China's Stand on Disarmament

DEVELOPMENT & REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION
Taking a rest on the grassland.

Xue Chao
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

China's Stand on Disarmament

- Foreign Minister Qian Qichen summed up China's position on disarmament at the United Nations special session on disarmament in New York. China believes peace can be maintained and the goal of disarmament achieved (p. 14).

Arab Nations Strengthen Unity

- A series of events in the Arab world in the past few months have demonstrated that Arab nations are succeeding in their efforts to seek reconciliation and unity. The trend is bound to promote the Middle East peace process and to help in the search for a fair solution to the Palestinian question — the heart of the Middle East issue (p. 4).

Restructuring Higher Education System

- Reforms to the higher education system, first piloted in a few universities and colleges in the early 1980s and extended nationwide in 1985, were designed to decentralize the state's control over higher education and hand the reins over to universities and colleges. The institutions now decide how they will use state budgeting, and they are enrolling more students and conducting scientific research with other institutes free of interference (p. 21).

On the Criterion for Judging All Work

- To commemorate the 10th anniversary of the 1978 debate on the criterion for judging truth, an article in Guangming Ribao urges people to use the development of productive forces as the basic criterion for judging all work, step away from old ways of thinking and understand anew the relations between socialism and capitalism (p. 19).

Reform to Focus on Prices & Wages

- The central leadership of the Communist Party of China has decided to shift the focus of the country's economic reform programme to the price and wage systems. While the move could be difficult and risky, the leaders are optimistic about its success (p. 6).
New Trend Towards Arab Unity

by Zhou Minyi

It is encouraging to see a new trend towards unity and reconciliation emerging in the Arab world.

Many Arab countries have restored relations with Egypt since last November when an extraordinary Arab summit in the Jordanian capital of Amman reached a consensus on the Arab-Israeli conflict and some other issues. In April this year Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), made his first visit in five years to Syria and held talks with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. The next month saw the resumption of diplomatic relations between Morocco and Algeria, which had been suspended for 12 years because of a dispute over Western Sahara. This event was soon followed by a visit to Tunisia by Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and talks between Gaddafi and Tunisian President Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali.

All of this is evidence that Arab nations are making efforts to eliminate their differences and notable progress has been achieved towards Arab reconciliation and unity. But there will be no peace in the region until a fair solution is found to the Palestinian question.

Arab nations are striving to eliminate their differences and notable progress has been made towards Arab reconciliation and unity. But there will be no peace in the region until a fair solution is found to the Palestinian question.

Israel has pursued a consistent policy of aggression and expansion. It has refused to return the land it has occupied to the Arab countries; insisted on holding separate, direct talks with the Arab countries concerned; and rejected the proposal for an international Middle East peace conference.

Arab-Israeli conflicts have increased recently. The Palestinian people’s uprising against the Israeli occupiers of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has continued since last December despite Tel Aviv’s relentless suppression, which has only served to fire the militant spirit of the Palestinians. The Israeli authorities have also murdered in cold blood Abu Jihad, deputy commander of the Palestine Revolutionary Forces. Recently Israeli troops again invaded southern Lebanon, killing many Muslim resistance fighters and civilians and causing serious damage to their property. In the face of these harsh facts, the Arab people had to consider the question: Reconciliation or confrontation? Unity or split in their ranks?

Historically there have been many profound differences among Arab nations. On the question of how to deal with Israel, in particular, they advocate different strategies and tactics. In March 1979, following Egypt’s signing of a peace treaty with Israel, the foreign and economic ministers of Arab countries met in the Iraqi capital of Baghdad and decided to sanction Cairo by suspending its membership of the League of Arab States and moving the league’s headquarters from Cairo to Tunis. This move to ostracize Egypt resulted in the biggest split to date in the Arab world.

Differences also exist between the states of the Steadfast Front and other Arab countries. Although all the Arab nations have vowed to support the Palestinians’ struggle for their legitimate right to return to their homeland and to establish a state of their own, they have expressed different views, at different times, on how to resolve the Palestinian issue. Jordan, Lebanon and Syria have sometimes maintained only strained relations with the PLO.

The desire to strengthen solidarity and seek reconciliation is strong among the Arab people. This has been the theme of all previous Arab League summit meetings. Thus, the current trend towards solidarity and reconciliation is remarkable. It will undoubtedly promote the peace process in the Middle East and be...
well received by the international community, as well as the Arab countries. The trend shows that Arab nations can resolve their conflicts when they take the interests of the whole Arab world into account. Through consultation and dialogue, they can seek common ground while reserving their differences. The resolution of differences, strengthening of solidarity and co-ordination of stands are favourable to a just and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem.

China resolutely opposes Israel’s policies of aggression and expansion, and supports a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied; the Palestinians’ legitimate rights must be restored; all people in the Middle East countries, including the Palestinian people, have the right to exist. China supports the holding of an international Middle East peace conference with the participation of all parties concerned. The PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must attend the conference.

A just settlement of the Middle East problem depends mainly on the strength of Arab countries and people, and unity is strength. Any external interference or any plan which neglects the Palestinian people’s legitimate rights cannot promote the course of peace in the Middle East.

The current price reform in China involves big risks but can and will be accomplished, senior Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said on June 3.

“Our work must rest on facing big risks and preparing counter-measures so that the ‘sky won't fall down’ even if we meet a big risk.” Deng said in a meeting at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing with Chinese and foreign participants at an international seminar on China and the world in the 1990s.

Deng said China has realized its first goal of guaranteeing people enough food and clothes.

The price and wage reforms are not critical to reaching the second goal of becoming comparatively well-off by the end of the century, he said.

But it is critical to achieving the third goal of developed-country status by the year 2050.

“That’s why we are determined to take this risk,” he said.

Deng said the reforms cannot be carried out piecemeal. Rather they must be tackled in a comprehensive way.

“It is better to bear short-term sufferings than long-term ones,” he said.

Deng said conditions are ripe in China to take the risk of all-round price and wage reforms.

“First of all, we have 10 years of development,” he said. “The society and the people have a certain ability to endure risks. In addition, we acquired experience overcoming serious difficulties in the 1960s. We now have many more goods and materials than we had then.”

Deng said the people will accept government decisions as long as those decisions are made clear to them.

He thanked the foreign delegates for their suggestions made at the seminar on China’s development.

“All of you have given China help,” he said. “We have heard many opinions which will be useful when the government draws up policies.”

Deng expressed the hope that foreign business people will invest boldly in China and transfer their technology to help its construction.

He said China may face risks in its reforms, but there are no risks for foreign investors. The country may be poor but it keeps its word, he said.

Deng also reaffirmed the government’s stand on Hong Kong and said its policy remains unchanged. After 1997, when China takes over, Hong Kong’s systems will be kept in place for 50 years. “We will keep our promise,” he added.

Deng said Hong Kong’s stability and prosperity are closely linked with the development of the mainland.

“China needs 50 years in the next century for its development strategy. Besides the one Hong Kong, we are planning to set up several Hong Kong-type areas on the mainland.”

He said that by 2050 the mainland will have the status of a middle-level developed country with an average income of US$4,000 per capita while Hong Kong will probably surpass an estimated average income of US$10,000 per capita.

He said even then China’s policy towards Hong Kong will not change.

On June 2, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Communist Party of China, told 50 participants at the seminar that the focus of China’s economic reforms will begin to shift to the reform of price and wage systems.
Prices will be guided by the market rather than fixed by the state, he said.

"Price reform could be the most difficult reform for the socialist countries to deal with," Zhao said, adding "We are ready to have a try despite the risks.

If China can overcome this problem in five years, its economy will be shifted completely to a new system."

Success is possible, he said, because "China's economic development is good: annual personal income has been increasing year by year; and the inflow and outflow of foreign currency are not bad.

During the three-hour meeting, Zhao listened to suggestions on China's economic and technological development, enterprise management and environmental protection.

Party to Extend Economic Reforms

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) reaffirmed its determination to broaden economic reforms, including the reform of the price and wage systems.

At a three-day Political Bureau meeting in Beijing, which ended on June 1, participants noted that the longer the problems of the ongoing reforms remain unsolved, the more difficult it will be to deal with them.

The meeting—the bureau's ninth—discussed the current conjuncture, calling it a "critical period for the reform."

While acknowledging the remarkable progress that has been made, the Political Bureau concluded that the country faces some tough problems which cannot be skirted.

Despite unavoidable risks, China must take advantage of the favourable conditions provided by history to resolve the problems, the bureau said.

It emphasized the need to reform the price and wage systems and to end "irrational" price setting. Such reforms should promote production and provide steady increases in the living standards of the vast majority of the country's people.

"In the final analysis, this depends on increasing economic efficiency, especially that of industry."

The bureau said the reform also hinges on a stable social environment. Party and government institutions should be kept scrupulous and honest; ideological work should be restructured and reinforced; and the legal system should be strengthened.

The CPC should be strict with its members and people involved in improper activities should be punished.

In short, it said, a new order suited to the socialist commodity economy should be established through expanding both economic and political reforms.

The meeting called on the Party and the people to seek unity in thought and action.

Study Continues On Three Gorges

Scientists involved in a feasibility study into major water control projects on the Changjiang (Yangtze) River are expected to present the final report on their findings to the State Council by the end of this year.

Vice-Minister of Energy Lu Youmei, who is also vice-director of the leading group in charge of the feasibility study, said that after two years of hard work, scientists have completed 12 reports covering different aspects of their research.

The work has been carried out in an open and scientific spirit, Lu said. "The exploration and utilization of the longest river in China is of vital significance to the development of our national economy."

The question of whether a water control mega-project should be built at the Three Gorges—situated in the middle reaches of the Changjiang—has attracted considerable attention both within China and abroad.

"The project has aroused many different opinions, which need to be studied by professionals," Lu said. "Only by conducting a great deal of scientific research can we come to a final decision."

The planning office of the Changjiang river area began to carry out studies related to the proposed projects in the early 1950s. Its report entitled "Feasibility Study of the Three Gorges Projects" was approved in principle by the State Council in April 1984.

The approval of the report was followed by broad discussion and debate. Some people said the projects should be cancelled or postponed while others said construction should be started as soon as possible. Chinese leaders Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng visited the site and listened to various suggestions.

In June 1986, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council jointly issued a circular calling for further examination of the conclusions of 1984 report. The Ministry of Power and Water Resources invited a group of specialists and advisers from scientific research institutions and government departments to take part in the study to guarantee that the final feasibility report on the Three Gorges projects is strictly scientific.

Scientists specializing in 40 different fields are participating in the study. About 355 are
professors or senior engineers while about 15 are with the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The scientists are divided into 14 groups, which are conducting research into various aspects of the project including hydrology, flood prevention, water transportation, electric power generation and financing.

**Beijing Cancels Building Projects**

The State Council has decided to cancel or postpone more than 30 construction projects in Beijing.

At an executive meeting on May 27, presided over by Premier Li Peng, the council decided to cancel 24 of Beijing's 174 scheduled projects and postpone nine in a bid to slow the ever-growing pace of capital construction in the city.

