

Vol. 26, No. 31

August 1, 1983

BEIJING REVIEW

Two Exclusive Interviews:

**Army Leader on Defence
Problems**

●
**Foreign Minister Discusses
Afghan and Kampuchean
Issues**

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

LETTERS

The Police and the People

I was especially interested in the special feature "The Police and the People" written by your correspondent Tian Yun (issue No. 21). By describing the functions of the Chinese police this feature helps readers understand better the daily routine of the public security police as they serve the Chinese people. For example, the article "All for the People" explains the efforts to improve traffic safety and to help drivers who repeatedly violated traffic regulations to correct their driving habits. I also appreciate the various useful measures taken such as radar monitoring and restriction against drinking when driving.

In my opinion, your magazine has made considerable improvement in the length of articles and in its reports on domestic events. I specially hope that you will give more coverage to the column "The Basic Knowledge of China" in your Spanish edition.

Santiago Duaso Rodriguez
Barcelona, Spain

Your magazine in issue No. 21 carried a special feature entitled "The Police and the People" by correspondent Tian Yun. The short editor's note before the article says that "China is a socialist country of people's democratic dictatorship" and that the police are "a part of state power..."

Mr. Tian Yun tried every way in his article to show that the po-

lice like to be friends and helpers of the people. If the facts mentioned in the article are true, I would be pleased with your article. Moreover, your editor's note reveals a kind of contradiction. In German language the use of "people's democratic dictatorship" contains a contradiction. In a democracy the people have the right to choose and decide their state leaders and to manage the state. Democracy also means that people are the masters of their country, while a dictatorship is an autocracy of individuals or a small group who exercise power and resort to violence as they see fit. They may even resort to terror when necessary.

Under a democratic system, any person working in the state organs is only a staff member, or a "public servant"; even a minister is simply another term for a "public servant," "attendant" or "helper."

Following "the people's democratic dictatorship," you used the words of "people's police." In German the term "people's police" cannot be linked to the first sentence in Tian Yun's article — China's police are entrusted with serving the people.

My conclusion is that in the process of translation, perhaps you should avoid using such words that are easily misunderstood.

Traugott Forschnet
Filderstadt, FRG

The articles that interested me most were "The Police and the People," the series "Chinese-Type Modernization" and "Facts and Figures." They are very important articles vis-a-vis China's positive influence on the third world.

Your magazine covers many subjects, is written in a clear and understandable style and reflects events truthfully.

I hope you will carry more articles about Africa, especially about its goals for the year 2000 and about imperialism in Africa.

Hamoune Lyazid
Bejaia, Algeria

China's Administrative Regions

I read with great interest the article about Gansu, one of China's provinces in issue No. 25, for which I am very grateful to your correspondent and all staff members.

The column "China's Administrative Regions" is a very good one for it helps readers understand more about China's provinces. I am looking forward to reading articles about the rest of China's provinces.

I have only one request. I would have liked to know more about what Gansu will do in response to the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The article offered little information on this subject.

Toshio Sato
Yamagata, Japan

More Articles About Education

Among the first seven articles about Chinese-type modernization published in your weekly, not one concerned China's education. *Banyuetan* (a semimonthly magazine in Chinese) carried a talk about educational reform in the countryside by Education Minister He Dongchang. He pointed out that much work had to be done in education. Judging from this, I doubt if modernization and the target of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural output can be fulfilled, because modernization requires many educated people. I hope you will publish more articles about the current situation in your education.

The column "Facts & Figures" is very good. But I think you should add more charts and cut out some photos, leaving more space for articles. Again, I wish you would give the sources and years of publication of your statistical figures.

Shunichi Saisu
Chiba, Japan

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Army Leader on Defence Problems

Yu Qiuli, a Chinese army leader, in an exclusive interview with *Beijing Review*, discussed the modernization of China's national defence and the building of a modern, regular revolutionary army (p. 13).

Interview With Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian

In an exclusive interview with *Beijing Review* just before he left the capital on a tour to Pakistan and Thailand, State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian explained China's positions on the Afghanistan and Kampuchea questions (p. 17).

Contadora Group's New Peace Effort

A commentary on the recent joint declaration issued by presidents of the four Contadora countries expresses Chinese support for their position opposing outside interference in Central America and allowing the people in this region to solve their own problems (p. 12).

A Great Painter's Style

"It would be strange indeed if Li Kuchan does not enjoy great fame one day," his teacher, Qi Baishi, a world-famous Chinese painter, once commented. Li's noble personality and mastery of art moulded his works and are admired by many (p. 30).

Chinese Nurse Awarded Nightingale Medal

Wang Xiuying, 75, Vice-President of the Chinese Nursing Association, is New China's first winner of the Nightingale Medal. When presented the medal by CPPCC Chairman Deng Yingchao at a recent meeting, she said she would like to share this international honour with all other contributors to nursing (p. 6).



A young PLA commander.
Photo by Qi Baolong

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Peasants' commercial activities

With the rapid development of agricultural production and diversification of the rural economic structure in recent years, an increasing number of peasants have broken away from crop farming and engaged in other trades, such as commerce.

According to government statistics, by the end of last March, 1,713,726 households, 2,127,738 people in all, had been issued licences to engage in full-time year-round commercial activities (including catering services and other service trades). In addition, many peasants engage in seasonal commercial activities without licences.

The desirability of peasant commercial activities is still being debated. They are permitted, however, by the current policies for two major reasons.

First, they are compatible with the need to develop commodity production in the rural areas. The sales of agricultural and sideline products have increased, both in quantity and in variety in recent years. In many places, the peasants have a surplus after they fulfil the state purchasing quotas for grain, cotton, edible oil, eggs, pork, mutton and beef. But insufficient purchasing channels and staff often result in long queues. The peasants have to wait for a long time for selling their products.

Second, the peasants have gradually become more prosperous and their purchasing power is on the rise. In the last four years, the net income

per peasant has increased by 100 per cent from 133.57 yuan in 1978 to 270.11 yuan in 1982. This is unprecedented since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Therefore, rural demand has increased for industrial consumer goods. However, the supply of these goods falls short of demand because of the limited circulation channels and the complicated commercial system.

In short, the development of rural production has sharpened the contradiction as manifested in the difficulties for the peasants to market their products and get their consumer goods. Thus, rural commercial activities are a natural result of rural economic development.

In order to stimulate commodity circulation and promote commodity production, China must develop co-operative and individual commerce while reforming the system of state commerce under the precondition of ensuring the leading position of state commerce. The coexistence of diverse forms of commercial economy will help solve the above-mentioned contradiction.

The state has adjusted its policies concerning purchasing and marketing and its monopolized-purchasing policy now applies to only a few products that significantly affect the national economy and the people's livelihood. After fulfilling the state purchasing quotas, the peasants are allowed to use various channels to market their products (with the exception of cotton) covered by the monopolized-purchasing policy.

Individual peasants are permitted to travel to other counties and provinces or to go into the cities to conduct business, and to transport goods for sale either individually or in a co-operative manner, so long as they register with the industrial and commercial administrative organizations, pay taxes according to state stipulations and confine their business activities to the particular agricultural and sideline products that the state allows them to sell.

The peasants' collective and individual commercial enterprises can replenish their stock directly from the wholesale stations so as to speed up commodity circulation. Thus those who engage in commerce are guaranteed some profits based on the difference between the wholesale and retail prices as well as the differences in local prices. At the same time, the consumers get what they want.

The reform of the rural commercial system has just begun and involves many practical and ideological problems which must gradually be solved. For instance, some people say that to allow the peasants to engage in commercial activities is to "take the capitalist road," and they consider people who engage in long distance transport of goods for sale to be speculators. Of course, speculators do exist, but not as a result of the policy of stimulating the economy and permitting the peasants to do commercial business. So long as we take effective measures to strengthen control and guidance and do not let things drift, these problems can be solved.

— Economic Editor Wang
Dacheng

A new reservoir built in Beijing

A new 90.6 million-cubic-metre reservoir was completed early this month in the north-western Beijing suburbs.

Located about 100 kilometres northwest of the city centre at Baihebu Village, the new reservoir, begun in April last year, links the Miyun Reservoir in northeastern Beijing and the Guanting Reservoir bordering Beijing and Hebei Province. Through diversion works, the reservoir can supply 40 to 160 million cubic metres of water to the Guanting Reservoir and 40 million cubic metres of water to the Ming Tombs Reservoir every year.

In addition to alleviating water shortage in western Beijing industrial and residential areas,

the reservoir also can be used to generate electricity, raise fish and irrigate more than 13,000 hectares of farmland.

The Beijing area has altogether more than 80 reservoirs. Miyun Reservoir is the biggest, with a water storage capacity of 4,375 million cubic metres. The new Baihebu Reservoir is the fifth in dimension.

China petrochemical corporation set up

The inauguration of the China Petrochemical Corporation at a meeting in the Great Hall of the People on July 12 marked the structural reform of another important industrial department.

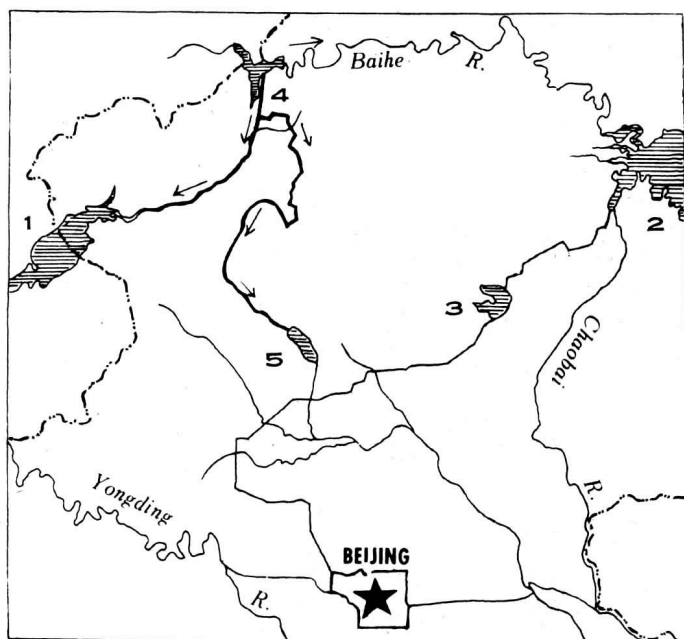
China's petrochemical industry has become fairly large

since it began in the late 1950s. Its annual capacity to refine crude oil now exceeds 90 million tons. The profits and taxes it hands to the state are 8 per cent of the nation's total revenue.

