

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



5TH PLENUM OF C.P.C. 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

A Historic Session

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee concludes with many important political and organizational decisions. Strengthening and improving Party leadership is the keynote. (Report, p. 3; communique, p. 7; resolutions, p. 11.)

Introducing Comrades Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang And Others

Short biographies and photos of newly elected C.P.C. leaders (p. 12).

More on the Nationalities Question

In the second and concluding part of a speech made 23 years ago, the late Premier Zhou discussed why social reforms were

necessary in the minority nationality areas, why their languages and customs must be respected and why religion would not disappear under socialism. These points are still valid today (p. 18).

The Role of the Market

Though supplementary to planning, the market in socialist society still has a necessary role to play in stimulating the economy (p. 5).

Dissecting Soviet "Detente" Move

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Baluchistan — Moscow's Next Target?

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China at Winter Olympics

Chinese athletes did not win any medals at Lake Placid. They gained many friends, much encouragement and plenty of sports savvy (p. 30).



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COVER: Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (clockwise): Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang. The last two were elected to the Standing Committee by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

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POLITICAL**5th Plenary Session of 11th C.P.C. Central Committee**

THE 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its fifth plenary session in Beijing from February 23 to 29. Chairman Hua Guofeng, Vice-Chairmen Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xian-nian and Chen Yun attended the session and made important speeches.

The keynote of the session was to uphold and improve the Party's leadership and enhance its fighting capacity.

— It decided that the 12th National Congress of the Party shall be convened before the due date; discussed the draft of the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China; and approved the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life.

— It elected Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau; decided to re-establish the Secretariat of the Central Committee, elected Hu Yaobang General Secretary of the Central Committee and Wan Li, Wang Renzhong, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Song Renqiong, Yu Qiuli, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu, Hu Yaobang, Yao Yilin and Peng Chong Members of the Secretariat.

— It decided to completely rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi, remove the labels "renegade, traitor and scab" which the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth C.P.C. Central Committee imposed on him, cancel the erroneous resolution expelling him "from the Party once

and for all and dismissing him from all posts both inside and outside the Party"; and to leave it to the departments concerned to redress the frame-ups and false and wrong cases arising from the issue of Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

— It decided to remove and propose to remove Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian from their leading Party and state posts.

— It decided to propose to the National People's Congress that the stipulation in Article 45 of the Constitution that citizens "have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters'" be deleted.

(For details see pp. 7-10.)



The meeting place of the fifth plenary session.

Non-Party Personages Invited to a Forum

Leading members of the democratic parties and personages without party affiliation were invited to a forum called by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party from February 24 to 27 concerning the convocation of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

At the forum Chairman Hua Guofeng gave explanations of the items on the agenda of the fifth plenary session. He said he welcomed a free airing of views regarding the problems to be solved at the session.

Prior to the Cultural Revolution, the Party had a fine tradition of discussing major issues of Party and state affairs with non-Party comrades, so as to pool collective wisdom and get better results in the work done. Since the fall of the gang of four, this tradition has been restored.

Many non-Party personages spoke at the forum. They unanimously agreed to the solution of the issues to be discussed at the session, and they warmly supported the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

Servants of the People

The Chinese Communist Party is known the world over for its fine tradition of hard struggle and plain living. During the war years, countless Party members, Party leaders included, fought against the enemy under extremely difficult conditions for the interests of the people, sharing their joys and sorrows and enjoying their confidence and support.

In the new Long March to achieve the four modernizations today, it is very important to

maintain and carry forward this glorious tradition. Numerous Party members are doing so, taking upon themselves heavy responsibilities and not seeking personal interests or privileges. They have thus set a good example for the people to follow. Among these fine comrades are Wang Linhe, Kuang Yaming and Li Jiayu who have been commended recently in the newspapers.

Wang Linhe is the chairman of the trade union council in Shanghai. Though he was elected to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party more than two years ago, he still goes to work every day by bike, lives in an ordinary house and maintains the living standard of an average worker. He keeps in close touch with his mates, often exchanges ideas with them and helps them solve their problems. Small wonder they call him "our Lao Wang."

Noted educator Kuang Yaming is a long-standing Party member who has reassumed the post of president of Nanjing University. The school authorities had repaired for him the house in which he had lived before the Cultural Revolution in 1966, but he refused to move in. He continues to live in the single room which was allocated to him when he was forced to step down from his post and which now concurrently serves as his study and reception room. Kuang Yaming said: "Since I work at the grass-roots level, I must maintain close links with the masses, so as to know how they feel and think. I'm only an ordinary Communist Party member and a university president of the people."

Li Jiayu, deputy secretary of the Party committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous

Region, has a reputation for making strict demands on himself. He works very hard, usually 15 or 16 hours a day. Out of love and respect for him, an attendant once put four sweet *Hami* melons in his room. When Li returned home from work, he saw the melons on the table, but did not touch them. Instead, he poured out a cup of water from a thermos flask to quench his thirst.

Once when he went on an inspection tour with some cadres from a county, the cadres of a livestock farm of a people's commune killed a lamb and made a dish of mutton for him. Annoyed and angered, Li immediately told them to take the dish away. Later, he said to them: "If we cadres can squander collective property in this way, others will follow our example, and thousands of lambs will disappear through improper channels without our knowing it. We must put a stop to such malpractices."

Invitation to Scientists In Taiwan

Professor Zhou Peiyuan, acting chairman of the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association, has sent a telegram to scientific and technological organizations in Taiwan, inviting them to send delegates to attend the Second National Congress of the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association, which will open in Beijing on March 15.

This will be another large gathering of scientists and technologists in China following the National Science Conference in 1978. The meeting will discuss the role and tasks of the association in the modernization programme of the country, work out the association's constitu-

tion and elect its new leadership.

"We have many old friends in the scientific circles in Taiwan," Professor Zhou told a Xinhua correspondent. "We haven't seen each other for many years and are thinking about each other and anxious to have an opportunity to meet again so as to renew our old friendship and exchange academic views. Therefore, we sincerely hope that our colleagues in the scientific and technological fields in Taiwan will accept our invitation, come to Beijing to attend the congress and work together with scientists on the mainland to develop the science and technology of the Chinese nation and contribute suggestions for achieving the four modernizations."

ECONOMIC

Regulating Role of the Market

An important change in the readjustment of the national economy which started in 1979 is that more and more factories are investigating the needs of the market and selling part of their products in it. This has increased their variety of products and improved their work.

This change is significant. China's factories used to produce what the state plan specified and hand all their products to the state commercial departments for marketing. The new practice shows that China's economy begins to "walk on two legs."

To integrate the regulation by planning with that by market in the economic work, with emphasis on the former and due attention to the latter, is an important Party policy for accelerating economic development.

In the present stage of socialism in China, there still exists a commodity economy and the law of value still functions. These facts must be recognized.

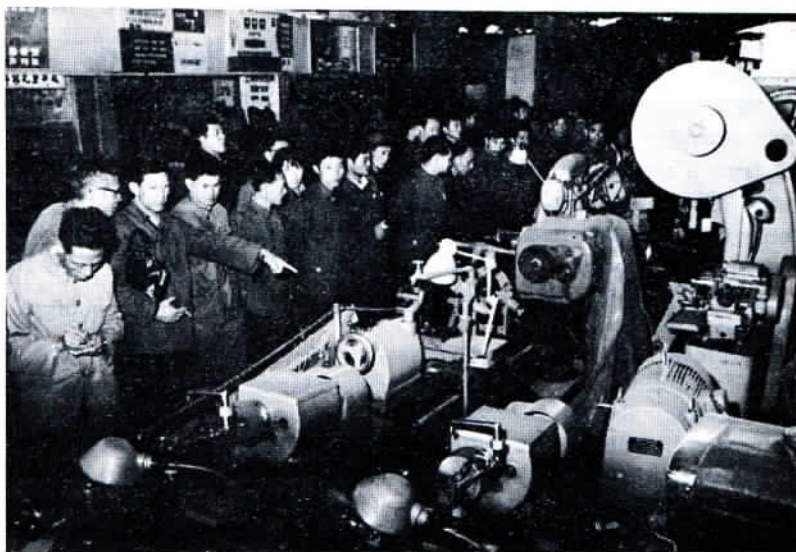
A news story said that a factory in Hubei Province was going to close down as its products did not sell well in the market. It put out a trial advertisement, with the result that the ad brought in a pile of orders. Its products began to sell like hot cakes. Thus an ad saves a factory.

Putting ads in newspapers and on radio and TV programmes, sending investigating groups out to do research in the market, setting up retail shops to sell what they have produced or holding exhibitions of various kinds of products, are now

becoming a common way for factories to promote the sale of their products.

The light and textile industries have been particularly lively in this respect. Early last year, based on the needs of the market, the Beijing light industrial department readjusted the production in certain mills to make more patterns and varieties wanted by the customers and improve their quality. This helped sales. The total output value last year was 13 per cent more than the previous year. A big exhibition now displays 750 kinds of new products of these factories, all high-quality goods.

Heavy industry also wants to have a try. The Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the largest complex of its kind in China, opened a retail store last year in Lingshan, located on the Shenyang-Dalian railway line. There it sells 169 kinds of rolled steel which was in stock as surplus or part of the goods the company produced over and



On display at a Shanghai fair are machine tools which previously were distributed under the unified state plan.

above the state plan. Any organization or individual who can show authorization letters from a people's commune (or above that level) can buy what they want in the store. This broke the old practice that all rolled steel was distributed by the state.

The Beijing Service Company for Means of Production is now holding a fair. More than 500 factories in and outside the capital are taking part in it. On sale are machines, generators, motors, instruments, meters and automobile parts. Since the opening of the fair on February 1, the bargains struck amounted to over 100,000 yuan a day. Many formerly slow-selling goods began selling well.

The machine-building factories run by the rural communes and production brigades of Wuxi County, Jiangsu Province, have a large production capacity. But they were threatened with a production drop at the beginning of last year. In the light of the readjustment of the national economy and the changed situation in the market, they shifted from making machines for general purposes to making machines for building, transport and light industry. This boosted production. The total output value of these factories reached 549 million yuan last year, an increase of 27.6 per cent over the year before.

A *Renmin Ribao* commentary on February 9 said that attention must be paid to the regulating role of the market. "Making use of the regulating role of the market does not mean weakening the role played by planning. It supplements that role."

New Oilfield in Northwest China

Chinese oil specialists and workers have recently discovered a new oilfield in the southwestern part of the Qaidam Basin in Qinghai Province, northwest China.

Out of the 26 wells dug so far, 20 have produced oil and natural gas. Daily production in two test wells has exceeded 100 tons of crude oil and 10,000 cubic metres of natural gas.

Various kinds of data collected indicate that at this oilfield the underground pressure is high, the geological structure favourable and the crude oil light, with high output.