The cancelled projects would have taken up 765,000 square metres of space. People's Daily said on May 28.

At least 800 million yuan (about US$215 million) is expected to be saved as a result of the decision, as the current cost of construction in the city is about 1,000 yuan per square metre.

Of the 24 cancelled projects, 14 involved central government institutions and 10 involved Beijing municipal government institutions.

The nine postponed projects will not be given the go-ahead before 1990, although some preparatory work may be carried out, the paper said.

According to a report by the Beijing municipal government, the 174 construction projects originally planned would have required 6.9 million square metres of construction space. They included hotels, apartment buildings, sanatoriums and office buildings.

The State Council wants to speed up the construction of the 86 projects which have already been approved.

Details of the remaining 55 will be thoroughly checked and those which do not satisfy all the necessary regulations will be cancelled or postponed.

In the past few years, Beijing has carried out substantial capital construction, the paper said. About 25 million square metres are taken up each year for construction purposes and some 5 million square metres of housing are put into use each year. Several hotels have also been built.

These projects have beautified the city and helped improve people's living conditions, the council said, adding that the construction of hotels is also necessary for the development of tourism.

But, it said, too many expensive projects have been carried out in recent years and this is where the construction policy has become divorced from the reality of China's economic development and people's living standards.

The council called on local governments to follow its example and examine all their projects in depth.

Meanwhile, Premier Li said the Chinese government will reduce the amount spent in receiving foreign guests in a bid to fight extravagance and waste.

**Rules Will Ease Students' Load**

China's State Education Commission has issued new regulations aimed at preventing elementary and secondary schools from giving their students too many examinations and homework assignments.

The rules are designed to ease the burden of excessive homework shouldered by elementary school pupils and to curb the attempts by many high schools to increase, at all costs, the proportion of students entering colleges and universities.

The regulations direct all secondary schools to conscientiously implement the teaching guidelines issued by national and provincial-level education departments. No unauthorized changes are to be made in the school system.

Schools are to establish their curricula according to the specified teaching guidelines. Besides basic academic subjects, schools are required to devote a specified number of class hours to ideological and political courses, as well as courses in music, physical education and labour skills.

Senior secondary school students, starting with those enrolled in the fall of 1987, will no longer be divided into classes specializing either in liberal arts or in science and engineering. Previously, students at many secondary schools were divided in this way to increase their chances of getting into college or university by making them concentrate on a specific area of study.

Education departments are forbidden to assign college entrance quotas to schools and schools are not permitted to evaluate the work of their teachers according to the number of students recruited by colleges.

The regulations say that school authorities must treat all their students equally. Secondary school students whose academic records are poor must not be discriminated against or forced to quit school or transfer to another school.

Except in special cases, and with the approval of education authorities at the provincial level.
secondary schools are not permitted to conduct major examinations other than those held at the end or middle of each term.

These examinations are meant to test students' knowledge in the main subject areas, such as Chinese and mathematics. In other areas, short tests are to be conducted in classroom time without special advance preparation by the students.

To cut down the workload of elementary school pupils, the regulations stipulate that in regions where junior secondary school education is universal, pupils will be admitted to a junior secondary school near their home without having to take an entrance examination.

Written homework should not be given to first grade pupils, the regulations say. Homework for second and third grade pupils should be limited to 30 minutes a day. Fourth grade pupils' homework should take no longer than 45 minutes to complete, while for the fifth and sixth grade it should take no more than an hour.

Pupils should not be given the kind of homework that requires monotonous routine work, such as lengthy copying drills. One hour a day should be guaranteed for pupils to do physical training.

To leave pupils enough time for rest and extra-curricular activities, elementary schools are directed to hold their classes at regular hours and not to give pupils extra lessons after school or during their holidays.

The regulations also specify that various competitions should be limited in number. Contests should be in keeping with the characteristics of children and their level of knowledge and understanding. Competitions should not affect regular teaching or place an excessive burden on students.

**Rulings on Students Up for Public Debate**

A new set of draft regulations governing the behaviour of China's middle school students has recently been issued by the State Education Commission. They have been issued in a bid to improve students' ethics and morals.

The regulations cover the need for students to cultivate self-respect and a decent appearance, friendliness and courtesy, respect for school rules and diligence, thrift, love of one's parents, respect for public morals and the need to be strict with oneself.

The regulations stipulate that middle school students should eschew superstition and pornography.

Boys should not wear long hair and girls should not perm their hair or wear high-heel shoes, they state.

Students are also told not to be extravagant with money. One middle school teacher said that more and more students had begun to exchange gifts on occasions such as the Spring Festival, Christmas and birthdays. While some squander their money, some have already complained that they were unable to afford so many gifts.

Middle school students themselves have recently appealed for better quality books and music to be provided both in and outside school.

One student said there were few suitable books or songs for the students, so pop songs from Taiwan and Hong Kong had become their favourites as they had no other choice.

Another said the choice of books available for students was very limited. Most were books about kungfu or love stories.

Middle school students also seek understanding from their parents. In a letter to the editor of Beijing Daily, a student from a middle school in Beijing said students were tired of quarrels with their parents and a heavy workload.

An official from the National Co-ordination Committee on Children's Work said some parents were guilty of forcing their children to study, placing them under far too much pressure as a result. The children became nervous when they got poor marks and some even resorted to suicide.

The number of drop-out cases is also on the increase, said the official. This poses a serious problem for the school authorities and teachers.

In Shanghai, according to China Youth News, a number of middle school students are involved in gambling and sometimes is as high as 10 percent of a class. While most younger students gamble with small amounts of money, senior students stake larger sums.

Puppy love is also causing problems in middle schools, said the paper, the highest incidence occurring among junior middle school pupils between 13 and 14.

Crushes are expressed in various ways. Some students exchange letters; others go to parks and dances together. A small number are said to have gone beyond "proper limits."

Therefore, parents, teachers and people from all walks of life should be asked to protect and respect children and help educate them, said the official from the co-ordination committee.

**Ph.D. Graduate Starts Company**

A 26-year-old Tianjin University Ph.D. graduate had decided to work as general manager of a company instead of continuing academic research, China Youth reported on May 13.
Ouyang Jianfei completed his Ph.D. under the tutelage of professors Cai Qishu and Zhang Guoxiong in the university's precision machinery department in 1985, the paper said, with his doctoral dissertation drawing attention from scholars in the field both at home and abroad.

Just after graduation, Ouyang decided to set up what is now the "Tianjin Tongbo Electronics Technology Company," with the help of some of his colleagues, and he has already been issued a business license.

Ouyang's professors were puzzled by his choice, the paper said, because they believed if he continued his academic research he could make a significant contribution to the university and the state.

His fellow students disagreed, arguing that since the university is overstaffed with senior professors and lecturers, Ouyang would most likely become "a small fish in a big pond," and would have to wait years for promotion and academic recognition.

Professor Zhang, the department head, backed Ouyang. "My support for Ouyang's choice doesn't mean I encourage all Ph.D. graduates to abandon academic research," he said, and "we will certainly welcome him back to the faculty at any time."

The University granted its first Ph.D. degree to a student a couple of years ago, with Ouyang the second to receive it, so some university leaders were upset by his decision.

Ouyang, who seems confident about his future, said, "From a long-term point of view, managing a company will not be a negative influence on my academic career because the company deals with scientific endeavors and this experience will serve as an internship for me."

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**POLITICAL**

May 31

- In an interview with Goncalo Cesar De Sa, director of the Macao Branch of the Portuguese News Agency, Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Zhou Nan says, "I believe that the future Macao basic law drafting committee will absorb the basic contents of the Sino-Portuguese joint declaration on Macao into the Macao basic law." He adds that the Hong Kong basic law will be a valuable reference in the drafting of the Macao basic law.

June 3

- The work of introducing a non-military personnel system into the People's Liberation Army (PLA) on a trial basis in the first group of 40 units has been successfully completed, the General Political Department of the PLA says.

The new system will soon be implemented in all other units which involve military academies, scientific research institutions, hospitals, and artistic and sports activities.

**ECONOMIC**

May 31

- A new highway bridge spanning the Changjiang (Yangtze) River will be built near the harbour of the growing industrial centre of Huangshi in Hubei Province, the city's mayor says.

The bridge will be 1,243 metres long and 19.5 metres wide, with a 1,122-metre-long approach.

June 2

- After being briefed on a national banking meeting which closed on June 1, Premier Li Peng notes that banks are an important means for the state to regulate the economy and says they should be encouraged not to issue loans that are out of line with state policy.

The People's Bank of China must hold to national policy and not be influenced by localities and departments.

June 3

- The third meeting of Sino-Soviet commission on economic, trade, scientific and technological co-operation begins in Beijing.

Yuri Maslyukov, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and Chinese Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun speak at the opening session.

**CULTURAL**

May 31

- A 14-volume children's encyclopaedia and nine picture story books will be published in Taiwan under an agreement signed between the Shanghai Juvenile and Children's Books Publishing House and a Taiwan children's bookstore. The agreement is the first of its kind.

About 10 million sets of the encyclopaedia, 100,000 Questions, have been sold on the mainland in the past 30 years.

June 2

- A national survey conducted by the State Statistics Bureau's rural investigation team shows that the number of school dropouts is increasing in rural China.

In northwest China's Shaanxi Province, for instance, 575,000 children between the ages of 6 and 11 dropped out of school and 2,889 elementary schools closed between 1982 and 1986.

**SOCIAL**

May 31

- Reports say 49 people were killed in a gas explosion at a coal mine in north China's Shanxi Province on May 29.

Only seven people survived the blast at the Shengfo Mine in Huoxian County. The explosion caused cave-ins and damaged the mine's ventilation system. The accident is being investigated.
MOSCOW SUMMIT

More Detente, Less Conflict

The fourth summit meeting between US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev ended on June 2, having produced no major breakthroughs, but some expected results.

As widely expected, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev discussed four topics at their recent summit: disarmament, human rights, regional conflicts and bilateral relations. A joint statement after the talks said the summit was "an important step in the process of putting Soviet-American relations on a more productive and sustainable basis," while "serious differences remain on important issues." The dialogue that has developed "remains critical to surmounting these differences."

In arms control, the most noteworthy achievement was the exchange of documents ratifying the intermediate nuclear forces (INF) treaty, which will eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. Accords were also signed on advance notification of the launching of intercontinental and submarine-launched ballistic missiles and on joint verification of nuclear tests.

In bilateral relations, a series of treaties to strengthen co-operation in the economic, trade, cultural and scientific fields was signed at the summit.

While the treaty to cut strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent was not signed at the meeting, no one realistically expected it to be. In any case, the smooth unfolding of the summit was a welcome development in the direction of world disarmament and the easing of international situation.

As Reagan was strolling in Red Square, he was asked by a reporter whether he still considers the Soviet Union an "evil empire." "No," Reagan replied. "I was talking about another time, another era." The statement reflects the trend in US-Soviet relations in recent years towards dialogue and detente and away from head-on confrontation.