However, compared with industrially developed countries, China's petrochemical industry is not well developed. Its potential has not been fully tapped. Its output of ethylene, a measure of the developmental level of petrochemical industry, is less than 2 per cent of the world's total.

China is rich in oil resources and has favourable conditions for developing its petrochemical industry. But, it has been plagued with organizational problems. Many oil refining, petrochemical and chemical fibre enterprises were operated by the departments of petroleum, chemical and textile industries. Simultaneously, 13 petrochemical companies and factories, 17 oil refineries, 4 chemical fibre plants, 5 chemical fertilizer and chemical plants in 20 provinces and cities were under the leadership of central and local authorities.

The new corporation has merged 39 large and medium-sized petrochemical enterprises and their subordinate planning, scientific research, design and machine-building departments. The corporation will have centralized leadership, overall planning and management of personnel, finances, materials, production, supply and marketing and domestic and foreign trade. These measures will allow the corporation to become an economic entity that is well managed, uses advanced tech-



1. Guanting Reservoir 2. Miyun Reservoir 3. Huairou Reservoir
4. Baihebu Reservoir 5. Ming Tombs Reservoir

nology and produces favourable economic results.

Chen Jinhua, former Deputy Mayor of Shanghai and now General Manager of the corporation, told the inauguration meeting that the corporation has fixed assets of 17,900 million yuan (or US\$8,950 million) and a total of 470,000 workers and staff. It is one of the biggest economic entity in the country.

The corporation will accelerate the construction of 13 key petrochemical projects that have been listed on the state plan. He said that an important policy of the corporation is to actively develop economic and trade relations with foreign countries through self-reliance. Based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, the corporation will expand industrial, economic and trade exchanges with various countries, promote economic relations and conduct technical exchanges and co-operation with foreign countries in accordance with China's foreign economic policies.

Li Renjun, adviser to the State Planning Commission, was named chairman of the board of directors of the China Petrochemical Corporation.

A survey ship completes mission

A Chinese survey ship returned to Shanghai on July 11 with large quantities of deep sea metallic nodules, the largest weighing 2.9 kilogrammes.

The 4,000-ton ship, designed and manufactured in China, left Shanghai on May 7 for two months of surveying and sample collection, covering a nodule-rich area of 800,000 square kilometres in the north Pacific

Ocean between 178 and 167 degrees west longitude and 7 and 13 degrees north latitude. This is the first time a Chinese ship has surveyed 4,000 nautical miles from the mainland.

Metallic nodules were first found by a British survey ship in the Pacific Ocean in 1873. The industrial countries have become more interested in this source of raw materials since the 1950s. There are bright prospects for the exploitation of deep sea nodule mines which contain more than 30 metals including manganese, copper, cobalt and nickel.

The United Nations Law of the Sea Convention signed in December 1982 stipulates that the international seabed and minerals and other riches on it are the common heritage of mankind under the administration of the International Seabed Authority. China is one of the signatory states of the law. More than 100 countries have made surveys of polymetallic nodules in the Pacific.

The Chinese ship also studied sedimentation, depth, hydrology, meteorology, gravity and magnetic force during its expedition.

Participating in the survey were 131 persons who fought wind and waves, sweltering heat and seasickness on the voyage. Eight were cited as first-class workers and 24 won the title of advanced workers at the end of the survey.

Chinese nurse wins Nightingale Medal

Wang Xiuying, Vice-President of the Chinese Nursing Association, was recently awarded a Florence Nightin-

Nightingale Medal

Florence Nightingale (1820-1910), a British nurse, is universally regarded as the founder of nursing as a profession.

The Nightingale Medal is the highest international honour for outstanding Red Cross nurses, assistant nurses and other nursing workers (including those who have died at their posts). The medal was first discussed at the London Conference of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1907. In 1912, two years after Nightingale's death, the Ninth International Red Cross Conference held in Washington formally decided to issue the medal. The medal is awarded once every two years and the funds are contributed by the Red Cross Societies of all the participating countries.

gale Medal by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Wang, 75, is the first winner of the medal in China since the founding of the People's Republic. She began her nursing career in 1931, specializing in maternity and child hygiene, public health and household nursing as well as nurses' training. Today her students work all over China and the world.

She has been the Vice-President of the Chinese Nursing Association since 1950. She also established *The Chinese Nursing Magazine* and has made great contributions to exchanging nursing experiences and popularizing nursing knowledge.

On the afternoon of July 11, Deng Yingchao, Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Honorary President of the Chinese Nursing Association, presented Wang Xiuying the 29th Nightingale Medal and a certificate of merit. Many of those who attended the cere-



Deng Yingchao (right) presents the Nightingale Medal to Wang Xiuying.

mony were Wang's former students.

Wang told the meeting that she was greatly elated and felt she owed the honour to the diligent work and devotion of all Chinese nursing workers. She said that she would like to share this international honour with all those who have made outstanding contributions to the work of nursing.

The medal also was awarded to 35 nurses in 20 other countries this year.

China now has 560,000 nurses and nurses aides.

Antigua, Barbuda Prime Minister's visit

Premier Zhao Ziyang said that the Chinese Government and people attach great importance to developing friendly relations with the Caribbean countries and that "China is ready to develop economic and

technological co-operation with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, so that they can help each other, supply each other's needs and make progress together."

Zhao said this at the banquet he gave on July 21 in honour of Prime Minister Vere Cornwall Bird of Antigua and Barbuda.

Prime Minister Bird arrived in Beijing on July 21 for a good-

will visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

In his speech at the banquet, Prime Minister Bird said that his visit was the first of many steps to strengthen the ties of friendship. "I am sure that each subsequent step will serve to bring us closer together in a spirit of genuine co-operation," he said.

During talks with Prime Minister Bird, Premier Zhao spoke highly of the increasingly great role Antigua and Barbuda has played in the international arena since winning independence, particularly in the Caribbean region. The two leaders discussed bilateral relations and international issues of common concern in a sincere and friendly atmosphere.

President Li Xiannian, meeting with Prime Minister Bird on July 23, said that Central America should rid itself of the interference of the superpowers, and that Central American issues should be settled by the Central American people themselves.



Beijing children give Prime Minister Bird a rousing welcome.

New US arms sale to Taiwan protested

The Chinese Ambassador to the United States, Zhang Wenjin, lodged a strong protest on July 22 with the US State Department against the latest US arms sale to Taiwan worth US\$530 million.

He said that this, the second largest arms deal between the US and Taiwan since the Chinese and US sides reached agreement on the August 17 Joint Communiqué, "aroused the grave concern of the Chinese side."

As a result of this sale, he said, the figure of US arms sale to Taiwan this fiscal year will obviously exceed the level of those supplied in recent years. He pointed out that of the three types of anti-aircraft missiles the US plans to sell to Taiwan this time, except the Chaparral, the Sparrow and the Standard have never been provided to Taiwan before and are qualitatively more advanced than similar types of missiles which are already in Taiwan's inventory.

"This is an open violation of the solemn commitment the US has made in the August 17 Joint Communiqué, i.e., US arms sale to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States and will gradually be reduced," he said.

"The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the US Government against this act which seriously contravenes the above agreement," said the Ambassador.

Zhang Wenjin pointed out that in its clarification, the US

Government stated that it did not intend to discuss with the Chinese Government item by item the qualities of the weapons that are to be sold to Taiwan and said that the US will make no further clarifications. He said this attitude is totally unacceptable to the Chinese Government. He pointed out that "the qualities of important weapon systems are a criterion of the entire supply level of armaments. If there is no examination of the qualities of specific items, then the statement that US arms sales will not exceed in qualitative terms the level of those supplied in recent years will become unverifiable empty talk."

The Ambassador said: "We reiterate that the US Government should carry out its commitment, strictly abide by the provisions of the August 17 Communiqué concerning limitations on the quality and quantity of the sale of US arms to Taiwan and, in accordance with the principles agreed upon in the communiqué, strictly keep the amount of its arms sales to Taiwan below the level of those supplied in recent years and, markedly reduce such sales year by year and withdraw all plans for selling to Taiwan any weapons which qualitatively exceed those already possessed by Taiwan."

Economic relations with other nations

France will help establish a French language training centre in Xian to train specialists in agriculture and food industry and technicians to operate equipment made by France, said French Minister of Agriculture Michel Rocard at a press conference on July 15 in Beijing. He

also said that France will help set up three breweries in China.

Rocard arrived in Beijing on July 8 at the invitation of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery to attend the Multi-National Food Processing Machinery Exhibition in Beijing and pay a friendly visit to China.

A summary of talks was signed by He Kang, Chinese Minister of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery, and Michel Rocard on July 15.

The summary noted that there has been a stable development in agrotechnical exchanges and co-operation between China and France since 1978. The two countries have shared experience and strengthened co-operation through the exchange of study missions by experts, and exchanges of documents and animal and genetic resources.

* * *

An Agreement for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion With Respect to Taxes on Income Between the Governments of China and Japan was initialled in Beijing on July 15 after five rounds of talks.

The first such agreement China has initialled with a foreign country, it will help expand economic and technical co-operation and increase exchanges of personnel between China and Japan.

* * *

Japan will extend to China a new loan of 69 billion yen (US\$290 million) in 1983, according to notes exchanged between the two governments.

The notes were signed by State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian and Japanese Ambassador to China Yasue Katori in Beijing on July 19.

Viet Nam

Nguyen Co Thach's 'flexibility'

THE key to a solution to the Kampuchean problem is to implement the relevant UN resolutions and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea which call for withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. This is the common view of the world community and the just stand of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

But the Vietnamese authorities resent the world community and ASEAN because of their adherence to the UN resolutions. Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has time and again alleged that Hanoi has already showed "flexibility" on the solution of the Kampuchean issue. But facts prove that the Vietnamese authorities have always taken an obstinate, inflexible stand on the UN resolutions.

Inflexible Stand

Hanoi has stated that it is prepared to keep its troops in Kampuchea five, 10 or 20 years if necessary. Viet Nam clearly intends to perpetuate its military occupation of Kampuchea and thus demands that the world community show "flexibility" by stepping back from the principled stand, by accepting Viet Nam's "partial troop withdrawal" instead of insisting on its total pull-out, and by accepting conditional withdrawal instead of demanding unconditional withdrawal.

The Vietnamese authorities have in the past few years made several "partial troop withdrawal" announcements. However, the fact is that every

time it announced a "partial troop withdrawal" Hanoi merely pulled out some tired or unreliable troops, and then sent in more reinforcements. That is why Viet Nam today still has a huge army in Kampuchea.