The new oilfield is located more than 3,000 metres above sea level in a cold area. Work began in 1977, and despite the complicated topographical features and the hard living and working conditions, it took the oil crews less than three years to verify the deposits.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Beijing and New York Now Sister Cities

A "sister city" agreement between Beijing and New York was recently signed by Mayor Lin Hujia and Mayor Edward Koch at the Great Hall of the People in the Chinese capital.

The agreement says that in accordance with the principles put forward in the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, Beijing and New York have decided to establish bonds of friendship and mutual under-

standing. On the basis of equality and mutual benefit, they will arrange wide-ranging exchanges and co-operation in such fields as economy, trade, culture, education, science and technology, city administration and urban construction. The aim is to promote the prosperity of the two cities and help develop relations between both countries.

Mayor Koch came to China also to discuss with Chinese departments concerned the development of trade and tourism between New York and Beijing, Shanghai and other Chinese cities.

News in Brief

- Between February 11 and 20, Vietnamese armed personnel repeatedly shelled and fired on border areas in Guangxi and Yunnan, wounding and killing a number of Chinese civilians. Viet Nam carried out 62 armed provocations along the border, 34 in Guangxi and 28 in Yunnan.

- To help relieve the distress of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the Chinese Red Cross Society donated the Pakistan Red Crescent Society 300,000 yuan Renminbi worth of woolen and cotton blankets, medicines, canned food, etc.



Communique

Of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted on February 29, 1980)

THE 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its fifth plenary session in Beijing from February 23 to 29, 1980. Two hundred and one Members and 118 Alternate Members of the Central Committee were present. Thirty-seven leading comrades from localities and departments attended as observers. Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice-Chairmen Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun of the C.P.C. Central Committee attended and made important speeches. Comrade Hua Guofeng presided.

Most of the items on the agenda of the fifth plenary session were related to the strengthening and improvement of Party leadership to keep pace with the development of socialist modernization. They included: 1) discussion and approval of a resolution on the convocation of the Party's 12th National Congress; 2) election of additional members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and discussion and approval of a resolution on establishment of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; 3) discussion and approval of the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life; and 4) discussion of the draft of the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China.

The plenary session states that since the 11th Party Congress, and particularly following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, there have been important changes and developments in the domestic and international situation. As a result of the Party's shifting the stress of its work, the socialist modernization programme has started on a course of sound development. The Party's political, ideological and organizational lines formulated at the third and fourth plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee have become very popular among the people; the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Biao, the gang of

four and company, the ultra-Left line they pursued and their organizational and ideological remnants have been further exposed and criticized; large numbers of frame-ups and false and wrong cases left over from history have been redressed and the Party's policies have been carried out in all parts of the country. On this basis, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have rallied closely round the Party Central Committee and have been working hard for the great cause of the four modernizations and for implementing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. As a result, reports of victory have been streaming in from all fronts, including agriculture, industry, finance and trade, education, science, culture, politics and law, national defence and foreign affairs, and a situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness is developing. These facts show that the lines, principles and policies of the Party Central Committee are correct and that our country has basically changed from a situation of chaos resulting from the ten-year rampage by Lin Biao and the gang of four to a situation of advance in a guided and orderly manner with clear orientation and objectives, with conditions for victory and with confidence. This is the tremendous victory our Party has achieved after overcoming immense difficulties. The plenary session points out: The great practice of the people of all our nationalities in their advance towards the four modernizations has now put before our Party a series of important issues which demand prompt and speedy solution. These include working out a long-term programme for development of the national economy, as well as an economic structure and a plan and structure for education that are suited to the needs of this development. In view of the rapid changes in the domestic

situation, a series of important issues in the political life of the state and in Party life and a number of important ideological and theoretical problems need to be solved so as to facilitate the development and consolidation of the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness and the smooth advance of the modernization programme. The solution of these urgent problems requires that the Central Committee convene the 12th National Congress of the Party before the due date. The plenary session unanimously adopted a decision to this effect. The specific date for the congress will be decided by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

The plenary session holds that in order to strengthen Party leadership over socialist modernization, leading Party bodies at all levels must exert themselves to put in leadership posts those comrades who unswervingly carry out the Party's line, can find their bearings independently in work and are in the prime of life. This is in line with the arduous work required for modernization and will also ensure long-term continuity of the Party's line, principles and policies and long-term stability of the collective leadership of the Party. After full discussion, the plenary session decided to increase the number of members on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and elected Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang to the Standing Committee. After full discussion, the plenary session decided to restore the system instituted by the Eighth Party Congress and which had been proved essential and effective in the following decade, namely, the Secretariat of the Central Committee as the day-to-day working body under the leadership of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. It elected Comrade Hu Yaobang General Secretary of the Central Committee and Comrades (names listed in the order of the number of strokes in the surnames) Wan Li, Wang Renzhong, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Song Renqiong, Yu Qiuli, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu, Hu Yaobang, Yao Yilin and Peng Chong Members of the Secretariat.

The plenary session states that the addition of members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the establishment of the Secretariat are an important decision by the Party, showing that the great cause of socialism and communism pioneered by Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation is full of vitality and has large numbers of talented successors. The

strengthening of the leading bodies of the Party Central Committee will play a positive role in promoting the development and consolidation of the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness throughout the country and the smooth progress of socialist modernization.

The plenary session discussed the draft of the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China. After revision in accordance with opinions raised at the session, this document is soon to be issued to the whole Party for wide discussion. It will be revised further in the light of comments raised during those discussions before it is submitted to the Party's 12th National Congress for examination and approval. The draft of the revised Party Constitution sets out strict requirements for Party members and at the same time contains fairly satisfactory provisions regarding democratic centralism within the Party. Summing up historical experience and taking into account the needs of the period of socialist modernization, the draft includes a number of new provisions on the Party's cadre system, including an end to the practice of being a lifelong cadre.

The plenary session discussed and unanimously approved the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life. This document consists of 12 points. The draft was adopted in principle by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in February 1979 and opinions on it were solicited throughout the Party after March of last year. It underwent revision several times before the Political Bureau adopted it once again and submitted it to the fifth plenary session for discussion. The plenary session holds that the 12-point document—which sums up our Party's experience and lessons over the past several decades in handling inner-Party relations, especially the experience and lessons gained in the struggle against Lin Biao and the gang of four during the ten-year Cultural Revolution—is a concrete and indispensable supplement to the Party Constitution and has great significance in promoting positive factors in the Party, overcoming negative ones and giving full scope to the vanguard, exemplary role of Party members. The plenary session decided that these guiding principles be made public after the session and be implemented by the whole Party. It urges that, in the course of implementing these guiding principles and along with the discussion on the draft of the revised Party Constitution, there be ideological and political education within

the Party on adhering to the Party's political and ideological lines, strengthening Party unity and reinforcing democratic centralism and the sense of organization and discipline in the Party. Party organizations at all levels and all Party members must conscientiously examine their work and conduct in the light of the guiding principles, adding to their achievements and overcoming their shortcomings; whatever is contrary to the guiding principles must be corrected promptly and in earnest, and there must be a radical change in the situation in which individual Party organizations and some Party members continue to engage in factionalist activities and do what they like in disregard of organizational principle and discipline. The plenary session reiterates that the Party can unify its thinking and action and ensure the smooth development of socialist modernization under the leadership of the Central Committee provided that it adheres to the principle that the individual Party member is subordinate to the Party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Another major item on the agenda of the fifth plenary session was the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The plenary session holds that Comrade Liu Shaoqi, former Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, was loyal to the Party and the people at all times over the past decades, devoted all his energy to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and made indelible contributions to China's new-democratic revolution and its socialist revolution and construction. Because the appraisal of the situation in the Party and the country on the eve of the Cultural Revolution was contrary to fact, an entirely wrong and groundless inference was made, asserting that there was within the Party a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and then that there was a so-called bourgeois headquarters headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Seizing upon this to serve their counter-revolutionary purpose of usurping supreme Party and state leadership and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Biao, the gang of four and company concocted false evidence and deliberately subjected Comrade Liu Shaoqi to political frame-up and physical persecution, and they overthrew a large number of leading Party, government and army cadres on the false charge of being Liu Shaoqi's agents. This

brought extremely grave consequences. This biggest frame-up our Party has ever known in its history must be completely overturned. The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline submitted a detailed and accurate report to the Central Committee on its re-examination of the case following almost a year's thorough investigation and study and repeated checking of the materials related to the accusations made against Comrade Liu Shaoqi by the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party held in October 1968. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee unanimously approved this report on the re-examination and, on the basis of the report, drew up a draft resolution rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This plenary session, after serious and earnest discussion, unanimously adopted the resolution and decided to remove the labels "renegade, traitor and scab" which the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party imposed on Comrade Liu Shaoqi, to cancel the erroneous resolution expelling him "from the Party once and for all and dismissing him from all posts both inside and outside the Party," to cancel the original report on the examination and clear the name of Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the Party and the state; to hold a memorial meeting at an appropriate time for Comrade Liu Shaoqi; to leave it to the departments concerned to redress the frame-ups and false and wrong cases arising from the issue of Comrade Liu Shaoqi; and, in the spirit of unity and looking ahead, to transmit the resolution of the plenary session to all Party members and the people throughout the country so as to clear away the effects flowing from the past incorrect decision on Comrade Liu Shaoqi's case and encourage all Party comrades and the rest of the Chinese people to work confidently, devotedly and with one mind for the realization of the splendid cause of the four modernizations.

The fifth plenary session solemnly proclaims to the whole Party and to the people throughout the country: The action to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi demonstrates that the Communist Party of China is a serious, earnest, open and aboveboard Marxist revolutionary Party that seeks truth from facts and corrects its mistakes whenever they are found. It demonstrates that the Party's determination to restore the true qualities of Mao Zedong Thought is not an empty slogan but an unswerving principled position that pervades all the activities of the Party. The counter-revolution-

ary conspirators Lin Biao, the gang of four and company used this grave and grievous mistake made by the Party during the Cultural Revolution, bringing disastrous consequences without precedent in the Party's history. Following the downfall of the gang of four, the Party Central Committee exposed and criticized the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the gang of four, corrected the grave mistakes committed during the Cultural Revolution and, at the same time, redressed one by one a series of framed-up, false and wrong cases created by Lin Biao, the gang of four and company. The fifth plenary session rehabilitates Comrade Liu Shaoqi not only for his own sake, but in order that the Party and the people will for ever remember this bitter lesson and make every effort to safeguard, consolidate and perfect socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, so that frame-ups such as befell Comrade Liu Shaoqi and many other comrades inside and outside the Party shall never happen again and that our Party and country will never change colour.

In accordance with the views of the broad masses inside and outside the Party, the fifth plenary session decided to approve the requests to resign made by Comrades Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian and decided to remove and propose to remove them from their leading Party and state posts.

The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and the serious but appropriate handling of the cases of comrades who made grave mistakes reflect the wishes of all Party comrades and the people throughout the country. The plenary session asks Party organizations at all levels to take active and conscientious measures in the same spirit to continue to settle similar issues that await solution or full solution and to educate the Party members and the masses in the need to unite closely, strengthen their sense of organization and discipline and work with diligence and devotion for the great future of socialist modernization under the leadership of the Party Central Committee.