Signs of this trend include:
— Top-level contacts have increased on an unprecedented scale. The countries' foreign ministers have exchanged frequent visits and Reagan has met Gorbachev four times (1985 in Geneva, 1986 in Reykjavik, 1987 in Washington and this time in Moscow—the first US-Soviet summit in Moscow in 14 years). The US and Soviet defence ministers recently held talks for the first time in history.
— Last December, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the INF treaty, which for the first time scraps rather than limits a whole class of nuclear weapons.
— The countries have been negotiating a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in their strategic nuclear weapons. Reports say there has been considerable progress in the negotiations, despite major differences, and the treaty might be signed before Reagan leaves office next January.
— Bilateral trade relations and cultural exchanges have expanded markedly. In mid-April a group of some 500 US business people, led by US Commerce Secretary William Verity, went to Moscow to discuss economic and trade cooperation.

Placed in this context, the summit can be seen as a continuation of the trend towards detente in US-Soviet relations and
a sign of a new era in global rapprochement.

It is unwise to expect too much of a summit. It should be viewed as a normal channel for the exchange of opinions and a chance for countries to get to know each other better. But since the superpowers, which between them possess 95 percent of the world's nuclear arsenal, shoulder a special responsibility for disarmament.

talks between their leaders concern people all over the globe and naturally much is expected of them. Although the Moscow summit did make some progress on various issues, if fell short of what is needed. As Reagan told Gorbachev, "We must not stop here, Mr. General Secretary. There is much more to be done."

by She Duanzhi

EC-COMECON

East-West European Ties Get Closer

The signing of a joint declaration by the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance marks the beginning of an era of co-operation between the economic blocs.

A recent agreement in principle between the European Community (EC) and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) ends three decades of mutual non-recognition and lack of official contact.

The accord of May 19 is one of the direct results of today's limited detente between the East and the West. The pact creates conditions that will enable the two blocs to develop co-operation within the limits of their authority and will permit the organizations' member states to strengthen economic and trade relations on bilateral basis.

Over the past 30 years, the Soviet attitude towards the EC has undergone major changes. Initially the Soviet Union refused to acknowledge the community. In the early 1960s the Soviets noted that the EC had become an economic and political reality. And finally in May 1985, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced that Comecon was prepared to establish a relationship with the EC.

In an effort to normalize relations between the blocs, Comecon dropped its requirement that trade links between Eastern and Western Europe be established directly between the EC and Comecon, and accepted the EC's long-standing insistence that trade between the community and individual East European countries be handled on a bilateral basis. At the same time, the two bodies will co-operate within the framework of their authority.

Comecon's concession on this point is believed to have given impetus to the negotiations. Comecon also gave ground on the issue of West Berlin, eliminating what was seen as the final obstacle to the signing of an agreement.

Both the EC and Comecon were politically and economically motivated to reach the accord. The EC's increasingly important economic and political role has led the Soviet Union and its East European allies to readjust their policies towards Western Europe. Comecon wants to step up its trade and economic co-operation with the community and improve relations with the EC.

The Soviet Union hopes that through the normalization of relations between the blocs, it can enhance its position in its relations with the United States and, at least to some degree, satisfy its East European allies' desire to increase their trade with the West.

The Soviet Union and other East European countries badly need Western technology and capital if their domestic economic reforms are to succeed. They see normalizing relations with the EC as opening the way for bilateral trade and economic relations with Western countries.

As for the EC, two years of slow economic growth and high unemployment throughout Western Europe and growing trade disputes with the United States and Japan have made the Soviet and East European markets increasingly attractive. The community views the accord as a means to improve its exports and find new places for investment.

by Zhuge Canglin

PAKISTAN

President Dissolves Assembly, Cabinet

Although the dissolution of Pakistan's National Assembly and federal cabinet on May 29 came as a surprise, the situation in the country is normal and foreign policy will be kept intact.

On May 29 Pakhstani President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq ordered the dissolution of the National Assembly and federal cabinet headed by Mohammad Khan Junejo. The following day the provincial assemblies and cabinets were also dissolved.
The president’s order, issued in Rawalpindi, cited five reasons for his actions:

— "The objective and purposes for which the National Assembly was elected have not been fulfilled;"

— "Law and order in the country have broken down to an alarming extent, resulting in the tragic loss of innumerable valuable lives as well as loss of property;"

— "The life, property, honour and security of the citizens of Pakistan have been rendered totally unsafe and the integrity and ideology of Pakistan have been seriously endangered;"

— "Public morality has deteriorated to an unprecedented level; and"

— "A situation has arisen in which the government of the federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and an appeal to the electorate is necessary."

People from various walks of life welcomed the president's determination to lead Pakistan to Islamization and democratization, the Pakistan Times reported on May 30. It said Zia’s reference to the growing menace of corruption, lawlessness and emerging ethnic tendencies carried a lot of weight and that these evils have no doubt been making the lives of law-abiding and peaceful citizens miserable.

The president’s sudden move did not affect normal national life, some Islamabad-based diplomats said. The business community and the public accepted it as a matter of course.

Leaders of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy and other political leaders expressed diverse views on Zia’s actions. Some political parties are sceptical about the president’s promise to hold general elections within 90 days. All parties have asked him to fix the election date and guarantee that the election will be held on a party basis and in a fair and free way.

At a briefing on May 31, which all heads of foreign missions in Islamabad were invited to attend, Zia reaffirmed his stand that Pakistan will keep its foreign policy intact. He said Pakistan remains committed to the terms of the Geneva accord on Afghanistan, which was signed in mid-April, and reiterated the position that Pakistan’s relations with the United States, China and Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries remain the cornerstone of its foreign policy. At the same time, he expressed Pakistan’s willingness to better its relations with the Soviet Union and India.

Former Prime Minister Junejo left Islamabad for his home on June 1. During his last day in the capital, Junejo, who was also president of the previously ruling Pakistan Muslim League (PML), met former federal ministers and parliamentarians and presided at a PML Central Committee meeting. The meeting discussed the new developments and plans for future action.

Reports said that on June 4 Zia and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, president of the National People’s Party, met in Islamabad to discuss the setting up of a caretaker government.

by Chang Qing

CHAD-LIBYA

The Dawn of Reconciliation

Libya has recognized the Hissene Habre government of Chad. This new piece of good news for northern Africa follows the resumption on May 16 of diplomatic relations between Algeria and Morocco.

At a May 25 reception marking the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Muammar Gaddafi announced the recognition of the Chadian government of President Hissene Habre as Libya’s “gift to Africa.”

Gaddafi also said his government is willing to help Chad rebuild its towns in the north of the country that were destroyed by the Libyan air force. He pledged that Libya will “resolve its problems in a brotherly manner with Chad” and hand over its Chadian prisoners. Gaddafi also invited Habre and former Chadian President Ouaddai to meet in Libya and said that Libya “intends to do its utmost to arrive at a national reconciliation between them.” He warned that “if the two parties do not reconcile, they may return to civil war.”

Habre reacted immediately to Libyan leader’s announcement, calling it both welcome and positive.

Relations between Libya and Chad have been strained for many years. In March 1980, a fierce civil war broke out between forces led by Habre and Goukouni. The Goukouni forces drove the Habre forces out of the capital with the help of Libya. In June 1982, Habre launched a massive counterattack against Goukouni. The Habre forces recaptured the capital and drove the Goukouni forces out. On October 10 the same year, Habre took office as president. Since then Goukouni, with the aid of Libya, had been fighting against the Habre government. Fierce battles between Chad and Libya over the disputed Aouzou strip in northern Chad further strained relations between the countries.
US-PANAMA

Talks End With Noriega Still In Control

Negotiations between the United States and Panama on the resignation of Panamanian strongman Antonio Manuel Noriega broke up in discord on May 25, filling the White House with dismay.

Michael Kozak, principal deputy to US Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams, was sent to Panama in April for secret talks with representatives of Antonio Manuel Noriega on the topic of his resignation.

The negotiations followed the failure of a series of tough US measures against the Panamanian strongman who, at the end of February, deposed President Eric Delvalle through the national Assembly and organized a new government headed by Manuel Solis Palma.

The US measures included: refusing to recognize the new Panamanian government; freezing Panamanian deposits and assets in the United States; plotting military coup attempts; and increasing US military forces in the Canal Zone. Noriega, however, managed to control the situation by suppressing the opposition, weeding out opponents in the armed forces and introducing a wartime economic policy, thus forcing Washington to abandon its hardline position.

Although the negotiations went on for more than three weeks and the United States made significant concessions, the talks produced no results. Their failure was not surprising owning to the three major factors.

First, the current situation in Panama favours Noriega. Since March, Panama’s economy has basically returned to normal, although it still faces difficulties because of the US economic blockade. The opposition’s activities against Noriega have also quieted down. After defeating a military coup attempt in March, Noriega’s control over the armed forces has solidified. His nationalistic stand and his opposition to US intervention in Panama’s internal affairs have gained wide support. In the circumstances, Noriega would not accept any conditions that Washington wanted to put on his resignation.

Second, Noriega has stated repeatedly that his resignation can be decided only by Panama’s National Defence Force, not by the United States. The idea that Noriega could be forced to step down through the negotiations was wishful thinking by the United States. Noriega called the negotiations “conversations” and condemned the United States for staging economic and psychological warfare against Panama.

Washington is reported to have proposed in the talks that if Noriega agreed to resign, the United States would withdraw its indictment against him for involvement in drug trafficking, give up its economic sanctions and even consider recognizing the Solis Palma government.

Noriega demanded that the United States also stop all its hostile activities against Panama; respect Panama’s sovereignty and not interfere in the Panamanian general election scheduled for next May; withdraw its extra forces from the Canal Zone; and commit itself fully to the 1977 Torrijos-Carter canal agreement. The US refusal to agree to these demands led to the failure of the talks.

Finally, Panama’s opposition groups, including former President Delvalle, objected to the United States’ casting them aside and dealing secretly with Noriega. Opposition within the US administration and Congress to the withdrawal of the indictment against Noriega also contributed to the failure of the negotiations. Treasury Secretary James Baker, Attorney-General Edwin Meese, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and some top White House political advisers, as well as Vice-President George Bush, have all voiced objections to the proposal. Bush declared on May 15 that he would not agree to any talks between the White House and the drug smuggler, by whom he meant Noriega. It was the first time that Bush has publicly differed with President Ronald Reagan on a significant issue.

by An Guozhang

by Liu Ruichang
China’s Stand on Disarmament

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, chairman of China’s delegation at the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, addressed the session on June 2. The following is the text of his speech — Ed

As we gather in the headquarters of the United Nations for the third time to devote ourselves specially to the issue of disarmament, we find ourselves in a world where the arms race is still going on, the international situation remains turbulent, peace is jeopardized and security not ensured. The danger of war is still there. But on the other hand, we see that over the years there have been increasingly strong calls from people everywhere for a halt to the arms race and for preservation of world peace. The developing countries want development and peace. The developed countries want no war. The United States and the Soviet Union, too, declared that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The Non-Aligned Movement and numerous world and regional organizations and conferences have been engaged in the search for proper solutions to the major issues confronting various regions and the world as whole. The people of the world and all peace-loving nations with their aspiration and actions to maintain peace are playing a role of growing importance in containing war. Therefore, we believe that while the danger of war still exists, the forces for peace outgrow the factors making for war and that peace can be maintained. Recently, there has been some new positive development in the international situation. The conclusion of the Treaty between the USSR and the US on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles last December has led to a certain degree of relaxation in East-West relations. The signing of the Geneva Accords on the Afghan question last April has shown that progress has been made in the endeavour to seek political settlement to regional conflicts.