It is obvious that to accept Viet Nam's "partial troop withdrawal" would be tantamount to accepting its indefinite military occupation of Kampuchea.

Hanoi's Demands

Moreover, Viet Nam has set a number of preconditions for its troop withdrawal.

First, Viet Nam has said that it would not pull out its troops from Kampuchea without the removal of the "China threat." The so-called "China threat" is absolutely non-existent. There is not a single Chinese soldier in Kampuchea. China has no military bases of any kind in

Indochina. China, together with the ASEAN States, has supported the Kampuchean patriotic forces in their resistance against Viet Nam's aggression and expansion in Indochina and the Southeast Asian region with the backing of the Soviet Union. The attempt to substitute the non-existent "China threat" for the real threat posed by Viet Nam in the Southeast Asian region is one of Hanoi's schemes to divert attention and sow discord between China and ASEAN.

Second, Viet Nam will not withdraw unilaterally. As all know, at present, apart from the 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, no other countries have any troops there. It is ridiculous for Viet Nam to refuse to pull out its troops and to demand a troop withdrawal by countries which have no troops in Kampuchea.

Third, Viet Nam insists that the security of all the Indochinese countries must be guaran-



Beware of the pickpocket!

by Gen Hua

teed before its troops will be withdrawn.

It is Hanoi's aggression in Kampuchea and its invitation of Soviet military forces into the region that have undermined the security and stability in Indochina. To solve the security problem of the region, first of all, the Vietnamese authorities must pull out all their troops from Kampuchea and end their aggression and military occupation of Kampuchea. After that, under the guarantee of the international community, Kampuchea can become a peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. The Vietnamese precondition is actually an attempt to

demand that the international community stop its support to the Kampuchean patriotic resistance forces, guarantee the security of the Heng Samrin regime and accept the fait accompli of the Vietnamese occupation.

Flexibility is needed in the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, but it must not mean abandoning principles. Flexibility at the expense of principles would only benefit the Vietnamese aggression and expansion, to the detriment of the national interests of Kampuchea and of the peace and stability of Southeast Asia, Asia and the Pacific region and the world.

— Tang Tianri

Lebanon

Israel moves to prolong occupation

THE decision by the Israeli cabinet on July 20 to re-deploy its 25,000 troops in Lebanon bears the semblance of a withdrawal, but actually by evacuating to the Awali River from the battle-ridden Aley and Shouf Mountains the Israelis are attempting to prolong their occupation of southern Lebanon.

The decision just shows the hollowness of the Israeli commitment to the Lebanese-Israeli troop withdrawal accord. A review of the events of the past several years shows that the Begin regime is trying to revive the old expansionist dream of building a great Israeli empire. On February 3, 1919, the World Zionist Organization presented a memorandum to the peace conference at Versailles. The document defined the boundaries of a proposed Jewish state as embracing the area near Saida along the Mediterranean to the north, extending east-

wards along the mountain ranges of Lebanon and south to Jebel Esh Sheikh on the Lebanese border. The current Israeli plan for redeployment coincides exactly with the designs drawn by the old Zionists over 60 years ago.

Because of its rich fertile soil and irrigation potential, southern Lebanon has long been coveted by the Israelis. Since 1941, certain Jewish businesses have failed to secure privileges to Lebanon's water resources despite their varied tactics and excuses. Now Israel not only controls Lebanon's southern rivers, but also Jebel Esh Sheikh, the mountain from which all these rivers originate.

In carrying out its designs, the Israeli government has resorted to a handy pretext—security considerations. However, even Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens admitted that the redeployment would not

mean fewer "terrorist attacks." From this it can be safely inferred that the so-called "security consideration" is not the factor motivating the partial troop withdrawal of the Israelis.

The Israeli policy towards southern Lebanon can be summed up like this: Annex when possible, or prolong occupation when conditions for annexation are not ripe. Therefore, its partial troop withdrawal designed to perpetuate its occupation of southern Lebanon is not a positive step towards the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from this war-torn country.

The people of Lebanon know this all too well. Referring to the Begin cabinet's decision on redeployment, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel on July 20 in Washington declared that Israel's decision is a "de facto partition" of Lebanon and must be firmly rejected.

"Lebanon will not be divided, because the Lebanese people do not want to be divided," he was quoted as saying.

— Yu Kaiyuan

Poland

State of siege comes to an end

MARTIAL law was lifted throughout Poland on July 22, the 39th anniversary of the country's national day.

The Polish National Assembly (Sejm) on July 21 unanimously adopted a resolution approving the decision of the Council of State to end the state of siege. The Polish parliament on the same day adopted amendments to the Constitution, empowering the Council of State and its Chairman to declare "a

state of emergency" when the country faces internal or external threats.

Martial law was imposed on December 13, 1981. Since then the Polish Government has gradually brought the situation under control. Although the underground organizations of the Solidarity trade union held more than 10 demonstrations and strikes, these did not create any serious problems nationally. The two years of sharp decreases in industrial production were restrained step by step and production has begun to pick up since last August.

Despite the sanctions and internal disturbances during the martial law, Poland has shown it has the strength to defend itself and its social and economic policies, said Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State.

Therefore, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, announced to the Sejm on July 21 that the Polish Military Council of National Salvation, formed on the eve of the declaration of martial law, had been dissolved.

However, the social disturbances of the last two years and mistakes committed by the former Polish leaders have created economic difficulties for the Polish Government. The Polish Government has applied strong economic reform measures to turn the national economy around. If the present reforms achieve their expected results they will contribute further to increasing the stability of Poland.

—Ren Yan

that if OPEC could not preserve its internal unity or its external unity with other third world oil-producing nations, a worldwide oil price war would probably result. These fears, however, were soon laid to rest when on July 18 the oil ministers of the 13 OPEC countries — Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Venezuela — agreed to maintain the existing production quota and price. This decision was conditioned by five factors.

Five Factors

Firstly, there exists a relative balance between supply and demand in the current world oil market. Therefore, to quote OPEC's former president Yaya-ha Dikko, OPEC wants "to consolidate our present position and ensure that the restoration of stability is permanent and not fleeting."

Secondly, the Western industrialized nations, who buy most of OPEC oil, are experiencing a slow economic recovery. A stable OPEC price and production would enable OPEC to maintain an upward demand for oil.

Thirdly, OPEC is benefiting from a strong US dollar, which guarantees more income for OPEC countries without raising the price of oil.

Fourthly, non-OPEC countries have begun to show a willingness to co-operate with OPEC. Mexico, a non-OPEC oil exporter and top supplier of US oil imports, sent a senior government official to the Helsinki OPEC meeting as an observer.

OPEC

Keeping world oil market stable

BY deciding to maintain its production quota of crude oil at 17.5 million barrels per day and the benchmark price at US\$29 a barrel, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has made another important contribution towards stabilizing the world oil market and promoting economic recovery in the world.

Price War Averted

OPEC made its first contribution last March when, after seven days of intensive consultations in London, its members agreed to lower the price and limit production so as to avert a price war in view of a worldwide oil glut.

Since the London OPEC ministerial meeting, however, the world market has remained unstable because economic recovery in the Western industrialized countries has been very slow and there has been no sign of a significant increase in the demand for oil in the world market. This, plus the fact that conflicts and differences among the oil-producing countries still remained and the Western oil monopolies were continuing to sell off their oil stockpiles, put a great strain on the unity of the OPEC members.

Before the recent OPEC ministerial meeting in Helsinki, many were concerned for the future of OPEC. They feared

Last but not least, all OPEC members are observing their London accord. Mani Said Oteiba, president of the OPEC meeting and UAE Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, said all violations of the accord were minor, "were not even worth discussing."

The success of the Helsinki OPEC ministerial meeting was due mainly to all OPEC members being able to give first

consideration to the overall situation, to their unity and joint actions to stabilize the world oil market. This spirit of solidarity and co-operation and readiness to co-ordinate their interests is essential not only for OPEC efforts to maintain a stable world oil market but for the efforts of third world countries to establish a new international economic order.

— Duan Ping

Contadora Group

Another important effort for peace

ADDRESSING the deteriorating situation in Central America, the presidents of the four Contadora countries — Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela — held a one-day summit in Cancun on July 17 and issued a final document, "Cancun Declaration on Peace in Central America." The Declaration reiterated the basic principles of the right of self-determination and opposition to any foreign aggression and intervention. It also called for the withdrawal of foreign advisers, and an end to the arms race, arms trafficking and all forms of interference in the domestic affairs of the Central American countries.

The summit of the Contadora nations constituted a significant step towards a peaceful solution to Central American conflicts.

Root Cause of Turmoil

There are many factors contributing to the rapidly deteriorating situation in Central America today. The people in the region have strong feelings for democracy and social reforms and against dictatorships because they have long suffered from domination by imperialists and oligarchies. The

oligarchies have brutally suppressed the growing national democratic movements. The contradiction between the oligarchic forces and the people is the root cause of the turmoil in Central America.

What makes matters even more serious now is the intervention by external forces in the internal affairs of Central American countries. One superpower is trying to use the national democratic movements to expand its own influence in the region, while the other claims that the just struggles of the Central American people for living rights and political reforms pose a "threat" to its "security and prosperity."

The superpower intervention has increased tensions in Central America by turning internal problems of individual countries into regional confrontations.

Recently, foreign interference in Central America has increased greatly. Washington has given more and more military aid to El Salvador and Honduras.

US President Ronald Reagan on July 18 announced the creation of a bipartisan national commission on Central America

to consider long-term US policy for the troubled region. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was named to head the commission. Reagan is clearly making strong efforts to save his Central American policy which has been criticized by some Congressmen and condemned by many countries.

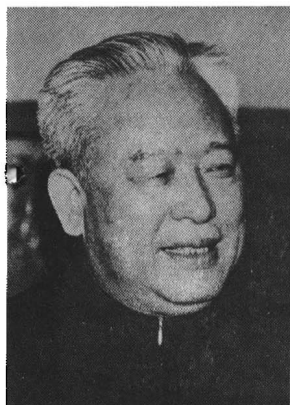
New US Moves

Recently, the United States has dispatched an eight-warship battle group led by the aircraft carrier *Ranger* to the Pacific Ocean off the western coast of Central America and another aircraft carrier-led battle group to the Caribbean for military exercises. These US moves have met strong criticism from Latin American countries.

China has always maintained that the people of Central America should be allowed to solve their own problems and that outside interference of all kinds must be opposed. China also opposes the superpowers' attempt to bring Central America within the orbit of their global rivalry. The Chinese people hope that the Central American countries will respect each other's sovereignty, uphold the principles of non-interference and settle their conflicts and disputes through peaceful consultations, in the spirit of the Contadora Group's Cancun Declaration.

