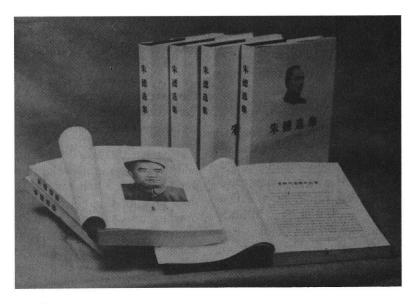
"On Cadres" was part of a speech delivered in June 1947 at a meeting attended by cadres of the central Hebei military area. While in command of battle operations, Zhu De paid attention to building the ranks of cadres for the army and local governments. The article stresses the importance of training new cadres and assigning them to leading posts.

"Telegrams on the Shijiazhuang Campaign" and "On the Significance of the Capture of Shijiazhuang and Lessons to Be Drawn" were written between October and December 1947. Shijiazhuang was the first well-defended major city captured by the People's Liberation Army during the liberation war. The victory provided valu-

able experience for later assaults on heavily fortified cities.

"A Letter to the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong" was written in December 1947. Among the major points it raises is the need for military democracy. Drawing on the experience of several battles by the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei army units, Zhu De proposes that full preparations be made before a battle and that commanders must be the first to study and join the rank-and-file in devising tactics. A successful assault on a strongly defended installation requires collective wisdom and efforts, plus full material preparations, Zhu De wrote.

"Four Speeches at a Report Meeting on the Military Situation by the Operations Bureau Under the Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" was delivered between August and November 1948. In the light of the operations principle set by the Party Central Committee, Zhu De, Mao Zedong and other Party and army leaders made overall dispositions for the Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huaihai and Beiping-Tianjin campaigns at the stage



27

of decisive battles to determine the destiny of the country.

## After the Founding of the People's Republic of China

From the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 to 1976, Zhu De was a Party and state leader. Although he was getting on in years, he frequently went to grass-roots units to make inspections, offering suggestions on army and Party building as well as economic construction. The Selected Works includes 26 of his articles during this period.

"Strengthen Party Inspection of Discipline" was a May 1950 speech at a conference of Party discipline inspectors at various levels. Showing great concern for the development of the Chinese Communist Party after it came to power in 1949, Zhu De stressed on many occasions that leading cadres should be subject to supervision by the masses and should guard against arrogant becoming because of past deeds of merit. In this speech; Zhu De criticizes Party cadres who operate counter to Party policy and discipline, analysing the root-causes of these mistakes and proposing ways to correct them. He also criticizes those who look down upon non-Party personages and the masses and ignore Party organizations, the government and the law.

"Unify Training Programmes and Speed Up the Building of a Modernized and Regularized Army" is a speech made in September 1951 at a military training meeting called by the People's Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central People's Government. The meeting was held after the Party Central Committee had worked out

a national training programme for all land forces. Zhu De discussed the same subject on different occasions for the air force, navy and armoured corps as well as military academies. They also are included in this book.

"Strengthen Unity to Build Socialism" is Zhu De's speech in September 1956 at the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Talking about how to avoid serious mistakes, he says the Party leadership should draw lessons from the past, adopt the methods used in the rectification of the Party style, combine theory with practice and oppose subjectivism, combine leading cadres with the masses to oppose bureaucracy, combine democratic centralism, collective leadership and individual responsibility to oppose decentralism, ultrademocracy and arbitrary decision-making by individdevelop a democratic style of work and conduct criticism and self-criticism to prevent the suppression of democracy and criticism. On the struggle within the Party, he says that the principle of "curing the ailment to save the patient" should be adopted and the formula "unity, criticism, unity" applied towards erring cadres: liberalism towards mistakes and mechanical, crude or excessive inner-Party struggle should be opposed. He stresses the need for unity by the entire Party and people and opposes sectarian tendencies.

"Correct the 'Left' Deviation and Restore and Develop Production" is a summary of Zhu De's talk at a panel discussion during an enlarged working conference of the Communist Party Central Committee in February 1962. He discusses excesses in the inner-Party

struggle over the previous few years, saying that the target of attack in the movements was not as narrow as it should have been, and sometimes the struggle had been confused with eliminating counter-revolutionaries. He urges people to use correct methods of criticism and self-criticism, that is, the manner of "a gentle breeze and a mild rain," to solve problems within the Party.