Ten years have elapsed since the convening of the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament in 1978. We are pleased to note that this has been by no means a fruitless decade.

Firstly, the campaign to halt the arms race and promote disarmament constitutes an ever stronger force for maintaining peace and containing war. Numerous countries have joined in the struggle for disarmament. Various social forces working for peace have converged into a surging and irresistible historic tide.

Secondly, an effective approach has been adopted for disarmament. Since the First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, the international community has realized more and more clearly that the armaments possessed by either of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, far exceed those of any other country and that the nuclear weapons they possess account for more than 95 percent of the world’s nuclear arsenal. In view of this fact, the two superpowers bear a special responsibility for disarmament and should take the lead in drastically reducing their armaments, especially their nuclear weapons. Now this view is shared by all countries in the world, including the United States and the Soviet Union. Disarmament has been turned from a good
desire of the people of all countries into an action that has a clear starting point and practical goal.

Thirdly, some concrete progress has been made in disarmament. The US-Soviet INF treaty is the first treaty ever signed between them for cutting down the existing nuclear weapons. It is our hope that this treaty will be observed and implemented in real earnest and that the United States and the Soviet Union will continue to move forward on the way to reducing strategic nuclear weapons and the other types of nuclear weapons.

You will, I believe, agree that the achievements made in the disarmament field have been hard-won. These achievements, though initial, have been encouraging to the people striving for disarmament, bringing them some hope for further disarmament.

Now I would like to take up the other aspect of the question. That is, the current situation remains grave; the task for disarmament is still most arduous and we have a long way to go, so we should never slacken our efforts.

First, as we all know, the nuclear weapons covered by the US-Soviet INF treaty constitute a very small portion, only 3 to 4 percent, of the nuclear arsenals of the two countries. If they can reach agreement on the 50 percent reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons and implement it, they would be taking another step forward. The results of the recent US-Soviet summit show that it will take an arduous process of negotiations to reach such an agreement. The problem is that even if they do cut by half the number of their nuclear weapons, their nuclear arsenals will still account for approximately 90 percent of the world’s total and moreover, will hold absolute superiority in quality, sufficient to destroy all life on earth many times over, thus keeping humanity under the shadow of nuclear threat.

In their negotiations on disarmament, the two superpowers have paid great attention to “balance” and “equal security” between themselves. The question, however, is whether with “balance” and “equal security” between them, there will be peace and tranquility in the world. Things are by no means that simple. The egregious imbalance in military forces between the two superpowers and the rest of the world makes the vast majority of countries feel extremely insecure. This state of affairs cannot be changed unless the two superpowers take the lead in drastically reducing their nuclear weapons of all types. Second, chemical weapons pose a threat to and are detested by mankind. So far there have occurred from time to time instances involving the use of chemical weapons between belligerents. Therefore, besides nuclear disarmament, the issue of complete prohibition of chemical weapons requires the efforts of countries around the world for an early solution.

Third, as nuclear disarmament is under progress, conventional arms reduction should not be neglected either. One should not forget that conventional weapons were invariably used in the frequent military invasions and armed occupations of sovereign states which have taken place since World War II. In Europe, where the countries are deeply concerned about disarmament, what the two major military blocs in sharp confrontation possess are mainly conventional arms. The bulk of the US$1,000 billion worth of world military expenditure every year is spent on conventional weapons. At present, conventional armaments are developing rapidly. The number of naval vessels is growing; weapons are being upgraded at a faster pace; and advanced science and technology are being increasingly applied to conventional weapons, resulting in greater accuracy, kill and destructiveness. Particularly disturbing is the fact that there is no impassable chasm between conventional war and nuclear war. Once a large-scale conventional war breaks out, no one can guarantee against its escalating into a nuclear war. Therefore, it is our consistent view that drastic conventional arms reduction is also of great importance.

I should also like to stress that since all have expressed support for disarmament, it is self-evident that first and foremost the arms race should be halted. It will go against the wish of the people of the world for disarmament if, after some cuts in armaments have been achieved through years of painstaking and complicated negotiations, all-out efforts are made to push the arms race forward. It is regrettable that the arms race is still going on. The two major nuclear powers are stepping up their efforts to upgrade their nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles. Long-range cruise missiles have emerged as a new strategic nuclear force and are in the process of further development. Strategic nuclear weapons are being improved in respect of accuracy, mobility and stealth. So are tactical nuclear weapons. With the development of space weapons, a new type of strategic weapon which serves concurrently defensive and offensive purposes, outer space, which is a common heritage of humanity and ought to be developed and utilized for peaceful purposes, will become an area of arms race between the two superpowers.

At present, people should be on guard against an important change which is taking place in the superpower arms race, i.e., quantitative reduction but qualitative improvement. Their nuclear
weapons have been piled up to such a magnitude that, as is aptly pointed out, it makes no real difference whether one can destroy one’s opponent 60 times or 40 times. Therefore, application of the latest scientific and technological research findings to the development and manufacture of new types of weapons is becoming a new trend in their arms race. This is very dangerous. Numerical reductions in armaments are of course a good thing. But will qualitative development of more and newer types of armaments make the world safer and peace more secure?

What should be done when we face so many complex problems in the field of disarmament?

In our view, successful experience in disarmament gained so far can serve as an important guide to the solution of these problems.

First, experience tells us that a realistic objective must be set and an effective approach followed if there is to be success in disarmament. The present situation of world armaments determines that the superpowers bear a special responsibility for disarmament and that they should take the lead in drastically reducing their respective armaments. Their signing of the INF treaty is a first step in line with this effective approach. Only by persisting in this approach can we achieve further concrete results in the cause of disarmament.

Second, experience tells us that disarmament is a major issue concerning world peace and the security of states. All countries, big or small, strong or weak, should have a say and the right to take part in discussions and to raise demands and put forward suggestions. In fact, progress made in the disarmament field so far is not separable from the joint efforts by all countries.

Third, experience tells us that the role of the people of the world should not be ignored. The World Disarmament Campaign initiated by the United Nations, the voice of non-governmental organizations and the discussions by academic societies have produced tremendous impact morally and psychologically and in the aspect of public opinion, giving a strong impetus to the cause of disarmament.

Here I wish to briefly sum up the consistent position and propositions of the Chinese government on disarmament as follows:

1. As the nuclear arms race poses a general, grave threat to world peace and security, nuclear disarmament should be given top priority in the reduction of all types of armaments.
2. The ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.
3. The two superpowers, which bear a special responsibility, should take the lead in putting an end to the testing, manufacturing and deploying of all types of nuclear weapons and in drastically reducing and eliminating all types of nuclear weapons each of them has deployed in any region at home or abroad. Then a broadly represented international conference on nuclear disarmament can be convened with the participation of all nuclear states to discuss what steps and measures should be taken for a thorough destruction of nuclear armaments.
4. Pending the realization of the goal of total elimination of nuclear weapons, we hope to see all nuclear states undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states or nuclear-free zones.
5. There is also an urgent need to drastically reduce conventional armaments. The conventional armaments of all states should be used only for defence and not for aggression against other states or threat to their security.
6. An international convention on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of chemical weapons should be concluded at an early date.
7. An international agreement on the complete prohibition of space weapons should be concluded at an early date.
8. All states have the right to take part in the discussions and solution of disarmament issues on an equal footing. The legitimate interests and just demands of the small and medium-sized countries should be respected.

Disarmament is no doubt important for the maintenance of world peace, but it is apparently not enough to pin our hopes only on disarmament for the maintenance of world peace. While we meet here, the world we live in is still far from tranquil. A series of prolonged regional conflicts continue to undermine the security of the countries concerned and threaten world peace. Year after year we have been discussing these issues here at the United Nations. The recently signed Geneva Accords on the Afghan question represent a victory for international justice. The United Nations organization has made praiseworthy contributions towards this end. Naturally, people may ask: Why doesn’t Viet Nam make up its mind to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea since the Soviet Union is already resolved to pull out its troops from Afghanistan? The Vietnamese people, having survived the scourge of war in Viet Nam, urgently need a period of rehabilitation and economic development after the war. The Vietnamese authorities, however, motivated by their wild ambition for expansion, have dragged their country into the quagmire of a war of aggression against Kampuchea, indulging themselves in military
expansion. This has brought enormous sufferings to both the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples. Any attempt on the part of the Vietnamese authorities to keep their troops in Kampuchea under whatever pretext would be doomed to failure. Now it is high time that they made up their mind to withdraw all their forces as soon as possible.

The Chinese government regards peace and development as the two major issues of the present-day world. It is for the purpose of both peace and development that we strive for disarmament. The United Nations has held a special conference and conducted in-depth discussions on the relationship between disarmament and development. It is widely agreed that without a proper solution to the development issue, international peace and stability would be adversely affected. At present, the gap between North and South is still widening. As a result of falling prices of oil, raw materials and primary products and the irrational international economic order, the third world is sustaining great losses. The accumulative total of US$1.200 billion foreign debt, a crushing burden, has weighed heavily on some developing countries. The trade protectionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries. The trade protec­tionism of some developed countries has added to the economic difficulties of debtor countries.

Of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, China is the only developing country. China is whole-heartedly dedicated to its modernization programme. Only in an international environment of enduring peace will it be possible for China to accomplish this historic task. China is committed to the maintenance of world peace and interested in the attainment of disarmament. It is opposed to the arms race and never takes part in it. The small number of nuclear weapons in China's possession is entirely for self-defence. From the very day when we tested the first atom bomb, we have declared once and again that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. China has long stopped nuclear testing in the atmosphere. It has undertaken not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear­weapon states and nuclear-free zones as it understands the desire of non-nuclear-weapon states concerned for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and respects such zones already established. Following its signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, China signed last year Protocol II and Protocol III attached to the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty.

In its dedication to the promotion of world peace and disarmament, China has not only actively put forward proposals, but put them into practice. As soon as the international situation permitted, China voluntarily decided to reduce its troops by 1 million, and the troop reduction was already completed last year. Many of our military airports and seaports have been converted to civilian or military-civilian use. A considerable number of our military industrial enterprises have been shifted to production of civilian goods. The proportion of China's national defence expenditure in the state budget has dropped from 17.5 percent in 1979 to 8 percent this year. Our current military expenditure totals approximately 5.5 billion in US dollars, that is, about US$5 per person. I think that this simple figure is a most telling argument.