The plenary session holds that it is our Party's unswerving policy to carry forward socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system and to guarantee that the masses have the full right and opportunity to express their views on state affairs and raise suggestions to and criticize Party and government leaders. But experience shows that the practices of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" are

not a good way to achieve this. These practices, taken as a whole, never played a positive role in safeguarding the people's democratic rights but, on the contrary, hampered the people in the normal exercise of their democratic rights. To help eliminate factors causing instability, the plenary session decides to propose to the National People's Congress that the stipulation in Article 45 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China that citizens "have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters'" be deleted*.

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee is an important meeting following the Third and Fourth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Central Committee. The keynote of the session is the upholding and improving of Party leadership and the enhancing of the Party's fighting capacity, which constitute the most important guarantees for a smooth advance in socialist modernization. The session did not take up economic work as a topic since the 1980 national economic plan had already been worked out at a national planning conference held between November and December last year under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council and, following Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on the current situation and tasks on January 16 of this year, Comrade Li Xiannian made a report on current economic problems on February 10. The central task now facing the nation's economic front is to strive to fulfil or overfulfil this year's national economic plan in line with the policies formulated by the Party Central Committee. It is clear that the Party will have extremely arduous tasks on all fronts in 1980. Their completion will play an enormous role in successfully convening the 12th National Party Congress. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee calls on the whole Party, along with the people throughout the country, to rally closely round the Party Central Committee, and make great concerted efforts to greet the convening of the Party's 12th National Congress with outstanding achievements on every front.

* This refers to the practice of "exposing" and "criticizing" others by writing big-character posters without any scruple, which reached its climax in the years of the Cultural Revolution, but it does not refer to the freedom of speech enjoyed by Chinese citizens. If this proposal is adopted, Article 45 of the Constitution will still read: "Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike." — Tr.

RESOLUTION

On Convening the Party's 12th National Congress

(Adopted on February 29, 1980)

I. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee decided to shift the emphasis of the Party's work to socialist modernization, the Party has made tremendous advances in the fields of political work, economy, national defence, foreign affairs and ideological and organizational work; a situation is rapidly forming and growing in which the whole Party, army and the people of various nationalities in the country are working with one mind and striving to carry out the four modernizations with greater, faster, better and more economical results. To fulfil the great historical mission of achieving the four modernizations, the Party is confronted in practice with a number of major new problems which need prompt and rapid solution. Therefore, the fifth plenary session decided to convene before the due date the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The specific date for the congress is to be decided by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

II. The main items on the agenda of the 12th National Congress of the Party will include:

1. a report on its work by the Party Central Committee,
2. a report by the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline,
3. revision of the Party Constitution,
4. the outline of a long-term plan for the development of the national economy, and
5. election of a new Central Committee of the Party.

III. The number of delegates to the 12th National Congress of the Party will be 1,600. The distribution of the number of delegates to each electoral unit will be decided in the light of the number of Party members, the situation of economic, cultural, scientific and techno-

logical development and of the minority nationalities.

The comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and part of the Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee and veteran comrades enjoying high prestige in the Party who are in Beijing will be elected by the units concerned and their numbers will be included in the number of delegates assigned to the units which elect them.

Each electoral unit shall elect alternate delegates amounting to one-tenth of the number of delegates assigned to it so that there will be delegates to fill the vacancies.

IV. The delegates to the 12th National Congress of the Party will be elected by secret ballot after full consultations at Party congresses or conferences of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, organs under the direct administration of the Party Central Committee, state organs at the national level, the various general departments, arms and services of the People's Liberation Army and its regional high commands. The number of candidates shall be greater than the number of delegates to be elected.

The delegates should include experts in economics, science and technology, culture and education, and health work who have made contributions to the four modernizations, as well as nationally known model workers and combat heroes. There should be appropriate proportions for representation of the national minority and women Party members.

Delegates to the 12th Party Congress must be elected before the end of November 1980.

V. The Central Committee calls on comrades of the entire Party to unite, work hard, and take a big step forward in the socialist construction on every front so as to greet the successful convening of the 12th National Congress of the Party.

RESOLUTION

On Establishing the Secretariat of the Central Committee

(Adopted on February 28, 1980)

IN view of the extremely arduous and complex tasks of socialist modernization following the shift of emphasis of the whole Party's work, in order to enable the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee to concentrate their energy on considering and taking decisions on important issues of domestic and foreign affairs, and at the same time ensuring prompt and effective handling of the large amount of day-to-day work of the Party in various fields, the Central Committee needs to establish an organ which systematically carries on the constant work and the plenary session decided to establish the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee deals with the day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the leadership of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee applies the system of collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee consists of a General Secretary and a number of Members and Alternate Members, all of whom are to be elected directly by the Central Committee.

New C.P.C. Leaders' Biographies

BIOGRAPHIES of the two new Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C.C.C. and the Members of the Secretariat, elected at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, follow:

Hu Yaobang



Born in a poor peasant family in 1915 in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1930 and was admitted into the Communist Party in 1933. At the age of 14, he left his home village to join the revolution at the Red base area where he did work among children and later became Secretary-General of the Central Committee of

the Young Communist League in the Central Soviet Base Area.

He took part in the Long March which began in 1934 and served for a time as secretary of the general Youth League branch in a Red Army unit. He served as Deputy Director of the Political Department of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College and Head of the Organization Department of the General Political Department of the Military Commission during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). During the War of Liberation (1946-49), he served as political commissar of a column and director of the political department of an army group of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

During the early post-liberation period, he served as secretary of the north Sichuan regional Party committee and concurrently as chairman of the regional administrative office. In 1952,

he became Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth League, and in 1965 first secretary of the Shaanxi provincial Party committee.

After the downfall of the gang of four, he served successively as Head of the Organization and Propaganda Departments of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Third Secretary of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline and Secretary-General of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

He was elected a Member of the Eighth and 11th Party Central Committees and a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Zhao Ziyang



Born in 1919 in Huaxian County, Henan Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1932 and the Communist Party in 1938. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he served as a county Party secretary and a prefectural Party secretary in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Anti-Japanese Base Area. During the War of Liberation he was made deputy secretary of the Tongbai area Party committee.

In 1951, after liberation, he went to Guangdong Province to lead the land reform there. Later, he served as Deputy Secretary of the South China Sub-Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Secretary and First Secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, and Secretary of the Inner Mongolian Regional Party Committee in 1971. Later, he returned to Guangdong Province to become Secretary and then First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee. Since 1975, he has been First Secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, First Political Commissar of the Chengdu Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Vice-Chairman of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

He was elected a Member of the Tenth Party Central Committee and a Member of the 11th Central Committee and an Alternate Member of its Political Bureau. He was elected an additional Member to the Political Bureau at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Wan Li



Born in 1916 in Dongping County, Shandong Province, he joined the Communist Party in 1936. He worked as secretary of a county Party committee, secretary of a prefectural Party committee and secretary-general of the Party committee of Hebei-Shandong-Henan Border Area. During the war against Japanese aggression, he organized guerrilla warfare and defended base areas behind the enemy lines. During the War of Liberation, he organized the masses for active support for the front.

After nationwide liberation, he served as deputy director of the financial commission, head of the Economic Department and director of the Construction Bureau of the Nanjing City Military Control Commission, and deputy head and head of the Industrial Department of the Southwest China Military and Administrative Commission. He became Vice-Minister of Building Construction in 1953, and Minister of Urban Construction in 1955. In 1958, he served as Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, Deputy Mayor of Beijing and Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Under the direct leadership of Premier Zhou Enlai, he took part in organizing and leading the construction of the Great Hall of the People and nine other major buildings and urban construction in general in the capital.

He was Minister of Railways in 1975 and guided the efforts to break the railway traffic tie-up at the time. He became First Vice-Minister of Light Industry in 1976. In 1977, he was made First Secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee. He was elected Member of the C.P.C. 11th Central Committee.

Wang Renzhong



Born in 1917 in Jingxian County, Hebei Province, he joined the Communist Party in 1933. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he persevered in guerrilla operations on the plains in southern Hebei Province. During the War of Liberation, he served as secretary of a prefectural Party committee, deputy director of a

prefectural administrative office and deputy secretary of a regional Party committee.

After nationwide liberation, he served as first secretary of the Wuhan city Party committee, First Secretary of the Hubei Provincial Party Committee and First Secretary of the Central-South China Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

In the summer of 1954, as commander of the flood prevention headquarters in Wuhan city, he led the masses in controlling an extraordinary Changjiang (Yangtze) River flood. He took part in 1958 in the research on the multiple-purpose water control project for the Changjiang gorges.

Starting in 1978, he has served successively as Second Secretary and then First Secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council and, concurrently, Minister in Charge of the State Agricultural Commission.

He was elected an Alternate Member of the Eighth Party Central Committee and a Member of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Fang Yi



Born in 1916 in Xiamen (Amoy) of Fujian Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1930 and the Communist Party in 1931. He served as head of the propaganda department and secretary of the municipal committee of the Youth League in Xiamen and took part in guerrilla war in southern Fujian Province.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was head of the mass work department of the Hubei Provincial Party Committee, secretary of the special Party committee in eastern Hubei Province, secretary of the Party committee in eastern Anhui Province, and director of the political department of the fifth detachment of the New Fourth Army. He took part in and led the struggle to create and establish the east Hubei and Huainan anti-Japanese base areas.

During the War of Liberation, he served as Vice-Chairman of the Jiangsu-Anhui Border

Area Government and of the Shandong Provincial People's Government.

After nationwide liberation, he served as Vice-Chairman of the Fujian Provincial People's Government, Deputy Secretary of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee, Deputy Mayor of Shanghai, Vice-Minister of Finance, Vice-Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission, Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, Vice-Premier of the State Council, Minister in Charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

He was elected an Alternate Member of the Eighth and Ninth Central Committees of the Communist Party of China, a Member of the Tenth Central Committee and a Member of the 11th Central Committee and of its Political Bureau.

Gu Mu



Born in 1914 in Rongcheng County, Shandong Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1931 and the Communist Party in 1932. He took part in activities of the League of Left-Wing Writers in Beiping and served as secretary of its Beiping branch.

After the War of Resistance Against Japan broke out, he joined in leading armed struggle and the building of base areas in the Binhai area of Shandong Province and the central-south area of Shandong Province. He served as secretary of the Binhai area Party committee, political commissar of the Binhai military sub-area, deputy secretary of the central-south Shandong area Party committee and deputy political commissar of the military area.

After liberation he served successively as secretary of the Jinan city Party committee, mayor of Jinan, political commissar of the Jinan garrison, Deputy Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, Minister in Charge of the State Capital Construction Commission and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

He was elected a Member of the Tenth C.P.C. Central Committee and a Member of the 11th Central Committee.