So long as leading cadres make self-criticism dare to when they make mistakes, complaints at the lower levels can be solved easily, he said. The initiative of the people should focus on agricultural, industrial and handicraft production. Provided the Party learns to act in accordance with objective laws, it will be able to hold its ground and continue to develop.

"From the Nanchang Uprising to the Jinggang Mountains" is a summary of his talk in June 1962. Zhu De recalls the course of the Northern Expedition, the Nanchang Uprising and the Southern Hunan Uprising and the serious losses to the revolutionary cause brought by "Left" and Right opportunism. He points out that it was under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong after the Red Army had joined forces in the Jinggang Mountains that the main force of the Red Army gradually grew and the struggles in the revolutionary bases achieved significant success.

CORRECTIONS: In our last issue on page 20, the first column of the Table 'Area (3 hectares)" should read "Area (10.000 hectares)."

On page 27, the name of the woman Living Buddha should be "Sanding Doje Phagmo."

On page 31, the caption of the scroll should read "A Business Centre in Xinjiang."

## SCIENTIFIC SURVEY

# Lop Nur's mystery unveiled

Scientific controversies about the ancient Lop Nur Lake have been settled at last by a thesis to be carried in the Scientia Cinica magazine. The article was crystallized from five field studies into the Lop Nur area on the eastern rim of the Tarim Basin in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. It verifies that the lake was located on the very bottom of the Tarim Basin and hence could not possibly have shifted elsewhere.

Yet, for many years Lop Nur was as mysterious as the moon once was to human beings. Remoteness, scorching heat, aridity, sandstorms and salt crust all added to its inaccessibility and its mystique.

It was not until 1900 that the Lop Nur Lake was correctly located when Sven Anders Hedin (1865-1952), a Swedish geographer on an investigative trek around Central Asia, ventured along the lower reaches of the Tarim River and came to a lake which he determined rightly to be the Lop Nur Lake. He further concluded that the lake emptied its water into the Kara-koshun Lake on the south and the two lakes evolved into each other in an ever-shifting movement.

According to Hedin, the floor of the Lop Nur Lake would rise because of silt deposits from the river water feeding into the lake which would cause the lake to migrate to another lower-lying location.

In the meantime, he suggested, erosion over the years would etch away the exposed lake floor to prepare it for the return shift. Sven Hedin estimated the shifting cycle to be about 1,500 years. Not a few earth scientists accepted his theory. Although some others challenged it, they remained silent due to lack of conclusive proof.

In recent years, an exploration team from the Xinjiang branch institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences carried out five successive investigations at the Lop Nur. They verified that the Lop Nur Lake and Kara-koshun Lake both are depressions in the Tarim Basin. But the lake floor of the former stands 778 metres above sea level while that of the latter is 10 metres higher at 788 metres. Therefore, the Lop Nur could not flow upwards to the Karakoshun without good reason.

Scientists argued that the Lop Nur's water supply from the Tarim and Konqi Rivers carry little silt and do not produce sufficient deposits to raise the lake floor. Furthermore, where the lake water dries up, the exposed floor is encrusted with a hard layer of salt which defy steel hammers. This makes erosions not so easy.

Convincing evidence was brought to light when sample soil was bored from the deposits. Scientific tests show that the pollen of water plants like cattail and nutgrass flatsedge is contained in every stratum of the sediment of the recent 20,000-30,000 years. All these led to the conclusion that the

Lop Nur Lake had never dried up during the 20,000-30,000 years before it went dry about 10 years ago.

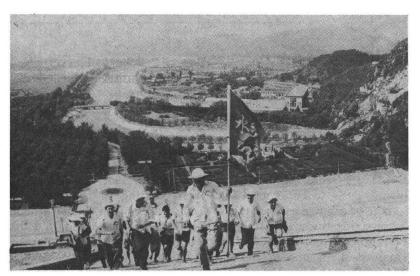
The Chinese scientific exploration team last saw the Lop Nur with water when it arrived there in 1959. The scientists went boating in the lake and caught a fish the size of a man. Only in the last decade did the Lop Nur completely dry up as irrigation work began at the upper reaches of the Tarim and Konqi Rivers, which cut short its water supply.

In their investigations, scientists studied the formative cause of the Lop Nur depression, its landforms, deposited salt resources, fauna and flora of the area. They found 127 kinds of animals and conducted close studies of rare wild camels. They observed camel hordes and took pictures of them in action.