Although what has been achieved in the field of disarmament over the past decade since the First Special Session Devoted to Disarmament is not satisfactory, one must say that there has been some progress if compared with the first three decades of the post-war period. These achievements have been gained through the unremitting efforts of the countries of the world and all peace-loving people. They have enhanced our confidence and strength. Experience is showing us the way to new achievements. We sincerely hope that following the fundamental principles contained in the Final Document adopted at the First Special Session Devoted to Disarmament and taking into account the developments in recent years, all the delegations will make concerted efforts to set realistic objectives and adopt

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practical measures for future disarmament endeavours, thus ensuring full success to this Special Session. It is our belief that peace can be maintained and the goal of disarmament achieved. Science and technology, which are created by mankind, should be used to benefit mankind, not destroy it. Mankind will eventually be able to take its destiny into its own hands.

The Criterion for All Work

On May 14, “Guangming Ribao” (Guangming Daily) published an article entitled “Productive Forces and the Criterion for All Work” to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the 1978 debate on the criterion for judging truth. The following is an excerpt translated from the article.

Ten years ago, a nationwide debate was launched over the saying “practice is the sole criterion of judging truth.” The debate laid the theoretical ground for the reinstatement of the materialist ideological line at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, held towards the end of that year. The main intention was to shake off the trammels of the “two whatevers” view,* and to shift the focus of the Party’s work to modernization. Following the plenary session, the Party developed the materialist view on practice being the criterion, laid the philosophical foundation for building socialism with Chinese characteristics and made reform and opening to the outside world a basic state policy. All this was to greatly develop the productive forces. The 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in October 1987 reaffirmed that factors conducive to the development of the productive forces should become the basic criterion for judging all work.

Marx and Engels both expounded the decisive role of productive forces in social development. Marx held that productive forces were the foundation of history. At first, he envisaged socialist society as founded on a developed capitalist society. But history indicates it first emerged in countries where capitalism had not fully developed and the level of productive forces was relatively low. Once established, the first priority of the socialist system should be the development of productive forces.

Deng Xiaoping pointed out, “To build socialism it is necessary to develop the productive forces. Poverty is not socialism. We will go on building socialism, there’s no doubt about that. But if it is to be superior to capitalism, it must enable us to eliminate poverty. We say that we are building socialism, but that doesn’t mean that what we have achieved so far is up to the socialist standard. Not until the middle of the next century, when we have reached the level of the moderately developed countries, will we be able to claim that we have really built socialism and to declare convincingly that it is superior to capitalism.” Obviously, the mention of “not up to the socialist standard” refers to the criterion of productive forces.

Aim of Reform: Develop Productive Forces

Since 1978 China has embarked on the course of economic and political structural reform.

The economic structural reform, in essence, aims at making the relations of production compatible with the development of productive forces. Improving the relations of production involves breaking free from a dogmatic pursuit of the Marxist concept of socialism, the Soviet model and the systems formed in China during war years, establishing a planned commodity economic system; and attaching importance to commodity production, the law of value and the role of market.

China’s fundamental political system is good but some serious shortcomings exist in certain leadership systems, organizational structures and working methods. They are mainly manifested in an over-concentration of power, bureaucracy and the lingering influence of feudalism—all of which seriously hamper the development of productive forces. In the final analysis, the development of productive forces involves conducting political structural reform, improving socialist democracy and the socialist

* A Renmin Ribao (People’s Daily) editorial on February 7, 1977 stated, “We must resolutely support whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and consistently follow whatever directives Chairman Mao issued.”
The legal system, overcoming bureaucracy and feudal influence, invigorating the Party and state organs, co-ordinating social interests and stimulating the masses.

There is no fixed model for reform, but there is the objective criterion of whether or not it can promote the development of productive forces. Those measures of reform which prove conducive to the development of productive forces should be upheld, while those which hinder the development should be resolutely discarded regardless of whether they are copied from books or formed through practice.

To use productive forces as a criterion to judge all work, it is first necessary to acquire a comprehensive understanding of these forces. They not only include material factors but the most important human factor. Therefore, when we use productive forces to judge the success or failure of all our work, we must not only take into consideration the growth of material products and economic returns, but also the improvement of the quality of the people, the major factor in

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**Discussion on Criteria for Judging Truth**

The article “Practice Is the Sole Criterion for Judging Truth” carried in the May 10, 1978 issue of *Theoretical Trends*, an internal journal of the Central Party School, was published in *Guangming Ribao* (Guangming Daily) under the name of the paper’s Special Commentator the following day; the full text was released by Xinhua News Agency the same day and was reprinted in *Renmin Ribao* (People’s Daily) and *Jiefangjun Bao* (the Liberation Army Paper) on May 12, triggering a nationwide discussion on the criterion for judging truth.

As a product of collective efforts, the article drew inspiration from speeches and articles on seeking truth from facts and opposing the “two whatevers,” by Deng Xiaoping and other veteran revolutionaries. After the publication of the article, because some people did not fully understand the viewpoints it contained, they expressed their own views. Hu Yaobang, then vice-president of the Central Party School, called a meeting at his home attended by staff members of the Editorial Board of *Theoretical Trends* to study the ideological trends, and decided to write another article, entitled “A Basic Marxist Principle” to be drafted by Wu Jiang and others.

Countering the claims that advocating the theory of practice as the sole criterion for judging truth was to “discard the revolutionary banner,” this article further stressed the need to uphold practice as the criterion, revise, enrich and develop Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought to genuinely safeguard these ideologies.

Under the circumstances prevailing at that time, it was difficult to publish this article. But with the firm support and guidance of Luo Ruiqing, then secretary-general of the military commission, the article was published on June 24 under the name of the Special Commentator of *Jiefangjun Bao*. Luo Ruiqing indicated “If someone censures this article, then please criticize me.”

With the support of Deng Xiaoping and other veteran revolutionaries, discussions on the criteria for judging truth developed in depth. From June to November 1978, leading members of the Party, the central government and army departments and chief officials of most provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and greater military areas all published articles or delivered speeches. They agreed that the Marxist principle — upholding practice as the criterion for judging truth — was of practical significance. With the participation of theoretical workers, the discussion continued. The overwhelming majority of cadres and the masses throughout the country gradually came to understand and accept the Marxist viewpoint, preparing the ideological conditions for the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

A review of the events of the past ten years shows the significance of these discussions. As Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly pointed out: The discussion represented a basic construction. Without forming an ideological line and emancipating the mind, the formulation of a sound political line would have been impossible. The line, principles and policies clearly defined during the period between the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party were the results of emancipation of the mind. The great achievements of the past ten years were closely related to the discussions on the criterion for judging truth.
Step Away From Old Ways of Thinking

One argument which has been raised lately is whether or not it is necessary to make a distinction between socialism and capitalism when we use productive forces as a criterion for everything. Indeed, for a long period of time, the importance people attached to the question of socialism and capitalism far outweighed that attached to the development of productive forces. So up till now, whenever an important reform measure was introduced, a question often asked was: Is it “socialism” or “capitalism?” If we consider everything in this way, no progress will be made. Upholding the criterion of productive forces means precisely to step away from this form of thinking.

First, we are conducting reform under the understanding that a socialist system has been established in China and reform represents self-improvement and self-development of the socialist system. Upholding the criterion of productive forces and concentrating on their development will display the superiority of socialism and enhance its attractiveness. So reform is identical to upholding socialism.

Second, it is not a scientific way of thinking to consider everything by first asking whether it is “socialist” or “capitalist.” Not all social phenomena can be branded either “socialist” or “capitalist.” Some are simply common to human society and can be found in all historical stages. For instance, socialized mass production can be applied either to capitalism or socialism, but it is not suited to small-scale production. Some factors (such as the law of value) are common to commodity economies; they are suited to simple, capitalist or socialist commodity production and exchange, but not to self-sufficient natural economies. In reform, it is necessary to adopt measures and methods suited to modern mass production and the commodity economy. We should not allow such abstract concepts as “socialism” or “capitalism” bind us hand and foot.

Understanding Socialism and Capitalism Anew

Fundamentally speaking, to break free from the old way of thinking, it is necessary to re-evaluate socialism and capitalism and come to a new understanding of their relationship to each other. Marx’s theory on socialism turned socialism from utopian to scientific. But, his vision of socialism was limited by the historical conditions of his time. He could not possibly foresee the establishment of socialist society in a semi-feudal country with underdeveloped productive forces. To build socialism in such a country, it is necessary to proceed from a realistic understanding of the level of development of its productive forces and basic conditions.

With regard to China’s conditions, one basic fact is that we have not been building socialism on the basis of modernization: we first set up a socialist system and then proceeded with the modernization drive. To achieve modernization, it is necessary to socialize and commercialize production, do away with natural economies and develop a commodity economy.

As the development of productive forces requires a commodity economy, we must adopt reform measures suited to its development. Many forms of management used in capitalist societies have been drawn from the commodity economy and socialized mass production. They are scientific and cultural heritage for mankind. A socialist system can use them to develop productive forces and create wealth for all people. To put political labels on them and reject them out of hand would simply harm our own chances of success.

Our understanding of capitalism, or more precisely traditional capitalism, is mainly through Marxist and Leninist works. We lack an in-depth understanding of modern capitalism. In the days of Marx, capitalism was in its early stages; some countries had experienced industrial revolution while some others were just in the stage of primitive capital accumulation. But things have changed a great deal since World War II, especially since the 1960s. The application of science and technology brought with it the vigorous development of productive forces. As we isolated ourselves from the outside world for a long time, we have been left behind in the study of these changes.

After World War II, with the recovery and development of productive forces, certain self-regulatory mechanisms were set up in capitalist societies. To meet the needs of the development of commodity economy, they formed a fairly comprehensive legal system which set limits on monopolies and ensured to a certain extent an environment of free competition. In addition, they helped generate a talented management class, thus promoting further development of productive forces.
Socialist countries now are still quite weak economically and have poor self-regulatory mechanisms because of the underdeveloped productive forces. The solution to this problem lies in reform. Only by fundamentally improving the economic and political systems which hinder the development of productive forces, and establishing vital socialist economic and political systems, will it be possible to change this situation. Capitalism can achieve modernization by making use of its system's strengths. Why can't socialism do the same?

For a long time, socialism and capitalism were seen as absolutely opposing systems; and any relationship between them was negated. This did not accord with the original Marxist view nor with facts. In the 1950s, the struggle between socialism and capitalism was seen as one of "life and death," and during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), slogans claimed, "If the capitalist road is not blocked, it will be impossible to march towards socialism."

In terms of the course of historical development, capitalism represents more progressive relations of production than feudal and small-scale family production. It once played a revolutionary role in history. Socialism should make use of all the positive achievements gained through the development of capitalism. At one time Lenin thought that after the socialist revolution in economically backward countries with undeveloped commodity economies, capitalism could and should be used to promote the development of socialism. He said, "We must utilize capitalism as the intermediary link between small production and socialism, as a means, a path, and a method of increasing the productive forces." Although Lenin raised this view under unique historical conditions, his approach to the question still remains useful today.