Song Renqiong



Born in 1909 in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1926 and became a Communist Party member the same year. During the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he took part in the peasant movement. In 1927, he participated in the Autumn Harvest Uprising. In 1934, he was the political commissar of the cadre regiment during the Long March. After reaching northern Shaanxi Province, he was appointed political commissar of the 28th Army of the Red Army.

After the Xian Incident in 1936, he served as deputy director and then director of the political department of the 129th Division. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he fought in southeastern Shanxi and on the southern Hebei plain, where he successively served as political commissar and commander of the southern Hebei military area, director of the southern Hebei administrative office, commander of the Pingyuan military area, and acting secretary of the Pingyuan sub-bureau of the Party Central Committee.

During the War of Liberation, he served successively as political commissar of the second column of the field army in the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area, head of the organization department of the Central Committee Bureau in the same area, third deputy political commissar of the East China Field Army, secretary of the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu Sub-Bureau of the Central Committee, Secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, deputy secretary of the Nanjing city Party committee, political commissar of the Fourth Army Group, and Secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Party Committee.

Beginning in 1952, he was First Deputy Secretary of the Southwest China Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Deputy Political Commissar of the Southwest China Military Command. After 1954, he successively served as deputy director of the general cadre department of the Military Commission, Deputy Secretary-General of the Party Central Committee, Minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building, First Secretary of the Northeast China Bureau of the Party Central Com-

mittee, and First Political Commissar of the Shenyang Units.

After 1977, he was Minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine-Building and Head of the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Fourth and Fifth National Committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

He was elected an Alternate Member of the Seventh Party Central Committee and a Member of the Eighth Party Central Committee. At the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, he was elected an additional Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. He was elected an additional Member of the Party Central Committee at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Yu Qiuli



Born in 1914 in Jian County, Jiangxi Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1929 and the Communist Party in 1931. He took part in the 12,500-kilometre Long March.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was Political Commissar and later Commander of the Third Detachment of the 120th Division of the Eighth Route Army, a regimental political commissar, regimental commander, and political commissar of the 358th Brigade. Fighting guerrilla warfare on the plains of central Hebei Province, he participated in establishing a base area.

During the War of Liberation, he took part in all the major campaigns in defence of Yanan where the then headquarters of the Party Central Committee was located.

After nationwide liberation, he served successively as Deputy Political Commissar of the Southwest China Military and Political Academy, Commandant and Political Commissar of the Second Advanced Infantry Academy, Director and Political Commissar of the Logistics Department of the Southwest China Military Area, Director of the General Financial Department of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, and Political Commissar of the

General Logistics Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In 1958, he was Minister of the Petroleum Industry and participated in and organized the efforts to open up the Daqing Oilfield. Later, he served as Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

He was elected a Member of the Ninth, Tenth and 11th Party Central Committees and a Member of the Political Bureau of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Yang Dezhi



Born in 1910 in Zhuzhou, Hunan Province, he joined the Communist Party in 1928. He successively held the posts of platoon and company leader, regimental and divisional commander, commander of the second column of the 18th Army Group, Commander of the Hebei-

Shandong-Henan Military Area, Commander of the First Column of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Area, Commander of the Second Column of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Area, Commander of the Field Army in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Area, Commander of the 19th Army Group and concurrently Commander of the Shaanxi Provincial Military Area, Deputy Commander and then Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers to Aid Korea and Resist U.S. Aggression, Commander of the Jinan Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, First Secretary of the Shandong Provincial Party Committee, Commander of the P.L.A. Wuhan Units, Commander of the P.L.A. Kunming Units and Vice-Minister of National Defence.

He took part in the 12,500-kilometre Long March and led his troops in the well-known 1935 Dadu River battle in which the Red Army fought its way across a hanging bridge in the teeth of heavy enemy fire. During the war against Japanese aggression and the War of Liberation, he took part in many major campaigns including the Pingxing Pass Battle of 1937, in which the Chinese people won the first major victory after the Japanese invasion, wiping out the main force of a Japanese division, and the Beiping-Tianjin Campaign of 1948 which brought the liberation of the two cities.

In the years following 1950 he took part and led the War to Aid Korea and Resist U.S. Aggression.

He was elected an Alternate Member of the Eighth Party Central Committee, and Member of the Ninth, Tenth and 11th Party Central Committees.

Hu Qiaomu



Born in 1912 in Yancheng County, Jiangsu Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1930 in Beiping and became a Party member in 1935 in Shanghai. While in Beiping, he served as a member of the City Committee of the Communist Youth League and director of its

propaganda department and helped lead the students' and workers' patriotic movement following the September 18, 1931 incident which led to Japan's occupation of northeast China. While in Shanghai he took part in organizing and directing the Left-wing cultural movement and in directing the Party's underground work in the city. He was an important leader of the Party's work against Japanese aggression and for national salvation. He served as secretary of the Council of the General League of Left-Wing Culture and was a member of the City Provisional Party Working Committee.

He arrived in Yanan in 1937 and served as a member of the Youth Work Committee of the Central Committee. In the years following 1941 he served as Comrade Mao Zedong's secretary and was Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, drafting the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" and some other documents and a number of commentaries for the Party Central Committee.

He was appointed Director of the Xinhua News Agency in 1948, Director of the Press Administration in 1949, Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee in 1950 and Deputy Secretary-General of the C.P.C. Central Committee in 1954. He was elected an Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee in 1956. He took part in drafting the 1954 Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the major documents of the Eighth National

Congress of the Party in 1956 and some other documents. He also took part in editing the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*. He wrote *The 30 Years of the Communist Party of China* and a number of commentaries. He was a member of the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party to the Soviet Union in 1956, 1957 and 1960, playing an active role in the struggle against Soviet revisionism.

He was appointed President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 1977 and director of the Office of the Committee for the Editing and Publication of the Works of Comrade Mao Zedong in 1979.

He was elected a Member of the Eighth and 11th Party Central Committees.

Yao Yilin



Born in 1917 in Guichi County, Anhui Province, he joined the Communist Party of China in 1935. In the 1935 December 9th Student Movement, he was secretary of the Party Fraction in the Beiping Student Union. Later transferred to Tianjin, he was Head of the Propaganda Department of the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee and led the students' movement.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he did underground Party work, serving as Secretary of the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee, Secretary-General and Head of the Propaganda Department of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee. He later took part in the armed uprising in eastern Hebei Province and served as Head of the Propaganda Department of the Hebei-Rehe-Chahar Regional Party Committee and Secretary-General of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Sub-Bureau and Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Bureau of the Central Committee Bureau. On the eve of nationwide liberation, he was Head of the Industry and Commerce Department of the North China People's Government.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he was Vice-Minister of Trade, Deputy Director of the Office of Finance and Trade of the State Council, Minister of Commerce, and Director of the Department of Political Work in the Financial and Trade Ministries.

He is Deputy Secretary-General of the

C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the General Office of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Secretary-General of the Financial and Economic Commission under the State Council and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

He was elected an Alternate Member of the Eighth and Tenth Party Central Committees and Member of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Peng Chong



Born in 1915 in Zhangzhou of Fujian Province, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1933 and became a member of the Communist Party of China in 1934. At the beginning of the 1930s, he engaged in underground Party work, helped lead the student movement in the

Zhangzhou area, and served as Head of the Organization Department and secretary of the committee for work among the workers.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he took part in building some base areas in southern Jiangsu. During the liberation war, he was political commissar of a regiment and deputy political commissar of a division.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, he was Head of the United Front Work Department of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee, Deputy Head of the United Front Work Department of the East China Bureau of the Party Central Committee, first secretary of the Nanjing city Party committee and mayor of Nanjing, and Secretary and First Secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee.

After the downfall of the gang of four, he was transferred to Shanghai and has served as First Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Mayor of Shanghai, Second Political Commissar of the Nanjing Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Vice-Chairman of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

He was elected an Alternate Member of the Ninth and Tenth Party Central Committees, a Member of the 11th Party Central Committee and a Member of its Political Bureau.

Some Questions on Policy Towards Nationalities

Zhou Enlai

This is the second and concluding part of a detailed summary of a speech by the late Premier Zhou Enlai in 1957. The first part appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

3. On Prosperity of Nationalities and Social Reform

Prosperity of the nationalities is the base on which a multi-national country is built into a powerful socialist country. We should help fraternal nationalities become prosperous and there should be equality among nationalities.

History has left us many unfavourable conditions for national prosperity. The key to doing away with these unfavourable conditions lies in social reform, the most fundamental of which is economic reform.

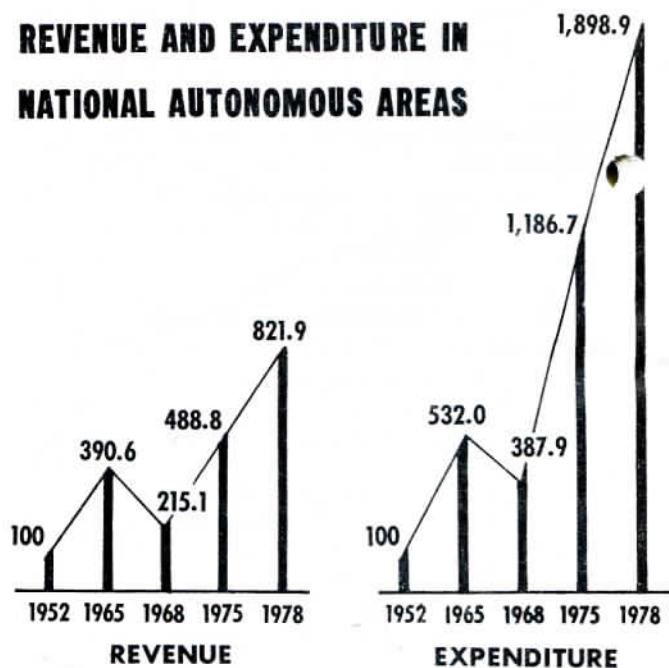
Economic reform is to be carried out in two steps. The first is democratic reform (land reform), and the second, socialist transformation. If economic reform is not carried out and slavery or the feudal system is preserved in which the majority of people are slaves, serfs or peasants under feudal rule, the productive forces cannot be emancipated.

TO build our big multi-national family into a powerful socialist country, we must move forward on the basis of prosperity for the nationalities. Prosperity for the nationalities is possible under the socialist system; this shows socialism is superior to capitalism, and even more superior to feudalism. As testified by history, many fraternal nationalities were on the decline in the past instead of prospering. Why? Because the reactionary rulers adopted a policy of discrimination against our brother nationalities, of weakening and exterminating them. Some of the nationalities about which there are historical records from the past 2,000 years no longer exist. Among them, some might have

migrated to faraway places, and others might have become assimilated with the Hans or other nationalities. These changes still await research by historians.