The Contadora Group's efforts have been supported and praised by the international community and especially by the Latin American countries. Those countries which have ties with Central America have offered promises of support. The Chinese people hope that the Contadora Group's appeal will be accepted by the parties concerned, and that outside interference will be halted.

— Zhong Tai



Modernization of National Defence And Building of People's Army

—Interview with Yu Qiuli

August 1 this year is the 56th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In a recent interview with "Beijing Review" Correspondent, Yu Qiuli, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and of the Central Military Commission of the PRC, and head of the General Political Department of the PLA, discussed the construction of China's national defence and the building of a modern regular revolutionary army. — Ed.

Question: What is China's aim in modernizing its national defence? What is the difference between China's modernization of her national defence and the armaments race of the superpowers?

Answer: China is a peace-loving developing socialist country which requires a relatively long period of peace to build itself up. However, in this tumultuous world, China's security is seriously threatened and neither state independence nor smooth progress for socialist modernization can be guaranteed without a modern national defence and a strong people's army. The modernization of China's national defence conforms not only to the interests of the Chinese people, but also to those of the world's people.

China always has opposed the armaments race between the superpowers because it seriously threatens world peace. The aim of the superpowers' armaments race is for each to become the overlord of the world. The aim of China's modernization of its national defence is to improve its defence capacity under the conditions of modern warfare, to safeguard national security, to guard against foreign invasion and to maintain world peace.

The superpowers have spent large sum of money on developing attack weapons, long-range weapons and their carriers. Proceeding from a need to consolidate its national defence, China emphasizes the development of conven-

tional weapons. However, to break down the nuclear monopoly and to guard against nuclear attack, we also are developing some nuclear and other sophisticated weapons. The Chinese Government repeatedly has stated that China will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, nor will it use nuclear weapons against countries that do not have such weapons.

China's socialist nature and her purpose for establishing the people's army have determined that she will never seek hegemony, never be a superpower and never invade any other country. China has not a single military base abroad and has not sent a single soldier to any other country. Neither has she entered into any military alliance or signed any military treaty with any country against a third country.

From what I have said, it is clear that there is an essential difference between China's aim in modernizing its national defence and the armaments race of the superpowers.

Q: What progress has the Chinese People's Liberation Army made in becoming a modern regular revolutionary army?

A: Tremendous progress has been made in this field since the Third Plenum of the Party's 11th Central Committee in December 1978, especially since Comrade Deng Xiaoping began to preside over the work of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee in June 1981. Its main manifestations are:

1. Remarkable achievements have been made in enhancing the commanders' and fighters' political consciousness and their understanding of Party and government policies. The PLA emphasizes ideological education and its commanders and fighters have been studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the Party's political line and policies. This ensures the ideological and political identity between the army and the Party Central Committee, thus guaranteeing the whole army's

highly concentrated unity under the Party and state leadership.

2. The army has made new improvements in its military capabilities and has increased its capability to conduct operations by combined army units. In the past few years, the PLA has organized training for middle-level and higher ranking officers in commanding a campaign and tactical and technical training of troops in the light of modern warfare. This has effectively improved the organizing and commanding capability of the officers and the army's militancy.

3. The army has exerted great efforts to streamline its organizational structure and reorganize itself. In accordance with the planning of the Military Commission, we have simplified the administrative structure and reduced the number of staff so that the army has become more streamlined. The organization and command of troops have moved a step forward towards combined arms units. The PLA has assigned well-educated, young, capable people loyal to the Party, the motherland and the people and with professional knowledge to leading posts at various levels. This means a step towards having an officers corps that is revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent.

4. The PLA's conventional weaponry has improved measurably. Scientific research related to national defence and the development of sophisticated weapons have forged ahead.

5. New progress has been made in building the PLA into regular armed forces. Regular training and the implementation of various rules and regulations have strengthened almost every unit. The PLA's militancy and sense of organization and discipline have been enhanced.

6. Gratifying achievements have been gained in building socialist spiritual civilization throughout the army. Massive education in patriotism and communist ideology has been conducted among the troops. A large group of models and advanced collectives have come to the fore. Army leaders have emphasized the study of science and raising the general educational level of the rank-and-file. They have made efforts to train people who are able to fight and to work for socialist construction.

7. The logistics department also has had some successes. In the last few years, the PLA has strengthened its logistics work and improved its ability to provide comprehensive supplies.

The logistics department has displayed the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. It has practised economy, broadened its sources of income, and reduced expenditures, and has improved management so as to exert maximum efficiency over limited funds and use funds and materials in a more reasonable way. All this ensures the fulfilment of the army's many tasks.

8. The unity between the army and the civil authorities, the army and people and within the army itself has been greatly strengthened. The PLA has taken an active part in rescue and relief work, assisting the construction of public facility projects. Under the unified leadership of the local Party and government, the whole PLA has joined the civilians in building socialist spiritual civilization, thus cementing the relationships between the army and the government and between the army and the civilians. Both commanders and fighters, and old and new officers are making concerted efforts to contribute to building a modern regular revolutionary people's army.

All of these achievements have laid a good foundation for the army to make new breakthroughs.

The series of theses on army building in the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* are guiding principles for building a people's army during the new historical period. The whole army is now studying these in the light of their actual situations. We firmly believe that with the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, the concerted efforts of the commanders and fighters and the concern and support of the people throughout the country, we are able to build the PLA into a powerful, modern, regular and revolutionary army.

Q: How can the army modernize its weapons and equipment given that the national economy is being adjusted and that national defence funds have been reduced?

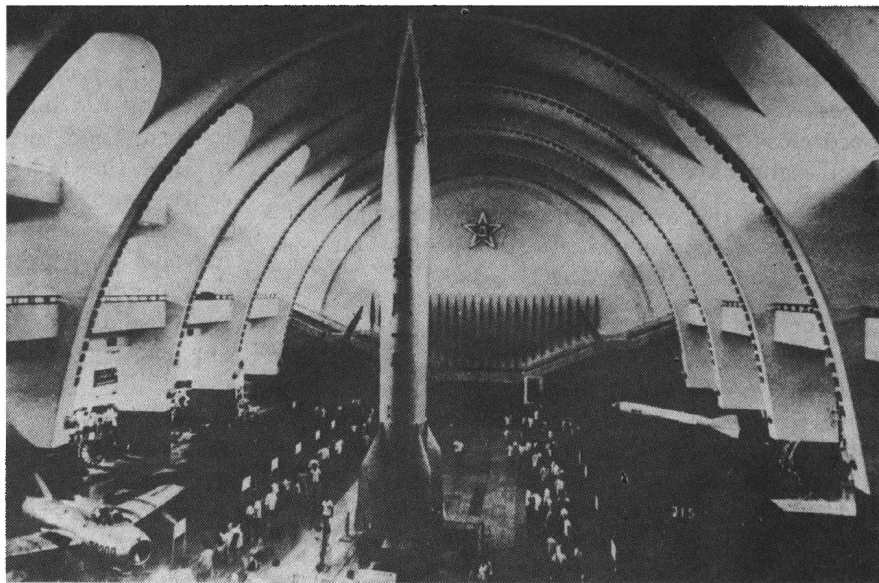
A: We believe that the most fundamental factors in determining the defeat or victory in war are the nature of war and the desires of the people. This will not change although future warfare may have many different characteristics and there will be new developments in weaponry and equipment. Therefore, we still believe in people's war and will enrich our concepts about it in the light of the characteristics of new warfare so as to win victories against

invasion. On the other hand, we do not deny the role of advanced weaponry and equipment in determining the progress of and the defeat or victory in war, and are thus exerting efforts to modernize the weapons and equipment of the PLA. Given that the national economy is being adjusted and national defence funds have been reduced, we will, first, effectively streamline the army's administrative structure and reorganize the army so as to use the money thus saved to improve our weapons and equipment; and second, we will, with the limited funds allocated by the state, make careful calculations and strict budgets and practise economy so as to concentrate our labour force, funds and materials on research and development of the most needed weapons and equipment.

The fundamental method for modernizing weapons and equipment is to rely on our own efforts, on the development of our own defence industry and scientific research into national defence. We also will introduce some advanced techniques from abroad under certain conditions, but the possibilities are very limited. We have never pinned our hopes for modernizing our military equipment on imports. China is a big country with a big army. We cannot afford to buy all the weapons we need. Even if we could afford it, it is hard to acquire really advanced weapons of important military value. We will rely on our own efforts to modernize our national defence. The Chinese people have been proved capable of conducting research into and manufacture of modern weapons and equipment.

Q: During the revolutionary wars, the army and people were as close as fish and water. How has this relationship developed during the period of peaceful construction?

A: Since the founding of the People's Republic, many army units have entered the cities and moved into barracks. Their contacts with the masses have become relatively less frequent. Moreover, many forms through which the army



Towards modernization of national defence — arms displayed at the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution in Beijing.

contacted the masses during the revolutionary wars have become unsuitable today. The "cultural revolution" further damaged the army's relations with the civil authorities and the people, and in some places the relations between the army and people became quite tense during those days. Today, we have seriously summed up our experiences and lessons and eliminated the influences of "Left" mistakes. We also have begun to pay much heed to the opinions of the local governments and the people, with a view to improving our work. By plunging itself into the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations, the army now enjoys greater prestige among the masses.

Since 1979, the army has contributed 100 million workdays to assisting socialist construction in various places and has provided disaster relief on more than 5,000 occasions. Last year, it participated in the construction of public facility undertakings and in dangerous or difficult jobs, numbering 19,000 in total. The many good turns done by the army for local governments and the masses have quickly eliminated the gaps between the army and the civilians, and the war-time close fish-and-water relations have been revived.

Since last year, the army has developed frequent contacts with more than 50,000 units in different localities and have joined the masses in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Under the leadership of local Party committees and governments, the soldiers and civilians have worked together to improve social conduct

through popularizing new social morality as well as scientific and cultural knowledge. As a result, profound changes have been brought about across the country. These actions have developed close relations between the army and the people and have also promoted army building.

Q: How is the army building a contingent of younger, better educated and professionally more knowledgeable cadres?

A: For historical reasons, many of our army cadres' general educational level is fairly low. This is incompatible with the modernization of our national defence. Thus, we have introduced various measures to improve the scientific and general educational level of our cadres. At present, we pay particular attention to training younger cadres who have already acquired some scientific and professional knowledge.

In recent years we have made many efforts to promote younger cadres. Many veterans have withdrawn from the forefront and a great number of outstanding young cadres with political consciousness and cultural and professional knowledge have been promoted to leading posts at various levels.