China began to build the socialist system on a semi-colonial and semi-feudal basis and its level of development of productive forces was even lower than in the Soviet Union. In the primary stage of socialism, to develop the commodity economy and productive forces, it is necessary to set up different types of ownership under the precondition that public ownership remains predominant and adopt diverse forms of distribution, with distribution according to work remaining predominant. For instance, the private economic sector should be allowed to develop to a certain extent and unearned incomes should be allowed. The private sector is influenced and restricted by the socialist economy and does not exist independently of it. The criterion for the existence and development of the private sector is whether or not they are compatible with the current level of development of China's productive forces and conducive to their development.

Scientific socialism requires that we do not divorce ourselves from the criterion of productive forces and use abstract principles or utopian models to judge reality.

Reforming and Restructuring the System

by Our Correspondent Li Li

In 1978, higher education in China entered a post-liberation period of growth and in the nine years since, the number of institutes of higher learning increased from 598 to 1,063. The number of teachers rose from 206,000 to 385,000 and the institutes turned out 2.7 million college and junior college graduates, about the equivalent of the total number trained in the 30 post-liberation years. About 180,000 students finished their post-graduate courses, four times the number of the previous 30 years, and the first group of 1,200 Ph.Ds passed through the universities.

At present, China's universities and colleges have 1.96 million students, 1.1 million more than in 1978; 120,000 post-graduates in master's programmes, 12 times as many as in 1978; and nearly 10,000 foreign students from more than 110 countries and regions the world over. These institutes have since sent 50,000 students to study in 76 countries and regions, about four times as many as in the 16 years from 1950 to 1966.

The stable growth of higher education has much to do with the ongoing educational reforms.

Management System

In the past nine years, higher education reforms have mainly involved the management, enrol-
Beijing University now has more than 2,800 students in its graduate study programme. Students in the graduate study library.

Early in the 1980s, China's university and college students numbered only an average 1,500. Nationwide, only 39 universities and colleges had more than 5,000 students, and more than 800 had fewer than 3,000 students. The national teacher-student ratio averaged 1:4.4. Certainly many universities and colleges could have enrolled more students had they been allowed to exceed the number stipulated by the state and manage their expenses independently.

— The long-term centralization alienated higher education from society's needs. Curricula often did not fit in with employers' requirements, with the result that many graduates could not apply what they had learnt at school to their jobs; some could not even find jobs. Universities and colleges, however, had no right, nor the ability, to change this even though change was called for.

Higher education reform first began in a few pilot universities and colleges early in the 1980s and extended nationwide in 1985, when the Party Central Committee released the "Decision on Educational Reform" which granted universities and colleges more decision-making powers. On the premise that they adhere to state policies and plans universi-
ities and colleges were given the right to admit, outside the state plan, any students trained under contracts signed with work units concerned and students paying their own expenses; to make decisions on teaching methods and syllabus, and select teaching materials; to accept projects from, or co-operate with, other establishments in scientific research and technical development programmes. They could appoint and remove vice-presidents and officials at lower levels; decide on the use of capital investment and funds allocated by the state; dispose of independently raised funds as they saw fit; and conduct academic exchange with foreign universities and colleges. In addition, the central authorities delegated to some key universities and colleges the power to confer academic titles on professors and associate professors.

The reforms left the state with only macro-management responsibilities of formulating policies and plans, forecasting future developments, and coordinating higher education and socio-economic growth.

The benefits of the reforms are more than obvious. Take Shaanxi Province’s Northwest University for example. Under the old management system, the university had a teacher-student ratio of 1:3. Teaching staff and equipment did not receive sufficient assignments and some subjects had to be suspended either because of low enrolment or job assignment difficulties.

After the reforms, the university used its surplus teachers and equipment to train 2,000 more students enrolled on contract with 30 government departments and other establishments. The teacher-student ratio jumped to 1:6.9, and the number of subjects offered now raised from 11 in the 1970s to 36. In return, the university received more than 30 million yuan in capital investment, equivalent to the total allocations to the university from provincial authorities in the previous 30 years. The university also received funds of more than 2 million yuan every year for scientific research, double the average annual allocation offered by provincial authorities.

Restructuring

Studies indicate that higher education in China has long been plagued by internal structural imbalances, especially between the liberal arts and science and engineering faculties. In 1952, the number of students majoring in Chinese, law and business accounted for only 22.5 percent of the total. The percentage dropped to 9.6 percent in 1957 and further to 7.7 percent in 1962, reflecting a serious neglect of liberal arts studies.

This problem also found expression mainly in the uneven development of various arts. Over a rather long period of time, basic liberal arts were developed to the full and applied arts were virtually ignored. There was almost a total absence of peripheral disciplines. The number of students majoring in finance and economics, for example, dropped sharply to account for only 1 percent of all students majoring in liberal arts in 1978.

Similarly disproportionate was the ratio of students in 2- to 3-year junior college courses, regular four-year college courses, and post-graduate programmes. In the 30 post-liberation years, junior college education developed slowly, as did training at higher levels, such as masters and doctorates. In 1978, the ratio of students majoring in junior college courses to those majoring in regular college courses was 0.37:1. There were no Ph.D candidates at all before 1978.

In 1978, the state education department finally began to realize the impact these imbalances in higher education were having on socio-economic development, and started a sweeping series of changes to the educational system.

In 1983 the ratio of students...
majoring in liberal arts (including teacher training) to those majoring in science and engineering was readjusted by and large to the level of the 1950s, with liberal arts enrolments accounting for 21 percent of enrolments in natural sciences. Even though this ratio still ranks poorly when compared to other countries, it reflects China's renewed awareness of the importance of liberal arts. In 1987, efforts were made to readjust the internal structure of liberal arts programmes, and develop applied arts, such as teacher training, economics, political science and law, management, and language.

In 1986 students enrolled in teachers' colleges and universities represented 34.2 percent of the total enrolment, up 3.3 percent from 1978. The number of universities and colleges with economics departments increased nearly eight-fold from 248 in 1980 to 1,700 in 1987, and enrolments increased more than six-fold. Many universities and colleges opened new peripheral specialities such as mathematical and ecological economics.

The large-scale changes in 1986 raised the ratio of junior college students to regular college students to 0.83:1. China is now able to offer graduate study programmes, and has as many as 7,000 Ph.D candidates studying in different fields.

Another aim of the nine-year reform programme is to restructure the teaching of the various disciplines. Many disciplines covered limited areas of knowledge and were not well defined scientifically. Many graduates came out with a very narrow range of knowledge and a limited capacity to meet job requirements. The state higher education department responded by standardizing subject definition and scope for all universities and colleges in the country.

In the new subject catalogue, the number of science and engineering subjects was down to 325 from 878, and that of liberal arts to 214 from 398, and many subjects now cover a wider range of study. For example, in the past "industrial accounting," "business accounting," "agricultural accounting" and seven other accounting subjects were all offered as separate subjects. These are now incorporated into a single accounting course. The catalogue also includes such new specialities as "market management and marketing," "intellectual property law," and "international enterprise management."

These changes, plus the increase in the number of elective courses and the introduction of credit hours and double-degree operations, have revitalized China's universities and colleges. The students' range of knowledge has widened and become more adaptable to social needs, and students are free to be more creative in their study.

Scientific Research

China's universities and colleges are a powerful scientific research force, but under the old management system many institutes were cut off from society. Research results could not be applied to economic construction and social development. Reforms in the past nine years sought to change this situation by combining scientific research with student training to better serve economic construction.

Making the most of the decision-making powers the State Education Commission delegated to them in scientific research, universities turned their efforts to the following tasks, in some cases, with great success:

—The establishment of an education-research-production chain. Shanghai universities and colleges, for example, set up more than 80 links with research institutes and factories which have promoted educational and scientific research. The Shanghai Jiaotong University and Shangyu County in Zhejiang Province jointly produce wind-powered electric generators and glass fibre reinforced plastic cooling towers for sale in 14 countries and regions at an annual output value of 30 million yuan. They pay more than 7 million yuan over to the state in
Teachers and students of the Shanghai Fudan University conducting an analysis of genes carrying hereditary diseases at their laboratory.

WANG ZUIN

Teachers and students of the Shanghai Fudan University conducting an analysis of genes carrying hereditary diseases at their laboratory.

WANG ZUIN

taxes and share another 7 million yuan in profit.

— The establishment of scientific research centres or development groups. Universities and colleges pool their resources into research projects. Shaanxi Province's 23 universities and colleges formed a joint scientific and technological development association which facilitates the transfer of research results, offers technical services and consultancy, trains technicians and develops new technology.

— The establishment of cooperative technical zones. Chengdu Scientific and Technological University in Sichuan Province has signed technical cooperation agreements with 20 cities, prefectures and counties. The university has transferred to them 103 of its research results, thus increasing the number of their products by 45 and their output value by more than 90 million yuan.

To tap the research potential of universities and colleges and coordinate co-operative efforts, the State Education Commission set up a science and technology commission last October as a top think-tank for formulating policies, programmes and development strategies for scientific research.

The reforms were a shot in the arm for universities and colleges in China. In the past nine years, they have participated in many state research projects and published more than 20,000 books and 150,000 academic papers on scientific research results. They have taken 21 percent of the technical advancement prizes, 27 percent of the invention prizes and 46 percent of the natural sciences prizes conferred by the state in the past nine years.

Problems Ahead

Even though reforms have provided a solution for many of the problems of the past, high-ranking education officials say higher education in China is still out of step with the needs of the modernization programme. Indeed, recent rapid developments have brought to light some new problems. Universities and colleges have been growing rapidly in number and size, but the results they are producing are not so satisfactory. Much of their human and financial resources is wasted, putting more pressure on already strained funds. Some departments were not well co-ordinated and specialties overlapped.

Some universities and colleges also tended to enrol more post-graduates while paying inadequate attention to the training of much needed junior college students.

To overcome these new problems, the State Education Commission called a national conference on higher education early this year to sum up the experiences and lessons of the nine years of reform and discuss the short-term arrangement and long-term goals for developing higher education.

It was decided at the meeting that in the 12 remaining years of this century China should build a higher education system which is rationally structured and which satisfies the needs of society for college-trained personnel. Higher education should develop in close co-ordination with elementary education, and vocational and technical education. By the middle of next century, some universities and colleges will have reached the level of developed countries in terms of education and scientific research.

To realize this plan, the State Education Commission has decided to take on higher education reform as its main task in the years to come. In the immediate future, reforms will concentrate on the following fields:

— Social forces should be mobilized to assist and invest in higher education to overcome the shortage of state fundings. Universities and colleges should strengthen their co-operation with other social departments and attract social funds through such channels as joint operations.

— To curtail continued increases in the number of universities and colleges, stress should be put on tapping the
potential of existing institutes and increasing investment returns from universities and colleges.

— To further improve the structure of higher education, priority should be given to the training of junior college students. In addition, efforts should be made to keep the number of postgraduates at the 1987 level.

— To further revamp the management system, continue to give more decision-making powers to universities and colleges and ensure the exercise of these powers by formulating them as soon as possible.