As has been mentioned above, the Manchu population increased from several hundred thousands to several millions, and adopted Han culture. The Qing Dynasty, which was founded by the Manchus, ruled China for nearly 300 years. None of the preceding dynasties — Ming (1368-1644), Song (960-1279), Tang (618-907) or Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) — had ever been as unified as the Qing. So the Qing Dynasty played the role of unifying China. In addition, the population increased considerably during the reign of this dynasty. But this was not so in the case of all the nationalities. Under Qing rule, the Han population increased. However, the Mongolians and Tibetans decreas-

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE IN NATIONAL AUTONOMOUS AREAS



Note: the deficit is subsidized by the state.

ed in number because the Qing policy towards some nationalities was one of weakening them. It is said the Mongolian population once reached as high as 5 million, but it dropped during the Qing Dynasty. During the Tang, the Tibetans were a fairly strong nationality which developed very fast and spread into Shaanxi, southern Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces. The population, reportedly, was nearly 5 million. Today the total number of Tibetans is less than 3 million. Apparently, these two nationalities were weakened during the Qing rule. This shows that the policy towards the nationalities pursued under feudal rule was one of weakening other nationalities.

This is even more so with imperialism. To exercise their rule over their colonies, imperialists invariably impoverish the local population which declines as a consequence. As you all know, imperialism came from the West. In the beginning, Britain and France were the main imperialist countries and later, the United States. All these imperialist countries adopted a policy of weakening the indigenous nations in the colonies. For instance, when Spain, Portugal and Britain colonized America, the local Indians who were at first in the majority were weakened and later became the minority. When the British, French, and Belgians colonized Africa, they did the same thing — weakening the black peoples in Africa in every possible way. Things were getting better only with those nations which refused to be colonies, rose in resistance, and won the victory, as in the case of Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. So it can be seen from world history that feudalism, capitalism and imperialism weaken the oppressed nations. Reactionary rulers not only oppressed the labouring classes of their own nation, but also weakened other nations under their control. Many nations in the East are lagging behind the West economically and culturally because they were oppressed and undermined for a long period of time. Only by winning national independence can they avoid being weakened.

We socialist countries adopt a nationality policy entirely different from that of feudalism, capitalism or imperialism. We help our brother nationalities to become prosperous; if necessary, assistance is also given to nations in non-socialist countries. We see to it that various nationalities are equal and are prosperous. Bringing about prosperity of the nationalities is the fundamental standpoint of our socialist nationality policy.



Premier Zhou with Dai people in Yunnan Province's Xishuangbanna during the 1961 Water Festival.

To consider one nation as superior and another as inferior is an utterly wrong idea of racism. We hold that all nations are good, industrious and intelligent so long as they are given the opportunity to develop; that all nations are courageous and powerful as long as they are given the chance to temper themselves. Some nations in the world are more backward than others because of their environment, that is, the people are deprived of the opportunity to develop and temper themselves. Our socialist nationality policy is to enable every nationality to develop and prosper. Thus our country's policy towards nationalities is a policy of prosperity for all nationalities. In this respect, all nationalities are equal, there can be no discrimination whatever. Our basic policy is to achieve prosperity for all nationalities. The reactionary rule in the past resulted in the weakening and decline in population of some nationalities; to others it brought extreme backwardness, and very low living standards.

History has left us many unfavourable conditions for achieving prosperity among the nationalities. The key to overcoming them lies in social reform. Many national minorities were unable to develop because they were subjected to reactionary rule. In New China, it is our duty to help them develop. Therefore, a fundamental measure — social reform — must be adopted. This is universal for all nationalities.

ties in China. The Han nationality also must undergo reform before it can make progress.

By social reform we mean, essentially, economic reform. Why is reform necessary? Because we want to build socialism and to ensure that the people have a high standard of living. If we want prosperity, we must develop industry. Without industry a nation cannot be prosperous. However, industrializing our country requires, first of all, the reform of agriculture and the abolition of feudalism and slavery in the countryside. Only when the peasants are emancipated can the rural economy be developed, can there be a foundation for industrial growth. Only with a rapid expansion of agricultural production can funds be accumulated, industry supplied with raw materials and the work force freed to take part in industrial production. Only when a nationality sets up its own industrial base can a foundation be laid for its development. Therefore every nationality must, without exception, undergo economic reform.

Economic reform is to be carried out in two steps. The first step is democratic reform (land reform), and the second, socialist transformation.

If economic reform is not carried out and slavery or feudalism is to be continued in which the majority of people are slaves, serfs or peasants under feudal rule, the productive forces cannot be emancipated. If labourers are deprived of most of the products they turn out and still live in poverty, they will have no enthusiasm for increasing production. In many places in New China, the feudal system no longer exists and even the system of individual economy has advanced to that of socialist collective economy. In a few national minority areas, the people are still living in isolation under the rule of slavery or feudalism, but how can such a situation possibly go on? These areas are bound to be influenced from outside. For instance, it was under outside influence that reform by the Yi nationality took place in Sichuan Province's Liangshan Prefecture. The slaves rose up and demanded reform. Now some Yi headmen of Liangshan also agree to reform and are willing to give up exploitation. After the reform, they can still receive good treatment from the government and their life can be guaranteed. If they oppose reform, they will be overthrown by the slaves and left with nothing.

We would like to make clear to members in the upper strata of the fraternal nationalities who are still exploiters: If they give up exploitation, they will get much greater benefit than if they are against reform; if they resist reform and are toppled by the masses, they will get less benefit or none at all. If they favour reform, the state and government will give them due consideration and the masses will be lenient with them. This is one point. Another point is that in the long run, if in our socialist country, they go on exploiting others for a long time, they are doomed to failure. The longer they go on, the heavier will be their losses. It is absolutely impossible for anyone to attempt to retain exploitation and lead a life of extreme extravagance in China for a long time. We suggest that people of various fraternal nationalities, including the members of their upper strata, go in for reform when they awaken to the need for it. In some areas, reform is postponed for the sake of a better, well-prepared and more peaceful reform in the future. Nevertheless, sooner or later, reform has to be carried out. The system of slavery, feudalism or individual economy must be transformed into a socialist economic system. So this is a matter of time, and not a matter of whether a reform is necessary or not. Without reform, a nationality will be impoverished.

China, which is a big family of nationalities, seeks happiness for all, including genuine happiness for the members of the upper strata of fraternal nationalities. Of course, we admit that for some time after reform, members of the upper strata can no longer lead as comfortable a life as they are accustomed to. For their incomes will be limited. But their future is secure. Following the further development of industry in the future, their livelihood will improve.

As has been mentioned, the building of a socialist industrialized country is a matter concerning each and every nationality. It is inconceivable to have a highly developed industry only in the Han nationality areas, while Tibet, the Uygur Autonomous Region and the Inner Mongolian pastoral areas remain backward for a long period of time. In that case, China would no longer be a socialist country. In our socialist country, all the minority areas and national autonomous areas should be modernized. Modernization of the whole country must be carried out in an all-round way. We have such

a spirit—a spirit of genuine equality and fraternity among all nationalities in the big family.

Such reform is not restricted only to reform of the economic system, it will also have an impact on other spheres. Once the economic base is changed, the superstructure will be affected accordingly. That is, there will be political and ideological repercussions. The political system must suit the socialist economic base. It also needs reform—reformed into the system of democratic centralism, where there is both democracy and centralism, both freedom and discipline, both individual development and unity of will. Ideas should suit the needs of the socialist system. All of us must study Marxism and treasure our socialist system.

Some friends in religious circles worry whether reform in the economic base will influence religion since it will have an impact on ideology. It is inevitable that reform of the economic base will affect ideology. But ideological changes do not develop in the same way as reforms in the political system; the process of ideological change is extremely slow. As to religious people, not only are there believers in the socialist countries, but in the future, when we enter communist society, will there be no more left then? We cannot definitely say no. We hold that religious beliefs are a question of people's ideological beliefs and do not concern political questions. Everyone can support socialism, whether he is an atheist or a believer, a materialist or an idealist. Within our Party, there are many peasant Communists who support the socialist system. Economically they belong to a socialist collective and many of them are *xiang* government cadres. Politically and ideologically, they fit in with the needs of the socialist economic system, but they are afraid of ghosts at night. If you say no Communist ever fears ghosts, I don't believe it. Men's ideas are multifarious. So long as his activity does not hinder political life or economic production, we should not interfere in his affairs. Religion will go on existing for a long period of time. As to what will become of it in the future, it all depends on the situation. So long as people have problems which cannot be explained or solved ideologically, it is unavoidable that religious beliefs as such should exist. For some religions, there are religious ceremonies, for others, there aren't. Friends in religious circles don't have to worry whether religion will exist or not. According to the materialist point of view, religion will exist until

society reaches the stage in which the conditions for the existence of religion have disappeared.

National prosperity is the common cause of the people of various nationalities. Only through reform will there be prosperity and happiness for the nationalities. Here I would like to add in passing that population should increase in the case of some fraternal nationalities. But the population of the Han nationality increases too fast, so that birth control should be encouraged in the Han areas.

4. Rights of National Autonomy and National Attributes

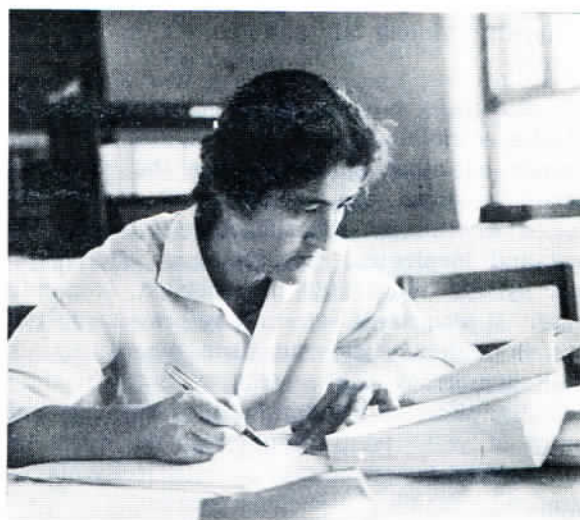
The rights of national autonomy as prescribed in the Constitution and the various rules and decrees on national autonomy formulated in accordance with the Constitution should be respected.

As the existence of the various nationalities has been recognized and ours is a multi-national state, attention must be paid to the question of national attributes. Both the spoken and written languages of minority nationalities should be respected. We must help those which do not have their own written language to create one. In a national autonomous area, the written language of the major nationality should become the first language. Cadres should be trained from among members of minority nationalities, who should make up a proper ratio of the cadres in the national autonomous areas. The customs and habits of all nationalities must be respected. These are what is meant by national attributes.

THE minority people's right of national autonomy must be respected; this is definite. The right of national autonomy as prescribed in the Constitution as well as the various rules and decrees on national autonomy formulated on the basis of the Constitution should be respected. But the Central Government and local governments sometimes did not pay enough attention to this. We must do more self-examination and self-criticism. As the Hans are the most numerous in the country, the right of national autonomy for the minority peoples might easily be neglected, and Han chauvinism is apt to occur. These should be criticized.