We have made it a rule that cadres above the platoon level must have received a college education. We have methodically selected a number of promising young cadres and soldiers and sent them to study or receive training in colleges or other schools. We also have enrolled, through examinations, a number of high school or college graduates. After training, these young people will become officers or will take part in the scientific research of national defence or other technical work.

We also attach importance to on-the-job training of the cadres. They are sent to short-term training courses, radio and television colleges, spare-time colleges, correspondence colleges and other forms of schools to receive general education or technical training.

Q: How does the People's Liberation Army train draftees under the new circumstances?

A: Comrade Deng Xiaoping told a full session of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee in 1977 that the army should become a big school and our education and training should be geared to giving each soldier several skills. After training, our soldiers should have acquired the abilities to fight and to work for socialist construction. Deng's words have charted the route for our draftee training.

Besides military and political training, we also have organized scientific and cultural training with a view to turning our officers and rank-and-file into capable contributors both to the army and the country. Our training seeks to link the individual interests of the army cadres and soldiers with the interests of their families and society as well as with army building and the country's construction. This is not only beneficial to army building but also helps to infuse a large number of capable people into our country's socialist construction.

Q: What do you think of the stipulation in the new Constitution on the founding of the state Central Military Commission? What is its significance to the army construction?

A: Since the founding of the People's Republic, the People's Liberation Army has become the national army and an important component of the state apparatus. The article on the Central Military Commission in the chapter on the structure of the state in the new Constitution adopted in December last year is an important new stipulation on the state system and on the system of army leadership. It also has identified the position of the armed forces in the state system.

The establishment of the state Central Military Commission is consistent with the Party's leadership over the armed forces. As General Secretary Hu Yaobang said in his report to the 12th National Party Congress in September 1982: "The Central Committee will continue to exercise leadership over our armed forces through the state Central Military Commission which is due to be set up. We must stick to the successful practices which the Party has long followed in leading the armed forces. This conforms to the supreme interests of the whole nation." The establishment of the Central Military Commission is absolutely necessary to improving the system of the state, for it incorporates the system of army leadership into the system of state leadership. This is conducive to developing the roles of the state machine and strengthening the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of our army. It also allows our army to switch to a war-time system of leadership when necessary and helps it increase its capacity to react promptly and effectively to any unexpected incident. This is most advantageous to protecting the security of the state. □



Interview With Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian

State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian's exclusive interview with "Beijing Review" took place on July 23, two days before he left Beijing to visit Pakistan and Thailand. — Ed.

Question: Is your coming trip to Pakistan just a protocol visit to return the visit to China by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, or does it have some specific objective?

Answer: Since becoming Foreign Minister I have received repeated invitations from Pakistan Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan. This will be my first official goodwill visit to Pakistan. China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours and the leaders of our two countries frequently exchange visits and constantly exchange views on international and regional affairs as well as on bilateral relations. This helps to steadily deepen mutual understanding and co-operation between our two countries. During my visit to Pakistan, I shall have a full exchange of views with Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan on further strengthening Sino-Pakistan relations and on major international issues of mutual concern, such as the attempt to find a just settlement of the Afghanistan problem. I hope my visit will contribute to consolidating and developing Sino-Pakistan friendship.

Q: What do you think of recent United Nations efforts to mediate a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem?

A: Soviet armed intervention and military occupation of Afghanistan seriously violates the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles of international relations. The key to a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem is for the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The UN Secretary-General's representative, Diego Cordovez, has made great efforts to seek a political settlement, but the key to a political settlement — Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan — has still not been accepted.

Q: Do you think there is any change in the new Soviet leaders' policy towards Afghanistan?

A: I have not yet seen any change in Soviet policy towards Afghanistan.

Q: What do you think of Pakistan's efforts to settle the Afghanistan problem?

A: I support and applaud the Pakistan Government's efforts to uphold justice and adhere to principle on the Afghanistan problem. Pakistan has worked tirelessly for a just settlement of the Afghanistan problem on the basis of the United Nations resolution and has generously provided humanitarian aid to the nearly 3 million Afghan refugees who have fled to Pakistan.

Q: What is your main purpose in going to Thailand?

A: China and Thailand are good neighbours. Since the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1975, they have enjoyed constantly strengthened ties of friendship and co-operation. This is my first goodwill visit to Thailand and I go at the invitation of Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila. I intend to use this opportunity to exchange views with Foreign Minister Siddhi on international issues of mutual concern, particularly the question of Kampuchea. I believe my visit will help further the friendly relations between China and Thailand. This is not only in the common interests of the people of the two countries, but is also beneficial to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region.

Q: Do you think that anything new on the Kampuchean issue has appeared since the recent ASEAN conference of foreign ministers? How would you evaluate the role of the ASEAN countries, Thailand in particular, in maintaining peace in Southeast Asia and in finding a solution to the Kampuchean question?

A: We appreciate the positive results the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Conference achieved. But, as Viet Nam has clung to its intransigent stand and refused to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea, I don't think the Kampuchean situation has changed. It must be acknowledged that on the question of Kampuchea, Thailand

and the other ASEAN countries have always upheld justice and defended the UN Charter and the norms of international relations by demanding that Viet Nam implement the relevant resolutions of the UN General Assembly sessions and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea and pull out all its troops from Kampuchea. The ASEAN nations have played an important role in seeking a just and reasonable solution to the Kampuchean problem and in safeguarding peace and security in the Southeast Asian region. Currently, however, the crux of the matter lies in the fact that a huge Vietnamese army still occupies Kampuchea, and without a solution to this problem it will be impossible to make any further progress towards a political settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Q: Viet Nam's Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has alleged time and again that "the Kampuchean question is one between China and Viet Nam." Would you comment on this view?

A: As everyone knows, the heart of the Kampuchean issue is the fact that Viet Nam is an aggressor and that Kampuchea is the victim of Viet Nam's aggression. The Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, which has lasted for more than four years now, poses a grave threat to the security of the ASEAN countries and jeopardizes peace in the Asian and Pacific

region and the world. China, together with the ASEAN and all other peace-loving countries, supports the Kampuchean people in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression solely for the purpose of maintaining the principle that a country's sovereignty is inviolable and preserving peace and stability in Southeast Asia and safeguarding world peace. In distorting the nature of the Kampuchean question, Viet Nam has attempted to cover up its crimes of aggression, divert the attention of the world community and sow discord between China and the ASEAN countries.

Q: Some have expressed the hope that China would demonstrate "flexibility" on the Kampuchean question and that it should hold talks with Viet Nam. What would you say to this?

A: If Viet Nam commits itself to unconditionally withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea and takes actions to that end, China will be willing to enter into negotiations with it on the normalization of relations between the two countries. The Chinese Foreign Ministry in March this year issued a statement explaining our stand and proposals on the improvement of Sino-Vietnamese relations. But up till now it has not yet received serious consideration or a positive response from the Vietnamese authorities. □

Suggestions on the Drafting of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China"

(March 1980-June 1981)

Deng Xiaoping

This is an unofficial translation of the second and concluding part of an article from the recently published "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." The first part was published in our last issue. — Ed.

V

IT is my opinion that we can settle for this outline of the draft resolution.

We all agree that we achieved great successes during the first seven years after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The socialist transformation in our country was a remarkable success, and it represents a major contribution to Marxism-Leninism by Comrade Mao Zedong. Even today, it is still necessary to explicate the theory of those achievements. Needless to say, there were also short-

comings. Sometimes we were a bit hasty in our work in some areas.

Our work in the 10 years before the "cultural revolution" should be affirmed as it was, in general, good. During these 10 years we progressed rather steadily. Despite the fact that we suffered setbacks and even made mistakes during that period, our achievements were the dominant feature of our work. At that time, the hearts of the Party and the masses were linked, so the Party had high prestige among the masses. The mood of society was good, and the vast numbers of cadres and the broad masses of the people were in high spirits. Therefore, although there were difficulties, we were able to get through them rather smoothly. There were problems in our economy, but on the whole it made much progress. While fully affirming our achievements, we must also discuss in the resolution such mistakes as our struggle against Rightists, the "great leap forward" and the Lushan Meeting. Generally speaking, these mistakes were due to our inexperience, and of course, our failure to remain prudent after winning the victory also played a part. It goes without saying that Comrade Mao Zedong was chiefly responsible for those mistakes, for which he once made self-criticism and took the responsibility. When all these points are clearly set forth, the draft can then move on to write about the evolution of "Left" ideology and how it led eventually to the outbreak of the "cultural revolution."

The section dealing with the "cultural revolution" should be written in broad outline. I am in favour of Comrade Hu Qiaomu's views. In comparison with the mistakes in the 17 years preceding it, the "cultural revolution" was a grave error affecting the overall situation. Its consequences were so serious that their influence still lingers today. The "cultural revolution" was said to have made one generation of our people feel lost. In fact, it has made more than one generation feel lost. During the "cultural revolution" anarchism and extreme individualism ran wild which seriously poisoned the ethical standards of society. However, there also existed healthy aspects in that decade. The so-called "February adverse current"²⁶, was not an adverse current at all, but a correct movement which repeatedly waged struggle against Lin Biao and the gang of four.