— To restructure university and college leadership, the president responsibility system should be gradually introduced to place responsibility in the hands of the president and to separate Party affairs from administrative affairs.

Such a system is already being implemented in 93 universities and colleges on a trial basis.

— Improving the quality of education will gradually be seen as the key to all-round reforms and will be tackled conscientiously. It will include improvements to curricula, teaching methods and course goals. The orientation and ideology of education will also be defined.

University Coffee Bar With a Difference

With the growing reform in China, college students are becoming more commercial minded. Some of them have taken part in work-study programmes to make money and come to an understanding of the workings of society.

by Our Correspondents Yang Xiaobing & Cheng Gang

Zheng Jiakai, a driver with the Hefei Transport Company, was so startled by his discovery that he cried out to his workmates as he left Kangni Cafe: “Hey! All the waitresses in here are college students!”

His colleagues probably laughed. Kangni Cafe on Sanxiaokou Street in downtown Hefei is famous as a workplace for students.

Growing Popularity

It was once thought that a student’s place was on campus, studying hard and preparing for a useful future. When some students did do manual work they often refused to accept payment, thinking it more noble to donate their labour for free. However, with the reforms and the new mood in the country, students too are beginning to be more commercial minded.

In the bigger city campuses, taking on part-time work has become quite widespread. Because it is not permanent, full-time work it has been called a work-study programme. In some universities, on-campus sanitation and service work has been taken on by the students. Advertisements offering private tuition appear on poles on the streets. Some campuses have started up work-study programmes channelling willing students into available work.

Zhang Xueping, secretary-general of the Anhui Provincial Students' Union Federation, says that there is now hardly any stigma attached to working outside class. Almost all the 33 universities and colleges in Anhui Province have students in their work-study programmes. The numbers are not great, however, and this could be due to the intense competition for work in Anhui which already has more than enough labour.

Students in scientific and technical colleges find it easier to get part-time employment than students of the arts. The Education Committee of Anhui Province called on college leaders to lend their support to work-study programmes, so that after 1986 every college and university had such a programme. However, there are not so many opportunities open to student applicants.

Kangni Cafe opened last May. The Hefei Foreign Languages School hoped that the relative sophistication of the personnel would ensure a very high quality of service. They did not expect to make as big a stir with the enterprise as they did.

Student Waitresses

Last spring when Kangni Cafe advertised for waitresses in ten colleges, over 170 students...
applied. After careful selection and some simple training, 30 of them were taken on. They work in their spare time, on shifts of three hours, so that two or three waitresses are always on duty. The pay is 2 yuan per shift. Performance-related bonuses are also available. This pay is slightly higher than standard rates in the field. Discipline, however, is very strict. Dai Yufang, a student of the Hefei Combined University, says: “If we quarrel with a customer or come late twice in a row, we will be dismissed.”

Wang Chengfang, in red work-clothes, says while waiting on two customers: “I’m doing this because I want to meet different people. I like working and communicating with people.”

One day when a young man brought in a bottle of liquor and began drinking in Kangni. Wang Chengfang came up to him and said politely: “Sorry, comrade, liquor is forbidden here.” The young man just looked at her and poured the rest of the bottle onto the table. Wang removed the table cloth, cleaned the table and spread a new cloth on the table. The young man felt ashamed and left. “At that time I was very angry,” said Wang. “But I must treat my customers with respect and keep my temper.” She feels the job has matured her. She hopes to contract a similar cafe after graduation and recruit college students to work there.

Cheng Feng is a student of the Hefei Foreign Languages School. Her parents are doctors, and her family is well-off. “I signed to work in Kangni Cafe without the least hesitation,” she says. “I feel good about spending the money I earn. Living is expensive in school. I like going on trips, having parties on my birthday, buying books and beautiful clothes. I hate asking my parents for all that money.”

After working several months in Kangni, she has saved a little money. Every month she gives her younger brother some pocket money. She is planning a trip to Huangshan Mountain with her classmates when the holiday comes. She feels her life is more interesting and exciting now. “Some of my classmates prefer to idle about rather than work in a cafe. But I don’t agree with that. In my opinion, serving people and communicating with the public is more worthwhile than just playing.”

Social Reaction

Many students have heard about the advantages of working in the cafe. Some men students also want to get a job at Kangni. Not all the students feel the same, however. Fu Jingling, a waitress in Kangni, quotes one of her classmates as saying: “A cafe is a place where only silly people go. You are not short of money. If you have extra time you would do better to go to the library.”

Kangni had one waitress who resigned because her boyfriend did not want to see her attending to others. Wang Ling, another waitress in Kangni, says that most of her classmates agree that working in a cafe is a good idea, a way of earning money and maturing, but somehow they never get around to trying it for themselves.

Dai Yufang says that when she applied to Kangni she did not tell her parents, because she thought they might forbid her to go. In the end they reacted much like other parents and just asked her to make sure it did not interfere with her studies.

There are also some parents who warmly support their children’s work. Fu Jingling’s father, a lecturer at the Anhui Agricultural College, says: “I hope my students go deep into society.” He encouraged a postgraduate student to work in Kangni.

But there are some parents whose opposition is absolute. Of the 40 students who passed the preliminary selection, eight did not come to the second interview because of their parents’ opposition.

Kangni’s clientele is on the young side, and includes workers, cadres, pedlars and intellectuals. They are generally satisfied with Kangni’s service. Zhang Yuan, a driver, says that his colleagues often come to Kangni Cafe. They think the waitresses are attentive and hard-working. They are not as snooty as they had feared, but neither do they smile enough.

Zhou, a driver with the Anhui Tourist Motor Company, says: “Working part time in a cafe is a good way for college students to experience real society.” If his sister worked in a cafe, he would support her. A couple of customers, recent university graduates themselves, say: “What a pity we did not have the chance to work like this when we were students.”
Self-Employed Express Desires

"ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN"
(China Youth)

Some people say that self-employed business people do not need to worry about their life because they have become well off. Some say that the self-employed think of nothing except money. This is not really the case. A recent survey of self-employed young people in the Daowai District of Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, showed that they have six main wishes:

To acquire more knowledge. Of the youth surveyed, 5.5 percent had a senior middle school education, 81.6 percent had a junior middle school education and 12.9 percent had only a primary school education or could not read or write. Over the past several years, the self-employed have managed their businesses by relying on experience and a pioneering spirit. But with the sharpening of competition, they have learned that people with limited knowledge find it hard to beat their rivals. In this regard, about 95 percent of the youth surveyed believed they have reached a crisis. According to the survey, many have begun independent studies of popular psychology and commodity management, while others are engaged in advanced studies at universities or colleges at their own expense.

To get expert advice. The results of the survey showed that about 30 percent of the self-employed young people felt that without advice from experts, they cannot risk expanding their businesses. Many of those surveyed paid high fees to engage experts as consultants.

To see the government maintain its current course. The business activities of self-employed people are based on the government policy on individual economy. About 91 percent of the youth surveyed were worried about the current policy being changed. During the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China last autumn, 70 percent of the survey respondents watched television to hear Party leader Zhao Ziyang's report.

To see the perfection of the socialist legal system. Many of the youth surveyed said that they are forced to swallow their resentment of lawbreaking pedlars who bully people and forcibly occupy the markets and that some staff involved in the administration of the market who use their public office for private gain. The young people hope that the government will strengthen the legal system and that market managerial personnel will act in accordance with the law. They also hope that the government will immediately work out a law to govern the activities of pedlars.

To participate in social activities. The great majority of self-employed young people want to make their due contributions to society. They are not content to enjoy the material aspects of life, but long to participate in political affairs. According to the survey, 11 percent of them wish to join the Party and the Communist Youth League, while 35 percent wish to become model workers.

To serve society and expand social contacts. Fascinated by varied and colourful social activities, the self-employed youth in the survey are unwilling to continue to lead dull lives. They envy people of the same age who live in collectives. They thirst to serve society and expand their social contacts. Many of the youth surveyed frequently participate in get-togethers and voluntary labour to try to win recognition and understanding from society.

If I Am Elected Mayor of Shanghai

"RENMIN RIBAO"
(People's Daily, Overseas Edition)

If I am elected mayor of Shanghai, I have both the determination and the resolve to create a government which is honest and efficient in performing its official duties and which serves the people wholeheartedly.’’ This was Zhu Rongji's pledge in his speech to the first session of the Ninth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress.

Zhu, 59, now the city's mayor, said, “My creed is to think things out for myself. If I am elected mayor of Shanghai, I'll take concrete deeds as my point of departure. I think the most important thing we should do for the people is to handle concrete affairs in a down-to-earth manner, rather than suggest more guiding principles.”

Zhu said he planned to select and promote people with lofty ideals to establish a single agency with the authority to approve foreign-investment projects. The people who are chosen must have the will to vigorously develop Shanghai, as well as a good grasp of technology and management. They must be honest and upright in their ways, rather than people who crave office.

Zhu said if he were elected, his government, under the supervision of the Standing Committee of the Ninth Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, would use the first six months of 1988 to develop production and expand exports.
In the second half of the year, it would concentrate on developing sources of agricultural and sideline products; improving urban traffic flow; resolving the problems of housing and pollution; and organizing scientists and technicians to tackle more than 20 key scientific and technological projects so as to raise the productivity as quickly as possible.

Regarding the development of education, Zhu paid tribute to primary and middle school teachers. He said it was hard for him to promise a substantial increase of funds for educational institutions. But he guaranteed that their claims would take precedence over all others in future spending.

Zhu said, “I may not be the best choice for the job because my experience is in central and leading departments, not at the grassroots level or in local government. It is also clear that it will not be easy for me to lead Shanghai, with its population of 12 million. Jiang Zemin, secretary of the Shanghai municipal Party committee, predicts that my hair will turn from black to white in a year if I am elected mayor of Shanghai. I have been mentally prepared.”

Central Institutions Undergo Evolution

From October 1949 to September 1954, under the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, there were 46 ministries, commissions and administrative entities with a staff of about 23,000.

In September 1954 the Government Administration Council was renamed the State Council. The number of institutions under it rose to 64.

In 1956 there were 82 institutions under the State Council with 52,000 government functionaries.

In 1958 the government began to simplify its administrative structures. In 1959 the number of institutions under the State Council was reduced to 60, with a staff of 36,000.

In the early 1960s, China ran into economic difficulties and began to implement a policy of “readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards.”

(Tr.) One after another, enterprises and institutions that had been transferred to lower levels of jurisdiction in 1958 were again brought under the control of central ministries. By 1965 the State Council had 80 institutions with 41,000 staff members.

During the “cultural revolution” (1966-76), the State Council could not do its normal work. Some institutions were eliminated or merged and their number fell to 33, with a staff of only 10,000.

After 1976 the number of institutions under the State Council gradually increased to 98 with 49,000 staff members.

In 1982 the State Council began a process of structural reform. The number of institutions was reduced to 56—41 ministries and commissions and 15 administrations—with a staff of 32,000.