Another question is that of national attributes. As the existence of the various nationalities has been recognized and ours is a multinational state, attention must be paid to the question of national attributes. It is because only through respect for national attributes can the right of national autonomy be respected. For example, both the spoken and written languages of minority nationalities should be respected. We must help those minorities which do not have their own written language to create one in keeping with their wishes.* In a national autonomous area, the written language of the major nationality should become the first language. Now that national autonomy is in effect, cadres of minority nationality origin should be trained. Since the various nationalities are recognized, the customs and habits of all nationalities must be respected. These are what I term national attributes. Failure to attach importance to the question of national attributes does not conform to our policy of bringing about prosperity for all nationalities.

The state, the administrative organs and the Han nationality should assume more responsibility for the two questions mentioned above because they are often neglected. In terms of cadres, there should be a proper ratio of minority cadres in the national autonomous areas. In those areas inhabited mostly by the Hans, the question of a proper ratio of minority cadres is easily neglected. Even in those areas where minority people are few in number, attention must be paid to this. Therefore, government organs must concern themselves more with






A young Uzbek woman of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

questions of national autonomy and national attributes.

Should the administrative structure of an autonomous region, autonomous prefecture or autonomous county be the same as that of a province, prefecture or county? This deserves study. In the past, too much stress was put on sameness. This may not be good. Things should be done in keeping with the local situation.

In all the national autonomous areas, minority cadres should hold positions of responsibility. Efforts should therefore be made to train minority cadres step by step in a planned way. On the other hand, Han cadres should be sent to help the work in autonomous regions, prefectures and counties. They are even more indispensable in some of the autonomous areas where there are lots of Han people. For example, in Inner Mongolia, which has so many Han people, of course there must be Han cadres in the people's congresses, government offices and enterprises. Even in places where minority people are in the majority, such as Xinjiang and Tibet, Han cadres are also needed. Better but fewer Han cadres should be sent to autonomous regions, prefectures or counties where fraternal minority nationalities are the majority. Leading cadres are very important. As to the composi-

NUMBER OF MINORITY NATIONALITY STUDENTS

University or College Students		1951	2,100
		1978	36,000
Middle School Students		1951	45,600
		1978	2,526,200
Primary School Pupils		1951	943,300
		1978	7,685,600

* Before 1949, the year China was liberated, 21 minority nationalities had their own written languages and another three used the Han written language. After liberation, ten minority nationalities created their own written scripts and five renovated their written languages.

tion of leading cadres in Party and government organizations, both Han and minority cadres should be taken into consideration, and they should co-operate with each other.

There is religious freedom in China, so there are believers and non-believers, theists and atheists in the country. The two categories should get along well with each other. China is unlike some other countries where disputes on religious questions are so severe that they are provoked into war by imperialists. People who have different religious beliefs may work together. Most of China's believers are Buddhists, and those believing in Islamism rank second, in Catholicism third, in Protestantism fourth. People with different religious beliefs have always co-operated with each other in China. Non-believers should respect believers and vice versa. Atheists and religious believers can co-operate. People of different religions can also co-operate. This is favourable to the unity, mutual aid and co-operation of our big family of nationalities.

The customs and habits of a nationality are, in a sense, broader than religious belief, because the people of one nationality may not all

believe in the same religion. Quite a few nationalities like that exist in China. There are also cases of several nationalities believing in one religion, such as the Hui nationality and several other nationalities in Xinjiang, which believe in the same religion, and also the Mongolians and Tibetans, who have the same religion. But one nationality usually practises the same customs and habits. Therefore these should also be respected. Otherwise national sentiments will be hurt. For example, we must respect the habit of not eating pork observed by the Hui nationality and nationalities living in Xinjiang who believe in Islamism. We should also not wilfully change the minority peoples' customs and habits in the cultural field. Some Han cultural troupes went to areas inhabited by fraternal nationalities to study the latter's music and dances, especially their dances. They often changed dance idioms to suit the ideas of the Hans. Our fraternal nationalities are unhappy about this. This is like forcing things on others and not respecting customs and habits which have been built up on the basis of their own living conditions. Reforming of customs and habits depends on the development of the economic base of the nationality, it should not be done abruptly or at random.

Minority Leading Cadres in Various Provinces and Autonomous Regions

PEOPLE'S congresses and local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference have been held in 26 out of 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (not including Taiwan Province) in the past six months. In areas inhabited by minority nationalities in compact communities, there is a definite number of leading cadres from minority nationalities. For example:

The chairman of the People's Congress Standing Committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is of Uygur nationality, seven of the 14 vice-chairmen are from minority nationalities, and the chairman and six of the 12 vice-chairmen of the Regional People's Government are from minority nationalities.

The chairman and eight of the 11 vice-chairmen of the People's Congress Standing Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region are of Tibetan nationality, and the chairman and six of the 14 vice-chairmen of the Re-

gional People's Government are also Tibetans.

The chairman of the People's Congress Standing Committee of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region is of Zhuang nationality, six of the 14 vice-chairmen are minority people; the Regional People's Government chairman is of Zhuang nationality and four of the 15 vice-chairmen are minority people.

The chairman and six of the 13 vice-chairmen of the People's Congress Standing Committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region are Mongolians, and the chairman and four of the ten vice-chairmen of the Regional People's Government are also Mongolians.

The chairman and two of the seven vice-chairmen of the People's Congress Standing Committee of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region are Huis and the chairman and three of the ten vice-chairmen of the Regional People's Government are also Huis.

Yunnan, a province in southwest China, is inhabited by 22 minority nationalities in addition to the Han people. Three of the 12 vice-chairmen of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and two of the nine deputy governors of the Provincial People's Government are from different minority nationalities.

Why the Soviet "Detente" Smokescreen?

NEWS from Afghanistan reveals the following picture:

- Guerrillas are fiercely engaging the Soviet aggressors throughout the country despite heavy bombings and shellings. What used to be unrelated, individual actions by various guerrilla units are now turning into co-ordinated attacks.

- Urban popular resistance to the Soviet occupation has spread from Kandahar and Herat to more than a dozen cities. The general strike in Kabul, which started on February 21, showed that the aggressors' efforts to set up their colonial rule in Afghanistan have suffered a major setback.

- The people reject the Soviet-imposed Karmal regime, which is embroiled in growing factional strife. Government troops are revolting or going over to the guerrillas in large numbers. Thousands of soldiers in Kabul have refused to suppress the people and turned their guns on the Soviet occupation forces, indicating that Moscow's scheme of using Afghans to fight Afghans will not succeed.

- Russian reinforcements are pouring into the country by road and air. On the night of February 26, Soviet troops in Kabul redoubled their suppression of the Afghan people. Nearly 100,000 Soviet troops stationed in key cities and along important

lines of communication are trying to keep the situation in check.

These facts show that the Afghan people's struggle against their aggressors has become more widespread and deeper and the Russians are finding it very difficult, if not impossible, to effect a complete conquest of Afghanistan.

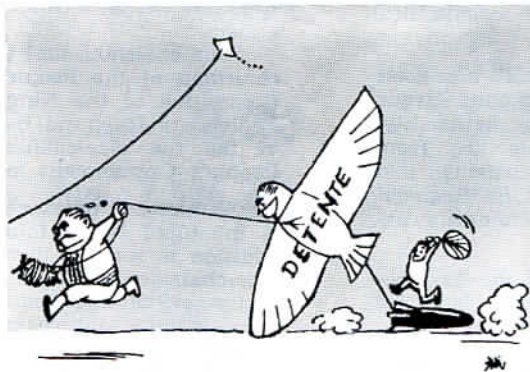
Against this background, it is worth noting that Moscow is launching a new "detente" offensive. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has clearly exacerbated international tension and is incompatible with detente. But Moscow claims that detente still exists and that the Soviet Union opposes using the events in Afghanistan to sabotage it. Brezhnev mouthed that in the 80s, like in the 70s, the Soviet Union is for consolidating and not sabotaging detente. In other words, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has consolidated detente, not sabotaged it. If this is the case, why is Moscow making a big fanfare about "detente"

while stepping up its military occupation of Afghanistan?

Whitewash. An obvious reason is that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has aroused strong international opposition and Brezhnev and company are badly isolated in the world. The vote at the special emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly, the resolution of the extraordinary session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference and widespread condemnation show that the great majority of countries in the world have taken the just stand of opposing Soviet aggression against Afghanistan. In these circumstances, Moscow urgently needs to whitewash itself with a coat of "detente" and pose as an advocate of peace.

To Divide the West. In its game of "detente," Moscow uses different tactics to divide the Western countries. It accuses the United States of sabotaging detente and slyly reminds Western Europe and Japan that they are enjoying the benefits of peace and the advantages of trade. Although the Soviet Union knows that Western Europe and the United States see eye-to-eye on the question of opposing Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and its further expansion, it feels there are still loopholes to exploit.

Some countries have adopted different approaches to oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan because of their different circumstances. Moscow thinks this can be turned to its advantage. It believes that so long as some countries retain an illusion about "detente," it has room to drive wedges between the countries in the world, particularly the Western countries, in its attempt to weaken and



The Soviet kite.

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

disintegrate the common front against Soviet hegemonism.

International Sanctions. Many countries have applied sanctions against the Soviet Union for its occupation of Afghanistan. In the past, Moscow gained much from "detente." Besides lulling the West, "detente" enabled it to get Western capital, technology, equipment and grain to make up for its shortages and increase its military and economic power. Although the Soviet leaders are pretending that they don't care about the Western countries' economic sanctions, they are actually very worried. Moscow thinks it can capitalize on certain Western countries looking for a way out of their continued economic stagnation and some of them relying partly on raw material and fuel from the Soviet Union. It is therefore dangling an economic bait, harping on "advantageous trade," and playing up the theme that both the East and the West need "detente" to shake the resolve of the Western countries and get the international sanctions removed.

To Absorb Afghanistan. The Soviet Union intends to turn Afghanistan into its springboard for a southern thrust into the Indian Ocean. The old tsar, Peter the Great, said that when Russia gained a direct passage-way to the Indian Ocean, it would be able to put the whole world under its military and economic rule. This has become the new tsars' motto. To accomplish this, however, Moscow must first consolidate its hold over Afghanistan. If it can successfully peddle "detente," it will gain time to completely absorb Afghanistan and prepare for its next step, expanding southwards to the Indian Ocean. It will also use the respite to continue its drive to gain military superiority over the United

States and Western Europe, and complete its strategic deployments in all parts of the world.

It is evident that Moscow's "detente" offensive is a plot to sow discord among the Western countries and to win time for further expansion.

In pushing its hegemonic policy, the Soviet Union has always used the carrot-and-stick tactics of the threat of war and "detente." It is still fresh in people's minds that just before its invasion of Afghanistan, Moscow sent up a heavy smokescreen of "detente" —

withdrawing some of its troops from East Germany and churning out a lot of propaganda about the need for military detente being greater now than at any other time, etc. The world must raise its vigilance for the men in the Kremlin today are prattling about "detente" while flexing their military muscles and ominously saying that the Soviet Union "has all the necessary means to retaliate against any military provocation."