Comrade Hu Yaobang has suggested that after the draft is completed, go and hear what veteran cadres and statesmen including Comrades Huang Kecheng and Li Weiha have to

say. This is a good suggestion and I am in favour of it.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group of the resolution on the Party's history on March 18, 1981)

VI

I WENT to see Comrade Chen Yun the day before yesterday. He made two more suggestions for the revision of the draft resolution. One is that a review of the Party's history before the liberation and of the Party's 60 years since its founding should be added to the draft. With this review, the summing-up of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and contributions will be more comprehensive, and the establishment of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and the upholding and development of Mao Zedong Thought will rest on a comprehensive basis. This is a very good suggestion. Please convey it to the drafting group. The other is that the Central Committee should encourage people to study, particularly Marxist philosophy with emphasis on Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works. Comrade Chen Yun said that he benefited a lot from studying these works. Comrade Mao Zedong told him on three occasions that he must study philosophy. When he was in Yanan, he earnestly read over all the works by Comrade Mao Zedong, and that had a great influence on his later work. Many of our cadres don't understand philosophy yet and very much need to improve their way of thinking and working. Works such as *On Practice*, *On Contradiction*, *On Protracted War*, *Problems of War and Strategy*, *On Coalition Government* and others should be selected and published as a collection. We also need to select some works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In a word, it is essential to study Marxist philosophy. It is also necessary to study some history. Young people don't know our history, especially that of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party. Please report these suggestions to Comrade Hu Yaobang. The sections in the resolution on the Party's history which deal with Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to Marxist philosophy should be of richer and more substantial content. The idea of encouraging people to study should be included in the concluding section.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group of the resolution on the Party's history on March 26, 1981)

VII

SEVERAL rounds of discussions on the draft resolution have already been held. During the discussions many good suggestions were made which should be accepted. However, there were also suggestions that cannot be accepted. For instance, some suggested that the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee and the Ninth Party Congress²⁷ be declared illegal. If their legality is negated, it would be untenable for us to say that during the "cultural revolution" the Party was still functioning and the State Council and the People's Liberation Army were still able to do much of their essential work. Comrade Zhou Enlai explained the problems at the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee by pointing out that 10 members of the Party Central Committee had died, and the vacancies had been filled by 10 alternate members. Central Committee members present at the session thus totalled 50, that is to say, more than half of the members were present. He was in fact speaking about the legality issue. It is therefore not good to declare either the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee or the Ninth Party Congress illegal, taking into consideration the decision (a wise decision) made by Comrade Mao Zedong in Yanan on the legality issue of the provisional central leadership that was formed in Shanghai in 1931 and the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee which it subsequently convened²⁸. Some comrades argued that the Party ceased to exist during the "cultural revolution." It cannot be said so. Though the Party's regular activities stopped for a while, the Party still existed. Otherwise how could we have smashed the gang of four without firing a shot or shedding a drop of blood? So, during the "cultural revolution," the Party was still with us. If the legality of the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee and the Ninth Party Congress is denied, this is tantamount to saying that the Party ceased to exist for a period of time. This is not true.

During the "cultural revolution," we achieved much success in our relations with



Deng Xiaoping speaking at the meeting on the Party's theoretical work on March 30, 1979. Soong Ching Ling is on the left.

other countries. Though our country was rife with internal turmoil at the time, its standing as a big power was recognized worldwide and its international standing elevated. Kissinger²⁹ came to visit China in July 1971, and in October of that year, more than two-thirds of the member nations in the UN voted for the restoration of the lawful seat of the People's Republic of China in the UN, an event that made the US feel very much embarrassed. In February 1972, Nixon³⁰ visited China, and the Shanghai Communiqué was issued. In September, China and Japan restored diplomatic relations. In April 1974, I attended the Sixth UN Special Session, made a speech on behalf of our government, and was accorded a warm welcome. After the speech, representatives from many countries came up to shake hands with me. These are all facts.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group of the resolution on the Party's history on April 7, 1981)

VIII

WE have spent almost a year in drafting this document. Who knows how many times the draft has been revised? Four thousand people discussed the draft in October 1980 and made many good and important suggestions. On the basis of those discussions and the recently held discussion by some 40 people, the draft was repeatedly revised. More than 20 comrades worked really hard on it, and they have now settled for this draft.

Some comrades said in the past that we shouldn't rush the drafting of this resolution. I think we should hurry up with it because people are waiting for it. At home, people both inside and outside the Party are awaiting it. If we don't finish it now, unanimity of opinion on some major issues will be out of the question. The world is also awaiting this resolution. People are assessing the situation in China with some doubts about our stability and unity. Their doubts include whether or not we will be able to complete this resolution at all and whether we will be able to complete it soon. So it cannot be further delayed, for any further delay would not be good for us. Of course, what we want is a good draft. This draft, as far as I can see, can serve at least as a good foundation. Written from the perspective of the three basic requirements set down at the very beginning, this draft now conforms to those requirements.

In order to speed up work on the resolution, we cannot and need not hold another round of discussion by the group of 4,000 people. They have already aired their opinions, and this draft has been revised in accordance with their opinions to the extent possible. We now plan to hold an enlarged Political Bureau meeting of about 70 people, which will expend some time and energy scrutinizing and revising the draft so as to make it a still better draft and to finalize it. After it is put in final form, we will submit it to the Sixth Plenary Session. We envisage releasing it on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Party. I see no need to write anything else to mark the 60th anniversary. It is, of course, still necessary to organize some commemorative activities, but the release of this document should be the main event.

If this resolution still has a shortcoming, it is that it is a bit too long. We have tried to make it no longer than 20,000 characters, and then we set the limit at 25,000 characters. Now it has 28,000 characters. It seems that it doesn't matter to have 3,000 or 5,000 more characters. It's not necessary to cut it down inflexibly. Of course, if you can cut it down in some places in the course of discussion, so much the better.

This document was revised first on the basis of the discussion by 4,000 people and then on the basis of the recent discussion by some 40 comrades. Many good suggestions have been accepted. For instance, Comrade Chen Yun suggested that the resolution begin with a review of the history of the 28 years before

the founding of the People's Republic. That was a very important suggestion, and so now we have that review. There have been many other important revisions. You will immediately recognize those made as a result of the opinions you expressed. Of course, there are also suggestions which have not been accepted.

In a word, there are two issues at the heart of the matter. First, are Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions or his mistakes more significant? Second, during the past 32 years, especially the 10 years before the "cultural revolution," are our achievements or our mistakes more significant? Was the situation in those years primarily dark or bright? There is also a third question of whether Comrade Mao Zedong alone should be blamed for all the mistakes of the past or whether others should also share some responsibility. This draft says more than once that the Party Central Committee should be held responsible, and that other comrades should also take some responsibility. I think this conforms with the actual situation of that period. Fourth, although Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes, they are the mistakes of a great revolutionary and Marxist.

(Speech at the enlarged Political Bureau meeting of the Party Central Committee on May 19, 1981)

IX

ON the whole, this resolution is a good one, and this draft is a good draft. We said from the beginning that this resolution should hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and make a balanced, factual appraisal of the "cultural revolution" and Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and errors, so that it can play the same role as the 1945 resolution did, that is, summing up experience, unifying our thinking and uniting us as one in looking to the future. I think this draft can meet such requirements.

The work of drafting this resolution has been going on for more than a year now, during which time the resolution was first discussed by 4,000 people and then by several dozen people and the enlarged Political Bureau meeting. The current discussion at this preparatory meeting of the Sixth Plenary Session is the fourth round. I think we are being rather careful and serious about it.

How to assess Comrade Mao Zedong is the central issue. In this regard, the issue was



Deng Xiaoping talking with Zhou Jianren (middle), Chairman of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, and Ji Fang (right), Chairman of the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, at a tea party on February 5, 1981.

handled properly in the draft. For instance, we properly approached the issue of whether to categorize Comrade Mao Zedong's errors as relating to the Party line. We decided not to refer to them in that way, taking into consideration the fact that such expressions as "the struggle between the two lines" and "errors relating to the Party line" were used incorrectly, indiscriminately and too often in the past. With hindsight I think many cases in the Party's history of two-line struggles, as we used to call them, clearly cannot be established. Two of them ought to be completely reversed. They are the case of Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun³¹ and the case of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou³². The basic verdict in the case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi remains unchanged, but this case can hardly be categorized as a struggle between the two lines. Luo Zhanglong was said to have committed errors relating to the Party line, but frankly, I think this way of categorizing it fails to hit the nail on the head. What Luo Zhanglong actually did was to engage in factional strife, split the Party and form another Party central committee. The case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi is of a similar nature though, of course, they didn't go so far as to form another Party central committee. Qu Qiubai's errors lasted less than half a year and Li

Lisan's, only three months. The former appraisal of the struggles between the two lines in the Party's history was not accurate. That's why we don't want to use this term. The other reason is that in the past, as soon as people within the Party aired differing views, they were looked upon as advocates of a different line and criticized as such. Therefore we must approach this issue very seriously, as it concerns the improvement of the style of work of our Party. Don't refer to the 11th Party Congress³³ as one that made errors relating to the Party line. Don't describe the "cultural revolution" as one that made errors relating to the Party line either. In analysing it, we can cut right through to the core and take the mistakes for what they really are. As a matter of fact, the present analysis of the erroneous nature of the "cultural revolution" goes beyond the old concept of the so-called errors relating to the Party line. Of course, discontinuing the use of the term "two-line struggle" does not mean that the word "line" should no longer be used. For instance, we may continue using it in saying that the Third Plenary Session has formulated a correct ideological, political and organizational line. Not only the word "line," but also the term "general line" can still be used. We've actually been using it in saying that the drive for the four modernizations is the general line

of the new period. We used the word "line" in the resolution too, so it has not fallen into disuse. In certain contexts, the word "line" reads quite smoothly and naturally, and the meaning is clear. However, as to inner-Party struggles, we should objectively describe their nature and mistakes and explain their content. In principle, we should no longer call them struggles between the two lines. In this respect, the resolution can be regarded as a precedent, which we may follow in the future. This is the first point I want to make.

Second, why, must we put emphasis on the appropriateness of the assessment? Because some recent talk about certain of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes has been too excessive. These excesses should be corrected as correcting them conforms to the actual situation and is beneficial to the image of the country and the Party as a whole. Responsibility for some past mistakes should be borne collectively, though chief responsibility, of course, lies with Comrade Mao Zedong. We hold that the system is a decisive factor, and that the system was so in those days. At that time, we credited everything to one person. There were also issues to which we made no objections and for which we should be held partly responsible. Of course, what really happened then was that we found it difficult to express objections. However, we cannot evade the word "we." It harms no one if we take some responsibility. On the contrary, we'll benefit from doing so because we can draw some lessons from that experience. I am talking about the central leadership. The leaders in the localities have no responsibility. Comrade Chen Yun and I were Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the time, so at least we two should be held responsible. Other leading comrades of the Central Committee should also bear some responsibility. Does this conform to the actual situation of those days? Yes, it does. This is a tenable approach and will bring us great benefit. This is also what we mean when we first said the assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong must be based on facts and furthermore that it must be within bounds of propriety.

Now the third point. During the discussion of problems in the first two years after the downfall of the gang of four, some comrades asked if Comrade Hua Guofeng's name should be mentioned. After careful consideration, we decided that it just won't do to omit mention of his name. In this regard, the resolution should dovetail the circular issued after the Political Bureau meeting held last November³⁴. Wording relating to him in the draft resolution is much milder, sounds softer and carries less weight than that in the circular. I think this is better. Why? Because this is a resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, while that was a circular about a Political Bureau meeting. This resolution is a document that will go down in history. Of course, the documents of the Political Bureau will also go down in history, but this resolution is a more serious matter. I think, therefore, it does us no harm to write the resolution in more appropriate terms. However, Comrade Hua Guofeng's name must be mentioned here, for this approach conforms to reality. If he is not mentioned by name, there would be no grounds for changing his position. That's the first reason. Is the resolution of the Political Bureau correct? Should Comrade Hua Guofeng's position be changed? These are questions we must answer. Furthermore, it is necessary to do so in light of current political developments. You all know whose banner the remnant gang of four forces and those who have ulterior motives are holding. In the past, they used to hold the banner of the gang of four. What about now? They are now holding Hua Guofeng's banner, that is, they claim to support Hua Guofeng. This development is worth noting. Of course, we should say — and I have said it to many comrades that this has nothing to do with Comrade Hua Guofeng. He himself is not involved in any activities in this respect. However, this social tendency warrants our attention. So it is beneficial to the Party and people to have Comrade Hua Guofeng's name mentioned and his mistakes pointed out in this resolution. This is also extremely good for Comrade Hua Guofeng himself.