#### **EDUCATION**

#### Summer vacation

One day in late July, 150 Beijing junior middle school students boarded coaches armed with overnight bags and wearing sunshades and blue badges, bound for three days of camping in the Western Mountains on Beijing's western outskirts. More than 13,200 youths from China's 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (excluding Taiwan) attended all the 137 national geology camps this summer. Minister of Geology and Mineral Resources Sun Daguang was the honorary director of the camps.



Members of the first youth water resources camp at the Beijing Miyun Reservoir.

The Western Mountains have rich deposits of varied mineral resources including coal, other non-metals and metals. Chinese geologists who explored the area in 1916 compiled the book Geology of Western Mountains, one of China's earliest geological works.

It was there that geologist Li Siguang discovered the traces of the Quarternary glacier period which are still easily seen in the area between the ancient Tanzhe Temple and Jietai Temple. Thus the Western Mountains won its name "the cradle of China's geological science."

The campers were all excellent students who either had good marks in scientific subjects or had shown a keen interest in geology. With a geological engineer as the director of each group of a dozen or so, they observed and studied the mountains' geological phenomena.

Youths from capital Beijing felt as free as birds and close to nature. They walked the mountains and valleys, went down into the mines and investigated the formation of ore deposits as well as the terrain

and landforms of the rift valley in Longmen Gully and an underground karst cave.

The camp activities enriched the youngsters' knowledge and widened their vision. When the camp ended, each of them wrote a paper about what he or she had learnt. "I have obtained more perceptual knowledge about nature," a girl named Chen Hongmei wrote. "The magnificent scenery of our country has kindled my patriotism. I have become more determined to dedicate myself to geology."

Chinese students, from primary schools to colleges, began their one month summer vacations in late July, when most of the country was under a heat wave. In response to the government's call that the whole society care for the youth and contribute to their growth, scientific and educational departments organized camps on various subjects including forestry, petroleum, biology, astronomy, communications, resources. electronics, optics, earth science, coal mining, surveying and drawing. Tens of thousands of students

have been involved in camp activities.

## VETERINARY MEDICINE

# Infectious horse disease controlled

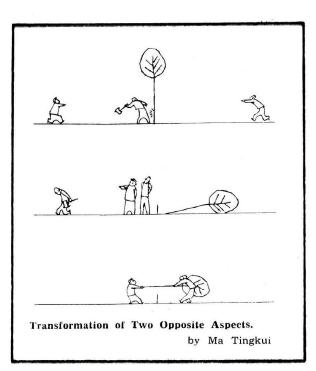
China has developed a vaccine to control equine infectious (EIA), a malignant anemia disease which afflicts horses, mules and donkeys, according to senior research fellow Shen Rongxian of the Harbin Veteri-Research Institute, narv branch of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences. China, the only country to use the vaccine, has employed it successfully for the past six years, he said.

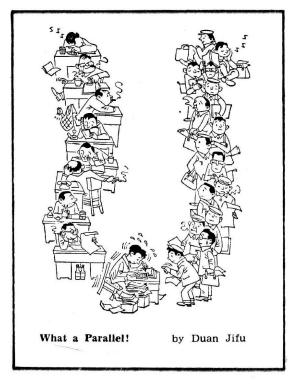
Shen's remarks came at an international symposium on EIA immunity in Harbin last June. He and other researchers successfully cultivated the vaccine from white blood cells of donkeys in 1976. Tests of the vaccine found that its reliable immunity rate for horses approaches 80 per cent and the rate is higher for donkeys and His report, "Developmules. ment and Use of an EIA Donkey Leucocytes Attenuated Vaccine," attracted much attention from symposium participants from the rest of the world.

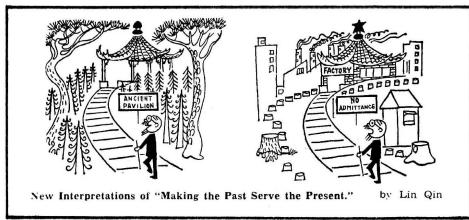
EIA has a recorded history of more than 130 years and still occurs in 40 countries of Asia, Europe and America. Specialists throughout the world began to study it in 1904. Two symposiums on EIA were held in the past decade in Brazil and Venezuela.



# Humour In China







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