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang

Conditional Troop Withdrawal Means Refusal to Withdraw

OF late, Brezhnev has been telling all and sundry: If other countries "guarantee" that "all forms of outside interference directed against the government and people of Afghanistan are fully terminated," the Soviet Union "will be ready to commence the withdrawal of [its] troops."

Standing Things on Their Head.

According to Brezhnev, it is not the Soviet Union but others that are guilty of intervention in Afghanistan; the Soviet troops did not commit aggression when they entered Afghanistan but were protecting it from outside interference; and to ease tension in Afghanistan is not for the Soviet Union to first withdraw its troops but for other countries to guarantee not to interfere in Afghanistan. Obviously, this topsy-turvy argument is nothing but a refurbished version of the Soviet claim that it was "invited" to intervene in Afghanistan and an empty promise to fool the

world public and legalize the Soviet invasion.

Brezhnev seems to have lost touch with reality. Let us recall the facts. Who in the 50s started providing "aid" to gradually gain control of Afghanistan? Who is now imposing an armed occupation of Afghanistan and mercilessly butchering the people there? Isn't it obvious that it is the Soviet Union and not others that is interfering in Afghanistan?

Moscow's single-handed creation of the Afghanistan crisis brought on the international tension. The only way to relax this tension is for the Soviet troops to unconditionally withdraw from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union is now unjustifiably demanding that other countries "guarantee" the "full termination" of "outside interference" in Afghanistan as a condition for withdrawing its troops. Such talk is actually a refusal to withdraw.

One would like to ask: Who will make such a guarantee and how can they "guarantee" the termination of "outside interference"?

Plot to Blame Others. Is there any other country apart from the Soviet Union with troops in Afghanistan? Even Brezhnev cannot say which other countries should pull out of Afghanistan. Therefore, if other countries accept the unjustified demand to make such a "guarantee," they will fall into the Soviet trap of taking the blame, for they will be admitting that they are interfering in Afghanistan and that there is reason for the Soviet aggression. No self-respecting country would be willing to do such a stupid thing.

It is absolute nonsense for any country that has not intervened in Afghanistan to guarantee that another country stops its intervention. Who can guarantee that the Soviet Union will terminate its intervention in Afghanistan?

It is equally impracticable for the super and other powers or Afghanistan's neighbours to provide certain guarantees about Afghanistan's domestic situation and international status. Afghan affairs can be decided only by the Afghan people themselves and no one should interfere. If anyone takes it on himself to force a certain situation or international status on Afghanistan, he will be violating Afghanistan's sovereignty, and this is absolutely impermissible.

Afghanistan is an important link in the Soviet global strategy for world domination. Moscow has been attempting to gobble up Afghanistan for

more than 20 years. In an effort to control Afghan politics, it masterminded several coups, fostering puppet regimes; and it capitalized on the current situation in the Persian Gulf to adventurously use its own troops in naked aggression. Furthermore, it is continuing to pour more troops into Afghanistan to butcher the Afghan people, mass troops along the borders of Pakistan and Iran, send more warships into the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area, and expand its naval and air bases in the region. Such Soviet activities show that Moscow has not the slightest intention of withdrawing its troops.

Thus, Moscow's talk of a so-called conditional troop withdrawal is a carefully devised plot to gain a pretext for not withdrawing its troops when other countries reject its unreasonable demands.

No Appeasement of Aggressors. It must be pointed out that Moscow's conditional troop

withdrawal is part of its "détente" offensive. It hopes to use hard and soft tactics to revive the idea of appeasement and induce the world to accept its occupation of Afghanistan as a fait accompli. The people of the whole world must be wary. Countless historical facts show that aggressors must never be appeased.

The international community needs to enforce more rigorous sanctions, give greater support to the Afghan people's struggle and put the Soviet aggressors in an unbearable position. This alone will compel the Soviet Union to comply with the resolution adopted by the sixth special emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly which called for a halt to all acts of aggression in Afghanistan, and an immediate, unconditional and total Soviet withdrawal from that country, to let the Afghan people solve their own problems. There is no other way.

— "Renmin Ribao"
Commentator

Moscow Covets Baluchistan

WHAT is Moscow's next objective after Afghanistan? This is a question the world is asking. Many newspapers abroad predict that the Baluchistan area between Afghanistan and the Indian Ocean is most likely to attract the Soviet Union's unwanted attention.

The Baluchistan Area. Baluchistan is mainly a mountainous area inhabited mostly by the Baluchis and lies between Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan.

Of the 5 million Baluchis, 2 million live in Pakistan, another 2 million in Iran, about 600,000 in Afghanistan and the rest in the Soviet Union. They have their own language, Baluchi, which belongs to the Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. The Baluchi people are mostly Sunni Moslems and are engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing.

This area is rich in natural resources: natural gas, oil, iron

ore, sulphur, copper, gold, gypsum and marble. The chromite mine near Quetta in Baluchistan Province, Pakistan, is one of the biggest in the world. In the Sarhad Plateau where the Iranian Baluchis live, are oil and natural gas deposits.

Strategic Importance. More important than the natural resources is Baluchistan's strategic position. It is the gateway from Central Asia to the sea. Along its coast are such natural warm-water harbours as Gwadar (in Pakistan) and Chahbar (in Iran). Moreover, this area is close to the Hormuz Strait, the strategic opening which controls the vital oil supply route from the Persian Gulf to the United States, Japan and the West European countries.

Because of its strategic importance and rich resources Baluchistan has ever been coveted by the imperialists. Tsarist Russia, in particular, had tried on many occasions to carve a passage south through the Baluchistan area in Afghanistan and Iran to reach the Indian Ocean and secure warm-water harbours on the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf.

New Tsarist Ambitions. To make the old tsars' dream come true, the new tsars are trying by every means to rig up a "great republic of Baluchistan" to bring the Baluchistan area under its influence. Since the early 70s, the Soviet Union has stepped up its expansionist and splittist activities in this Baluchistan area. By exploiting national and religious contradictions there, Moscow has instigated the Baluchis to oppose the

Iranian and Pakistani Governments and, together with the Afghan Baluchis, to attain Soviet-controlled "autonomy or independence." From 1973 to 1976, the Soviet Union supplied weapons and funds to some Baluchi tribes, fostered pro-Moscow forces among Baluchi intellectuals in Pakistan and Iran and knocked together an organization called "the Baluchi people's front for liberation." When the Soviet Union put Taraki in power in April 1978, it arranged for Pakistani Baluchi demonstrators to carry his portraits. The foreign press reported that there are now thousands of Baluchis being trained in the Soviet Union. Afghan merchants said they had seen Cuban officers giving guerrilla-warfare training to Baluchis and Pashtoons in the Afghan-Pakistani border area.

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet motorized troops struck swiftly south along two routes from Kabul and Herat to occupy Kandahar, an important city where Afghan Pashtoons live. The thrust was directed at southeastern Iran and southwestern Pakistan inhabited by Baluchi people. A Pakistani paper revealed that a Soviet division has already set up a base in Kandahar and there

are 300 tanks deployed at the frontier post of Spin Baldak, only two miles from Chaman, an important border city of Pakistan. Soviet tanks and armoured vehicles have been observed in Takhta Pul, 35 miles from Chaman. Soviet troops have established a command post in Shorawak, a strategically important place in Afghan-Pakistani border near Chaghi in northwestern Baluchistan Province, Pakistan. They have also built large air bases well stocked with weapons and amunitions in Shindand and Farah, two important border towns in western Afghanistan near southeastern Iran. At the same time, the Soviet Union has also dispatched a big squadron of ships into the Indian Ocean not far from the Arabian Sea. Its 6,450-ton electronic reconnaissance ship *Taman* is stationed in the main sea-lane leading into the Persian Gulf to keep watch on other countries' ships and to monitor the wireless communications of Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea countries.

The Soviet Union's ambitions have aroused the vigilance of the Iranian and Pakistani people, particularly the people in the Baluchistan area. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and threats to Pakistan and Iran are also making the Baluchi people very indignant. Many Afghan Baluchis have taken up arms and are fighting with the guerrillas against the Soviet occupation army. The Iranian Baluchis have pledged to support them. Some Baluchi tribal chiefs in Pakistan also said that if the Soviet Union invades their homeland, the Baluchi people would put up resolute resistance.

—Zhang Guoliang



"No Return to Cold War"?

Report From Washington:

THERE should be no return to the cold war, otherwise it may imperil detente — this is a catchword of quite a few people in the United States. While it reflects the desire of many people opposing tension in international relations, it shows an underestimate of the current tense situation in the world.

Raging Fire of Hot Wars. As a matter of fact, the world today is not in the least characterized by a return from detente to cold war. On the contrary, there is the raging fire of hot wars as well as the bitter wind of cold war. The 1970s began shortly after the Soviet tanks had rumbled into Czechoslovakia and ended as Moscow sent its tanks roaring into Afghanistan.

During the years that intervened, the Soviet Union and its Cuban mercenaries and Vietnamese proxies became ever more unscrupulous, resorting to invasions in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Kampuchea. With the sovereignty of many countries being trampled underfoot, their governments were toppled and people massacred. Wherever Soviet hegemonism has its way, the people there invariably fall victim to it. This can be likened to the Japanese invasion of China on September 18, 1931, the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1936 and the German invasion of Sudetenland in 1938.

New Viewpoints. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has shocked the public. As the *New York Times* points out, "The

mood here [in Washington] has changed in the last few days."

From President Carter to the man in the street, from leading government officials and military officers to Congressmen, all expressed strong feelings against the Kremlin and put forth many new viewpoints concerning the present situation.

They noted that first of all, the Soviet ambitions for aggression and its ability to launch adventures must not be underestimated. The U.S. authorities have explicitly pointed out for the first time that the supply of grain, credits, technology and equipment to the Soviet Union can only bring disaster by whetting its appetite for aggression and expansion.

Second, the U.S. capability to confront the Soviet Union should not be overestimated. High-ranking officers of the three U.S. armed services have admitted openly for the first time that the United States lags behind the Soviet Union in many aspects of military strength and great efforts must be made to catch up with the Russians.

Third, the 1980s will be a decade full of dangers. Especially in the first five years when the Soviet Union can find the opportunity to step up its aggression, there will be a greater danger of military confrontation between the big powers.

Fourth, for a long time, the established U.S. strategic arrangements have been to fight one and a half wars. Now, in the face of all-round Soviet

contention for supremacy, the United States has to get prepared to fight several wars in different places simultaneously.

Fifth, Europe is an area of particular strategic importance for the United States and the Soviet Union. But emergencies may arise first in areas other than Europe, particularly in the Middle East, South Asia, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Therefore, it is imperative for the United States to adopt emergency measures, including possible use of armed force, to check the continuous Soviet southward drive.

Noteworthy is the fact that in the face of such a challenge, the U.S. theory of balance which stands for the United States and the Soviet Union being equals and a U.S.-Soviet relationship of both contention and co-operation, has been somewhat doubted.

U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown recently told newsmen that even if the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan, it might not be possible for U.S.-Soviet relations to be restored to their previous dimensions.