With regard to such other questions as whether to list the influence of petty bourgeois ideology as one of the causes of the "cultural revolution," I think it does no harm to omit any reference to it. If it becomes necessary to oppose petty bourgeois ideology, we can deal with it in some other documents in the future. There is no hurry. We don't have to mention it here. What should be criticized here is misinterpretation, dogmatism and erroneous applications of what Lenin said about small production engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. When stating the causes of the "cultural revolution," we'll make no reference to petty bourgeois ideology this time, neither will we copy the past formula which said that every mistake must have three causes: social, ideological and historical. It is good that we are following a new formula this time.

(Talk at a preparatory meeting for the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee on June 22, 1981)

Notes

26. Around February 1967, at the briefings of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee (the Huai Ren Tang meetings) and the meetings of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen strongly criticized the errors of the "cultural revolution." But these were smeared as the "February adverse current" and were suppressed and attacked. Zhu De and Chen Yun also were mistakenly criticized. At the same time, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques took the opportunity to stir up the so-called wave of "counterattacking the adverse current of restoration spreading from above to below," and attacked and persecuted Party and state leading cadres at various levels on a still larger scale. After the traitorous fleeing of Lin Biao in 1971, Mao Zedong said that the "February adverse current" should not be mentioned again. After the gang of four was smashed, the Party Central Committee formally announced the rehabilitation of the "February adverse current."

27. The Ninth Party Congress refers to the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held from April 1 to 24, 1969 in Beijing. The

Congress legitimized the erroneous theories and practices of the "cultural revolution" and strengthened the position of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng in the Party Central Committee. The guiding principles of the Ninth Party Congress were wrong ideologically, politically and organizationally.

28. See "Our Study and the Current Situation," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Mao Zedong), Vol. 3, p. 165.

29. Henry Kissinger (1923-) was assistant to US President Nixon for national security affairs at that time. He came to Beijing in July 1971 to hold talks with Premier Zhou Enlai on the normalization of relations between the two countries.

30. Richard Nixon (1913-), a Republican, was President of the United States at that time.

31. Peng Zhen was then a Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, the First Secretary of the Beijing municipal Party committee, a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Mayor of Beijing. Luo Ruiqing was then a Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, the Secretary-General of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, the Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and a Vice-Premier of the State Council. Lu Dingyi was then an Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, a Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, the Head of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and a Vice-Premier of the State Council. Yang Shangkun was then an Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and Director of the General Office of the Party Central Committee. During the early stage of the "cultural revolution," they were mistakenly designated as the "Peng Zhen-Luo Ruiqing-Lu Dingyi-Yang Shangkun counter-revolutionary clique." The Party Central Committee issued documents in February 1979, in May 1980, in June 1979 and in October 1980 respectively to clear their names.

32. Peng Dehuai was then a Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a Vice-Premier of the State Council and concurrently the Minister of National Defence. Huang Ke-cheng was at that time a Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and the Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Zhang Wentian was then an Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and a Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Zhou Xiaozhou was then an

Alternate Member of the Party Central Committee and the First Secretary of the Hunan provincial Party committee. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee held in August 1959, they were mistakenly designated as a "Right opportunist anti-Party group." On June 27, 1981, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China which announced: The resolution passed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party concerning the so-called "anti-Party group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou" was entirely wrong.

33. **The 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party** was held from August 12 to 18, 1977 in Beijing. The congress played a positive role in exposing and criticizing the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique and mobilizing the whole Party to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country. Because of limitations of the historical conditions and the erroneous influence of Hua Guofeng at that time, the political report of

the congress still confirmed erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "cultural revolution" and thus played a negative role, hindering the process of bringing order out of chaos. When Deng Xiaoping gave this talk, he could not analyse both aspects of the role of the 11th Party Congress because conditions were not yet mature.

34. The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held nine meetings in succession from November 10 to December 5, 1980 and unanimously adopted the Circular of the Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. The circular notified the whole Party of the "Left" and other mistakes made by Hua Guofeng after the downfall of the gang of four, and of the suggestions which the Political Bureau decided to make to the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee—accepting the resignation of Hua Guofeng from his posts as Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, and electing Hu Yaobang Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.

Life in PLA

Learning Civilian Skills

by Our Correspondent Tian Yun

ABOUT a million soldiers and officers finish their stint of military service with the People's Liberation Army every year and become civilians once again. Today, with the modernization drive in high gear, they want, apart from combat readiness, to acquire skills that can stand them in good stead when the day arrives for them to put down their guns and pick up production tools.

This quest for knowledge and skills has not been ignored by the leadership of many army units. One outstanding example is a PLA division under the Nanjing Military Area; it has done much to prepare its soldiers for the future. To spread experience in this field, a PLA conference was held in May this year at Jinhua, Zhejiang Province, where the division is stationed. Yu Qiuli, head of the PLA General Political Department, praised the division and

some other army units for their progress in providing training in civilian skills.

The Beginning

Zhang Zhongcheng had a penchant for repairing and assembling radios. After he enlisted in the ninth company of a regiment under the division, he wanted to improve his skills so that someday he could make a profession of radio repair.

That was in 1979, and his idea sounded newfangled to the company commanders, who considered that their task was to make good, brave soldiers out of their men. Zhang was unhappy and so were a few of his buddies who also wanted to learn skills other than military operation. Wrangles became commonplace between them and their commanders.

In one emotional talk with Xia Jiatian, the political instructor, Zhang exclaimed, "why don't you allow me to learn skills during my spare time? You officers don't really care about us soldiers!"

Finally, Xia Jiatian brought the matter up at the company's Party branch meeting. After much discussion, they agreed that it would not do to continue to single-mindedly pursue military training, but that the soldiers should be allowed to develop their hobbies and learn some professional skills during their spare time.

Before long, a spare-time club was set up in the company and the soldiers were divided into groups learning radio repair, carpentry, bricklaying, writing, calligraphy and painting. Practically every soldier participated.

The regiment and division commanders soon learnt of the company's activities. They immediately conducted a survey among more than 1,000 soldiers. They found that most people agreed with these statements: During the "cultural revolution" we lost the opportunity to be educated; now we want to make up for that loss while serving in the army so that with more knowledge and skills we will become useful to the modernization drive when we are demobbed.

The benefits of spare-time study have been amply borne out by more than a few examples. A soldier who was disabled by sickness during his service nonetheless found a job after he left the army simply because he had learnt to repair radios. Another soldier, with skills he had taught himself, fixed 120 wristwatches for his comrades and local people.

Misgivings

The survey findings prompted the division leadership to develop skills training courses. But some commanders had misgivings, asking: "Will this detract from the army's tasks?" or "Will this encourage individualism and get in the way of military training and education among the soldiers?"

They found the answers in instructions of Party leaders. The late Chairman Mao Zedong once said that the army should become a big school. Deng Xiaoping, a leading member of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, said at the end of 1977: "It is inadequate to build the army alone; we should attend to the needs of the cadres and soldiers once they are transferred to civilian jobs or demobilized."

"Our cadres should be useful to both the army and the local organs."

These words convinced the division leadership that the PLA should not only defend the motherland but also become a task force in building socialism. It felt that organizing officers and soldiers to acquire scientific and general knowledge and master both civilian and military skills was well within the correct orbit of army building.

The misgivings soon gave way after the massive study campaign got under way. The soldiers, while avidly seeking civilian skills, also organized groups to study the science of war. Many enthusiasts sponsored forums to popularize military knowledge, wrote articles and probed for ways to improve military training and make technical innovations. In this way, military training gained new impetus rather than being sidetracked.

Training classes were established at the regimental, battalion and company levels. Many soldiers doubled as students of both military and civilian skills. Some served as teachers in one class and became learners in another; 403 people were chosen as part-time teachers.



Soldiers of a PLA company learning about electrical machinery.

The training classes covered a wide range of subjects, such as agronomy, general and electrical machinery, radio, medicine, veterinary, accounting, cooking, carving, weaving, sewing, carpentry, bricklaying, architectural finishing, calligraphy, painting, photography and journalism. While learning the related theory, the soldiers turned out a good variety of products for practical use and numerous pieces of art.

Results

In 1979 only a few companies had spare-time study groups, but by 1982, professional training classes had sprung up all over the division. To date, 2,000 officers and soldiers have become well-versed in both military and civilian skills. Some of them have been employed by local enterprises and organizations after their demobilization.

In 1981-82, 86 of the soldiers in a regiment who would have returned to their home villages like most others were employed by newspapers, rural broadcasting stations, hospitals, construction teams, agrotechnical centres and Party and government organizations. Others became self-employed radio or watch repairers and barbers, photo studio owners or restaurateurs. Five enrolled in institutes of higher learning.

Zhao Xiaoming, a former army medic, has treated 2,000 patients in his family clinic since he was released from his army duties last year. Du Chengming, a former soldier, is now a production team leader in his native village. Using scientific knowledge he had learnt while in the service, he helped raise his team's grain output by 40 per cent.

Cao Changgu, another rank-and-file soldier, successfully designed a gate tower for the regimental headquarters and several barracks and bridges while he was in the service. After he returned home, he was placed at the Zhejiang provincial architectural designing institute, and then received training in a workers college. Today he is a capable designer of residential quarters and gardens.

The dual-purpose army life has attracted many ambitious youths. It also offers a freedom from anxieties about jobs and the future.

In the past, the jobs of cooks, stockmen and pack-animal drivers were the last things a soldier wanted to do. But today they are looked upon in a totally new light. A growing number of demobilized army cooks are able to pass



Soldiers learning how to drive a walking tractor in the suburbs of Guilin, Guangxi.

demanding tests for jobs at restaurants; and an increasing number of army stockmen and pack-animal drivers are attending veterinary training courses in the army. In some cases, scores of soldiers have vied with one another for one or two of the openings for army cooks and stockmen.