Lessons. However, neither Afghanistan nor Kampuchea is the "heart of Europe." Moreover, it is the practice of the Soviet Union after an adventure to harp on "detente" to gain time for consolidating its positions, assuaging people's anger and driving a wedge among other countries before it embarks on a new move. Therefore some U.S. congressmen and political figures are underestimating the

Soviet designs for aggression and expansion. They warn against over-reaction to the Afghan invasion and "a return to the cold war." Some even describe the invasion as a defensive action out of security considerations with no intention to drive southward. Naturally this view is approved by students who are reluctant to join the armed forces. Apparently, the "no return to the cold war" argument still finds support among some people.

World War II provided people with a grave lesson augmented by many new ones since then. One would like to ask: To whose advantage is it if one views the present turbulent world as an epoch of detente and describes resistance to aggression as "a return to the cold war"? It may be beneficial to ponder over and start discussions on this question at this historical juncture.

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Peng Di

Settlement of Palestinian Issue Becomes Urgent

Report From Cairo:

THE widespread condemnation drawn by the recent Israeli government's decision to set up new settlements in the Arab city of Khalil on the west bank of the Jordan River stresses how urgently the Palestinian problem must be solved in the light of the current international situation.

Begin's Obstinacy. The decision was one of a series of new Israeli provocations against the Palestinian people. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin declared time and again against making any concessions over the Palestinian problem and setting up a Palestinian state. It all goes to show that the Israeli government has not changed its aggressive policy of perpetuating the occupation of Arab lands and its obstinate position on the Palestinian problem. Moreover, it is exploiting the tension in the world following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The Crux of Arab-Israeli Conflict. The Arab and other third world countries stand firm on the principle that the Pales-

tinian problem is the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that so long as it remains unsolved there can be no peace and security in the Middle East. The current situation calls for all forces in the world to unite against the thrust of the Soviet hegemonists in the Gulf and in the Middle East, so it is all the more necessary to contain the Israeli expansionists and strive for a settlement of the Palestinian problem.

The West's Attitude. More and more people in the West have also come to realize that the Palestinian question is the key to the improvement of relations between the Western and Arab countries and the strengthening of Europe's strategic flanks.

British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington pointed out that to deal with the situation arising from the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, "We need to strengthen our links with the countries of the Arabian Peninsula," and that "we believe that one of the most important of all possible contributions to the political stability of the (Middle

East) area would be a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky urged the United States to adopt a definite stand towards Israel despite the current election campaign.

The West European countries are also trying to find some way to push forward negotiations on the Palestinian question.

The British Foreign Office disclosed not long ago that contacts have been made with certain quarters with a view to presenting a draft resolution to the U.N. Security Council, which would recognize the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, as a supplement to previous U.N. resolutions.

In the United States, after President Carter put forth his strategy of countering Soviet challenges in the Gulf area, some people pointed out that if the United States did not bring pressure to bear on Israel and if the Palestinian question was not solved speedily, the strategy would not be effective.

Robert Byrd, leader of the Democratic Party in the U.S. Senate, said that as long as there was the Palestinian question, "our ability to co-operate with Arab countries in meeting the common danger of possible Soviet expansionism is hampered."

The Carter administration has recently officially criticized the Israeli authorities for settling Jewish people in Khalil and reiterated that it would attach importance to the Palestinian question. But up to now, no major action has been taken.

Diplomatic observers here are watching with concern how far Washington will go on this vital question.

— *Xinhua Correspondent*
Wan Guang

SPORTS

**Chinese Athletes at
Lake Placid**

The 28 Chinese athletes at the 13th Winter Olympic Games did not win any gold medals, but many friends, much encouragement and plenty of sports savvy.

This is the first Winter Olympics for Chinese athletes, although ice sports have a long history in China. It was only after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 that winter sports got under way in earnest, with state encouragement. In 1963, China won its first gold medal in speed skating and between 1962-64 two world records were toppled and skaters brought home a silver and a bronze in addition to the gold medal. But in the second half of the 60s Chinese speed skating skidded to an abrupt halt. When it was promoted again recently, skaters found that the rest of the world had left them well behind and are now working hard to catch up.

Chinese sportsmen and physical culture and sports workers have always held the Olympic Games in high regard for its lofty aim of upholding peace and promoting friendship, and for the role it has played in promoting sports throughout the world. After China's legitimate

seat was restored on the International Olympic Committee last November, intensive preparations were made to take part in five events in the winter games: speed skating, figure skating, alpine skiing, cross-country skiing and the biathlon.

The Chinese athletes were given a cordial welcome by the American people and friends from other countries. Many saw the five-star red flag of China flying together with other countries' flags in Lake Placid as a sign of the restoration of China's seat in the "United Nations of sports." When foreign friends, who had worked so hard for many years for the restoration of China's legitimate seat to the International Olympic Committee, met the Chinese delegation, many said: "You are here at last." A warm welcome was accorded to the Chinese delegation when they marched smartly into the stadium. At Lake Placid the five-star souvenir badge of the Chinese Olympic Committee was much sought after. A lot of people visited the Chinese delegation, including a well-known American biathlete who willingly shared his experience with his Chinese colleagues, and an American woman figure-skating coach, who unselfishly spent whatever time she had helping the Chinese athletes.

Overall points of Chinese athletes in speed skating were higher than those scored by them in world championships in the 60s. For instance, Zhao Weichang and Guo Chengjiang finished 2 min. 05.48 sec. and 2 min. 08.33 sec. respectively in the men's 1,500-metre speed skating event, surpassing Luo Zhihuan's 2 min. 09.2 sec. that won the event in 1963. However, the world had not stopped still and they only came 25th and 29th.

Both Xu Zhaoxiao, male figure skater, and Bao Zhenhua, woman figure skater, are under 15. But they were not overawed by so many formidable world competitors and managed to take 16th and 22nd places respectively in the figure skating events. Thirty-two of the 49 competitors who took part in the women's slalom event fell off, but Wang Guizhen, a Chinese athlete, kept on to the finish and came 18th.

Through the competitions at Lake Placid, the Chinese coaches and athletes have come to see at first hand the trend of developments in winter sports and their own shortcomings as well as their potential. They are going to profit much in many ways, in training methods, facilities and nutrition, when they draw up plans to catch up with the best in the world.

Chinese delegation entering stadium.



American skaters help a Chinese skater.





LETTERS FROM READERS

Chinese-Style Modernization

I read with great interest the article "Modernization: The Chinese Way" (issue No. 45, 1979). Its author stated that China will not follow the route of some countries which have gone in for unbalanced modernization schemes whose modernization has primarily depended upon other countries. It would have been better if the author could have concretely shown that China is acting on not a subjective aspiration but an objective law of development. Unfortunately, because he failed to do this, the article is not very convincing. This may be the result of shallow research. If so, I hope you will be more thorough in the future.

Teisuke Kato
Kyoto, Japan

Since China has embarked on the Long March of the four modernizations, I sincerely hope that China will learn from other countries both the positive and negative sides of modernization. I hope that China will have its own pattern and goal of modernization. We sincerely hope that the Chinese people will adopt a unique pattern of modernizing China so that they can enjoy the fruits of their hard labour.

Quite a number of people and countries want to go into business with China. China should do things the Chinese way without any influence and infiltration. This is vital for China and the future generations.

Modernize the Chinese way and leave room for disappointments and setbacks. This is vital.

H.N. Mgulo
Ostersund, Sweden

Education

I should like to convey to you my interest in the Special Feature

on education [in issue No. 1]. In essence this article demonstrates yet again the great superiority of the socialist system in its ability to provide a meaningful, happy and healthy life for the very young children right through to the oldest peasant although obviously, not all problems can be ironed out in a day. This article will provide the basis for useful discussion with two friends of mine who teach, one of whom works with "slow learners." In Britain, "slow learners" are by and large those on the bottom of the heap coming from very poor homes often lacking in family life. This produces complex emotional and mental conditions.

Stephen Payne
Bristol, Britain

Articles in the Special Feature "China's Education" in issue No. 1 interested me enormously because we in our society are experiencing a profound crisis in education. I discussed them with several friends and we all decided that the motif is really inspiring. I hope you will continue reporting on education. I suggest you discuss teaching methods, politics, ideology, organization and other angles.

Juantxo Arteaga Yeregi
Lasarte, Spain

Population

I read with great interest the article about China's population problem in *Beijing Review* issue No. 46.

I think it is right for China to curb the drastic increase of population. But I think some of the measures it has adopted for this purpose are wrong. For instance, in promoting one-child families, only their children now enjoy certain privileges, such as priority of employment and medical care, free tuition in kindergarten and primary school and so forth. The other children are the immediate victims of these measures which harm their rights and interests.

Bernd Matz
Siegen, West Germany

The population problem is a heavy task for China to tackle. Children from families with more than one child will live an unhappy life, simply because they will not receive as good an education, a job or care as only children. Isn't this unfair? These children should bear no respon-

sibility for their difficult conditions.

Michel Goasdoue
Saint Herblain, France

Population in China has grown too rapidly over the last 30 years, increasing by 420 million, and averaging a natural growth rate of 2 per cent annually. Should it not be promptly curbed in a planned way, it would be hard for China to realize the four modernizations and improve its people's living standards. And the Chinese people, particularly the young, would suffer. Hence the Chinese Government is now advocating one child per family in an effort to bring the natural growth rate down to zero and keep the population around 1,200 million by the year 2000. This is in the interests of the whole people.

The measures rewarding the families with only one child are aimed at encouraging family planning. They will not affect the rights and interests enjoyed by the other children, such as medical care, attending kindergarten and school and gaining employment. It is well known that there is no absolute equality in socialist society. — Ed.

Religion

I would like to congratulate you on your efforts in 1979 to improve the material and its presentation in *Beijing Review*. I found the recent article entitled "China's Policy on Religion" very direct and interesting (issue No. 51).

Gregory Damas
Westmount, Canada

Freedom and Frankness

I bought a copy of *Beijing Review* last December, which I found very interesting. It contained a free and frank approach which differed from past presentations. You used to only report positive things. I would wonder: How can such a large country not have problems? Now you are practising socialism and are solving some problems.

Balaide Molod
Algiers, Algeria

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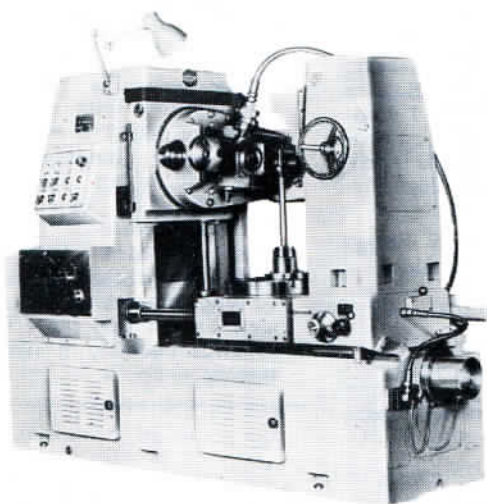
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