In one regiment, 300 soldiers and officers were sent 1,500 professional books last year by family members.

A few years ago, the only criterion for judging the progress of a soldier was whether he or she became a Party member and got a promotion; today, those who excel in learning skills often win much respect. Furthermore, the comradeship of army units has become closer through the new-found student-teacher and classmate rapport, as the officers and soldiers unreservedly pass on to each other whatever skills they have learnt.

Military training still enjoys top priority, with an emphasis on enhancing the political and military qualities of the army and building it into a modern, revolutionary defence force.

Moreover, spare-time study has increased the soldiers' ability to learn and has brought

improvements in all fields of endeavour — military training, education and logistics work.

A study of the PLA division under the Nanjing Military Area found that in 1982, better results were obtained in 45 of the 89 subjects of military training than in 1981. Only 7 items were found to be worse in 1982. The division's 101 military study and technical innovation groups have published 57 papers and come up with 38 new training methods and technical innovations which have been accepted or popularized by the army or higher headquarters.

One more immediate benefit of skills training is that many companies have considerably improved economic results in pig raising, vegetable growing, etc, which have vastly improved the soldiers' diets.

Learning while doing, the soldiers have increased the revenues of the army by growing flowers, tea and fruit trees, by breeding tree saplings, mushrooms, tremella, ground beetles (which are used to make medicine), long-haired rabbits and freshwater fish and by opening brick kilns and printing houses.

Those who have learnt carpentry, bricklaying and house-finishing also have saved expenses on the construction of barracks.

The economic gains have both improved the army's material and cultural lives and provided better conditions for furthering the study of professional techniques.

For the People

The soldiers and officers frequently use their skills to help local people in scientific experiments and to popularize technical knowledge and production skills. In the first five months of this year, 1,800 commanders and soldiers of the division contributed in some way to improving local production and living standards.

The second battalion of a regiment in the division is a fine example in this regard. Over the years, it has developed a good relationship with the 83 families of the nearby Nixidian Village in an obscure corner of the suburbs of Jinhua. Its soldiers pitch in during the harvest and sowing seasons and routinely help the villagers tidy up the environment, look after families with one difficulty or another and train the militia.

Last year, the village shed poverty and became self-sufficient in grain supply thanks to the institution of the production responsibility system on a household basis. Its residents began to express a desire to improve further through scientific, cultural and technological education.

At the beginning of this year, the battalion set up study classes that offered primary and junior middle school courses for adults and an agro-science and technology study class. It also established groups that made clothing, processed grain, learnt barbers' skills and repaired watches and clocks. Soldiers who knew these trades served as coaches in their spare time, with the peasants participating on a voluntary basis.

The agro-science and technology class was the most popular. The instruction was geared to local farming and was designed to eliminate weak links in production techniques. As many as 40 "students" at a time flocked to the class to learn how to nurse rice seedlings.

Zheng Liyong, a soldier who had rich experience in rice cultivation, was very much impressed by the peasants' enthusiasm for education. Last year, he said, the village had a rice seedling shortage caused by a failure to control temperatures during early cultivation. "This year, almost every family bought a thermometer, learnt the techniques and in this way secured enough seedlings."

Before enlisting in the army, Xuan Rongquan worked in a garment factory in Nantong in the east China province of Jiangsu. He trained eight "apprentices" in Nixidian Village and, by seeking advice from relatives of army officers and a local garment factory, also improved his own skills.

With the help of the second battalion, Nixidian village has set up a club composed of a TV room, a recreational centre and a library. It also has opened a kindergarten and a retail shop. It has built a water tower which supplies tap-water to all corners of the village, and has paved a 1,000-metre road. □



DOCUMENTARIES

From a new angle

The China Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio is a window on the world for China and a window on China for the world.

When it began in a Yanan cave 45 years ago it had only six film workers and two cinecameras. Today, the studio has a staff of 900 cinematographers, directors, scriptwriters, technicians and workers and a local branch in each province, municipality and autonomous region. During the past 30 years, it has produced 14,000 newsreels and documentaries. It dubs more than 100 reels into English, French or Spanish annually while translating a number of foreign documentaries into Chinese each year. Twenty-six of its products received awards at international festivals.

The studio was developed after the founding of the People's Republic from its predecessor, the Yanan Film Corps. During its early war time days, it produced two successful newsreels, *Yanan* and *The Eighth Route Army and Nanniwan in Shaanxi*, which realistically reflected the political and military situations and production of the anti-Japanese base areas under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

During the War of Liberation, the war of resisting US aggression and aiding Korea and the period of socialist construction, the studio produced numerous newsreels and documentaries, which truthfully recorded the process of the Chinese people's

revolution and construction, as well as the activities of China's veteran revolutionary leaders. Nine of its cinematographers have given their lives at their posts.

"We retrospect the past," said Hao Yusheng, head of the studio, "in order to carry out our fine traditions and revolutionary spirit and make contributions to the new period."

China's newsreel film faces new challenges, for instance, competition with the TV news.

They have produced many newsreels and documentaries in recent years, portraying the people's new outlook and discussing new problems. Among them are *Fierce Struggle*, depicting the Chinese Women's Volleyball Team on its way to the world championship, *Desires for the Beauty*, criticizing rigid thinking that restrains people's ideological development, and *Don't Waste Your Youth*, portraying a group of self-made young people.

"China's newsreels should rise to a new level," said cinema expert Chen Huangmei, discussing the studio's new approach. "They should not be ordinary news reports, but artistic summaries and highlights that expose contradictions, raise questions and provoke people to think. They should not reflect life superficially, but hit its essence, probe, discover and study daily problems in the society. Newsreels are an exciting and emotional art, not just dry propaganda and education."

The studio also stresses information. Some of its more popular works include *Child Painters of the Lijiang River*, *Scenery of Mt. Huangshan* and *Hanged Coffins* which makes some researches into the history of an extinct ancient nationality in southwest China.

The studio is helping to promote international understanding of China. It produces numerous series that cover the development of China's socialist construction as well as its



Film workers at work on the newsreel "Life in Yanan" in the Date Garden in spring 1946.

scenery, history, culture and minority nationalities.

Recently it has begun a series called *Travelling Across the World* to inform Chinese audience about other countries' politics, economies, cultures, local conditions and customs. The first of the series, *Japan*, has been completed and the production of a film about Africa is under way.

ART

Master Li Kuchan

Plain as the trees in the late autumn, revealing the main branches of life with leaves falling down below;

Prominent as the flowers in the early spring, heralding the newness and vitality over stretches of snow.

— Zheng Banqiao

This was the motto of modern Chinese painter Li Kuchan who died on June 11 this year in Beijing at the age of 86. The couplet guided not only the master's painting but also his personal conduct.

Born into a poor peasant family in Gaotang County, Shandong Province in 1898, Li Kuchan was nurtured on folk arts and soon developed an interest in painting. In 1919, he entered a work-study programme in Peiping (Beijing). In 1922, he was admitted to the government sponsored Peiping Arts School under the directorship of Xu Beihong (Peon Ju) where he studied Western style painting. In 1923, Li Kuchan became a student of traditional Chinese painting under the master, Qi Baishi.

It was then that Li Kuchan began to display his artistic talent. "I have coached several

hundred pupils," Master Qi Baishi said, "and every one of them followed my brush, whereas Li seized my spirit. Li is smarter than me and is, if I may say so, unparalleled. It will be extremely strange if Li Kuchan does not enjoy great fame one day."

In 1930, Li Kuchan was invited to teach at the Hangzhou Arts School. But he was fired five years later because of his aid and sympathy for the students who were arrested for revolutionary activities. During the Japanese occupation of Peiping, Li was determined not to work for the aggressors and he resigned from the Peiping Arts School where he was then teaching to lead a poor and reclusive life.

Li Kuchan often said that his best experiences came only in the days after the fall of the gang of four in 1976. His paintings from this last period all demonstrate his sincere desire to see the motherland prosper.

All told, 62 eventful years of a painting career trained a master painter who was creative and original. These fine qualities resulted in his unique freehand brushwork of flowers and birds. He produced many paintings which rank high among China's masterpieces.

However, "More precious than the works father left behind is the patriotism he cherished throughout his life, a loyalty to the 5,000-year-old Chinese civilization," said Li Yan, Li Kuchan's son of the Central Academy of Applied Arts.

A life full of frustrations did not stop Li Kuchan from becoming a consistent and prolific painter. A week before his death, on June 5, Master Li Kuchan co-painted his final piece with his son. On this

drawing, entitled *Caressing the Young*, an elder monkey is caressing its young against a backdrop of stones and bamboos.

Li Kuchan's calligraphy is as famous as his painting. On June 8, he wrote a couplet for a Confucius temple in Japan. The couplet is two metres by one metre. Six hours before his last breath, Li Kuchan could still be seen copying calligraphy models. His desk held paint paper, brushes and ink for later use.

The fewest words possible to describe the master's life may



Li Kuchan at work.

have been said by the Vice-Minister of Culture Zhou Weizhi. "Li Kuchan has a noble personality as well as fine artistry in him. His works are moulded by his character, and are thus popular and will be admired for ever," he said.

Master Li Kuchan's death stunned art circles at home and abroad. Artists all over the world expressed their grief through letters and cables of condolence. Haruo Okada, Deputy Speaker of the Japanese House of Representatives regarded Li's death as a heavy loss to both the Chinese artists and their counterparts overseas.

ART PAGE

Traditional Chinese Paintings by Li Kuchan



Pines and Stork.



Lotuses.



Daisies and Pumpkin.

BEIJING REVIEW



This year **Beijing Review (Peking Review)**, the first weekly magazine of news and views published in English after the birth of New China, marks its silver jubilee publication. Since its founding in 1958 **Beijing Review**, later together with sister editions in French, Spanish, Japanese and German, has recorded and commented on important, and the not so important, events in China and beyond that each week it is read by concerned men and women in 150 countries around the world.

As China's weekly communicator of ideas and information in English and four other languages, **Beijing Review** has over the years made itself indispensable to all who wish to know more about the world's most populous country and its people. In 1981 **Beijing Review** Publications brought out in book form **China Today**, a series which contains articles previously printed in the magazine and fresh-written pieces on domestic developments. This was followed a year later by **China & the World**, a companion series which comprises collections of important treatises and documents from **Beijing Review** and other political journals on China's foreign policy and analyses of international issues.

Warm response has prompted BR Publications to launch a third, **China in Focus**, with timely and topical articles from the magazine issued in a handy format for BR readers to keep in separate files. The first two titles just off the press are:

Tangshan—Six Years After the Quake
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