The Hu Yaobangs, What They Do

Li Zhao, wife of former Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, is a clothing design expert. Even though she retired from the leading group of the Beijing Textile Bureau four years ago, she still busies herself with work on clothing design. Li is now the director of the Beijing Clothing Association and a standing committee member of the CPC Beijing Municipal Advisory Commission.

Both Hu Yaobang and his wife pursue interests in reading and calligraphy during their spare time. But, each of them has his or her own plan and neither one interferes with the other’s work. Li Zhao immerses herself in sorting out her notes and reading books on economy and technology. Hu Yaobang initially studied Marxist and Leninist works and is now reading reminiscences of revolutionary marshals.

Li Zhao has also learned taijiquan (a kind of traditional Chinese shadow boxing) and practices for 15 minutes every morning or night. Hu Yaobang, on the other hand, believes in the benefits of walking. Every day he walks 10,000 steps. Sometimes when he is not feeling well he still walks 7,000 steps.
China Curbs Import Of Production Lines

According to the Ministry of Light Industry, China has imposed control over the imports of production lines for household electric appliances, such as refrigerators, washing machines and air conditioners, in the hope of attracting more co-operation in technology.

Since the first import of a washing machine production line by the Yingkou Washing Machine Factory in Liaoning Province from the Matsushita Electric of Japan in 1982, various industrial departments have imported similar production lines one after another. The light industrial departments alone have spent US$400 million on imports of more than 170 household electric appliance projects to produce 9 million refrigerators, 9 million refrigerator compressors, 1.29 million air conditioners and 12 million washing machines a year.

Last year, China produced 3.98 million refrigerators, over 9 million washing machines and 34 million electric fans. The annual output for refrigerators and washing machines ranked highest in the world.

The import of production lines has greatly promoted the development of China's household electric appliance industry. For instance, China began producing refrigerators in 1954. By 1978, only 28,000 refrigerators had been produced by hand for use in hospitals. In 1980 virtually no families in China owned refrigerators and in 1985 an average of 1.51 refrigerators were owned for every 100 families. Now for every 100 families there are 6-7 refrigerators. In the urban area of Beijing 60-70 percent of the families have refrigerators.

Huang Liangfu, general engineer with the Household Electric Appliance Bureau of the Ministry of Light Industry, told reporters that importing production lines is not as beneficial to the industry as importing technology. He praised Qingdao-Liebherr refrigerators, produced by the Qingdao General Refrigerator Factory with the technological co-operation from Liebherr of the Federal Republic of Germany, as the best quality refrigerators in the country. The co-operation project began in 1985 for a term of 10 years. It brought in more profits for the Qingdao General Refrigerator Factory which, in the past three years, turned out quality products to meet 200 West German and international standards. The factory also won in an international medical refrigerator bidding sponsored by the World Health Organization (WHO). It has exported 40,000 refrigerators to Southeast Asia, Hong Kong and the Soviet Union. To meet both domestic and overseas demands, this year's output is expected to expand from 100,000 to 200,000 refrigerators.

Huang feels that Sino-foreign technological co-operation is more conducive to the development of China's household electric appliance industry. So far, enough production lines have been imported and the production capability of some lines have exceeded market demands. The next goals should be to digest the imported technology, improve product quality and gradually shift to Chinese-made spare parts and components.

by Li Ning

Thailand Invests in Hainan Province

Hainan Province, China's largest special economic zone, is now attracting investments from an increasing number of foreign businesses. On May 27, the Chai Tai Group of Thailand signed three letters of intent with Hainan provincial authorities for investing US$2.54 billion in the development of prawn breeding, pig raising and petrochemical industries.
Loan for Nuclear Power Station

The joint agreement by 17 international banks and financial organizations to provide a loan to the Daya Bay Nuclear Power Station was signed in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province on May 24. The loan amounts to HK$1.6 billion (about US$200 million) for a term of 10 years.

These international banks and financial organizations included the China National Construction Finance (Hong Kong) Ltd., the US Chase (Asia) Ltd., Banque Nationale De Paris, the Midland Bank of Britain and Mitsubishi Bank Ltd. of Japan.

The construction of the Daya Bay Nuclear Power Station, one of China's largest power projects, started in April 1984. The project requires a total investment of US$3 billion. The initial construction stage of the project was completed in late April 1986.

Bechtel International Service, Inc., one of the most experienced companies in nuclear power station construction, concluded a contract with the Guangdong Nuclear Power Station Joint Co. Ltd. to offer advisory services on quality.

So far, more than 20 international banks and financial organizations in Britain, the United States, France, Japan, the Netherlands and Hong Kong have provided loans for this project. The sum has amounted to HK$2 billion, two-thirds of the total investment needed.

Sino-British Venture In Heavy Vehicles

North China Heavy Vehicle Co. Ltd., a joint venture managed by the Inner Mongolian No. 2 General Machinery Plant and the British Terex Equipment Co. Ltd., was set up on May 21 in Baotou, a major city in Inner Mongolia.

This is China's first Sino-foreign joint venture in the heavy vehicle industry. According to the contract, Terex will provide the complete production line and the Chinese side will supply other production equipment to jointly produce, assemble and market heavy-duty dump trucks. The designed annual output is 300 heavy-duty vehicles each with a loading capacity from 33 to 77 tons.

China has long been lacking heavy-duty dump trucks, which in the past had to be imported. Before the company's establishment, Chinese and British sides co-operatively manufactured 44 heavy-duty dump trucks in the 40-ton class. Trial use by some industrial and mining enterprises, including the Sichuan Panzhuhua Iron and Steel Co., has proved the reliability of these vehicles.

Investment in this joint venture totals 92 million yuan, of which 66.3 percent is from the Chinese side and the rest from the British side. The term for the co-operative agreement is 20 years.

by Zhang Zhiping

News in Brief

The Second Beijing International Printing Technology Exhibition, sponsored by the Ministry of Machine-Building and Electronics Industry and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, was held at the Beijing International Exhibition Centre June 1-7. More than 300 factories and companies from 15 countries and regions displayed over 400 sets of advanced typesetting, plate making, printing and binding equipment.

The Third International Printing Technology Exhibition is expected to be held in Beijing in 1992.
Two-Route Ascent of the World’s Highest Peak

On May 5, 1988, 12 climbers in a joint China, Japan and Nepal expedition for the first time succeeded in climbing both sides of the 8,848-metre-high Mt Qomolangma, from north to south and south to north.

At 12:42, China’s Cering Doje first reached the summit and shouted out, “We have reached the top! Snowy mountains and white clouds are under our feet.” His voice was broadcast by radio direct to Beijing from the north camp.

At 14:23, the three-climbers Cering Doje, Yamada Noboru and Ang Lhakba Sherpa, the first to reach the summit from the north ridge, set a world record by staying at the summit for 99 minutes, then descended the opposite side of the mountain.

Since the first conquering of Mt Qomolangma in 1953, man has reached its summit dozens of times; but despite this, Qomolangma has still not been tamed. Between 1986 and 1987, about 20 teams from various countries have attempted the climb but only one succeeded in tackling the south side.

In 1985, the Mountaineering Association of China proposed with Japan and Nepal, to set up a three-nation joint expedition to simultaneously climb Mt Qomolangma from both the south and north ridges. The suggestion was well received and after 14 meetings, a three-nation protocol for climbing the mountain—the Qomolangma/Sagarmatha friend-
ship mountaineering agreement — was signed in Beijing on February 24, 1987.

On March 3, 1988, the north-route team reached the 5,154-metre base camp, and began their first assault on March 16.

At first, strong winds and snow battered at the No. 1, 2 and 3 camps, preventing the climbers from advancing. “People were restless and even became a little crazy with the wind,” many climbers recalled.

But the wind could not put them off. On March 22 and 23, a three-nation road-repair crew pioneered by four Chinese members seized the opportunity to try to open up the first dangerous pass — the ice wall on the North Col. This was the first victory. The transport of supplies to the top of the North Col was the next battle.

Against strong winds and snow on the dizzying ice wall at the North Col, the crew was driven back time and again. On March 27, all members of the transport team were hit by driving wind and snow 78 metres up to the top of the ice wall.

To ensure the success of the climb, the north-route squad leader mobilized the climbers on March 28. “The base camps can be reached by vehicles and the advance camp (6,500 metres above sea level) can be reached by yaks.” The ice wall of the North Col was only the beginning for the climbers.

On March 29, when the north-route group finally accomplished the first assault, five of the climbers retreated owing to illness, one of them China’s top climber.

On April 1, climbers on the north side began their second assault for the 8,300-metre sixth camp. That day, the south-group climbers arrived at the 5,530-metre south base camp on the perilous Kongbu Glacier. China’s south squad leader Rinquen Puncog then led climbers on a reconnaissance of the route to the top. Throughout the climb, the Tibetan team member kept the lead.

On April 2, the north-route group began the assault on the 7,028-7,450-metre ice and snow zones and the large wind mouth. A road-repair group consisting of three top climbers from China, Japan and Nepal was formed, but the group was forced to turn back at the height of 7,300 metres.

The next day at 9 am, the three climbers marched again, and broke through the wind mouth at 1 pm.

From April 7 to 9, the north-route group continued to open up roads to the 7,790-metre Camp 5 and 8,300-metre Camp 6.

On April 7, the road near the first south camp was destroyed by cracks in the ice. Many metal ladders propping up the ice smashed into the crevasses. That day, China’s Luo Shen fell into the crevasse, but escaped injury as his ice pick was firmly fastened to the ice wall.

On April 11, a Nepalese climber also met with an accident in a 40-metre-deep crevasse, 200-metre away from Camp 3, but he was immediately rescued by China’s Rinquen Puncog.

The south squad had to delay their climb time and again due to dangerous conditions in the ice and snow. The situation became worse and worse. Rinquen Puncog was so worried that on April 11 he led the team directly to the 7,400-metre Camp 3. To open up the last difficult pass on the south side — the route to the 7,980-metre South Col — he had to spend 13 days in the pass. On April 19, the south side was hit by bad weather: wild winds hurled ice blocks at their tents and the climbers suffered through a long and dangerous night.

On April 23, the weather on the south side improved, and Rinquen Puncog led one Chinese and one Nepalese in the climb up the South Col.

Records of the World’s Highest Summit

Since the 1920s, mountaineers from Britain, the United States, Denmark, Switzerland and Canada experienced all kinds of hardships and difficulties in their attempts to reach the summit of the 8,848-metre-high Mt Qomolangma, situated on the Nepal-China border.

On May 29, 1953, New Zealand’s Edmund Hillary and Nepal’s Tenzing Norgay led by Col. John Hunt from Britain conquered the summit for the first time from the south side along the Southeast Ridge and through the Kongbu Glacier.

On May 25, 1960, China’s Wang Fuzhou, Konbu (Tibetan) and Qu Yinhua reached the summit of Mt Qomolangma from the north slope.

In 1963, two American mountain climbers reached the summit from the south side along the West Ridge, then, descended from the Southeast Ridge, setting a precedent for such a crossing.

On May 17, 1975, a Japanese woman climber Junko Tabei successfully reached the summit from the south slope to become the first female conqueror of Qomolangma. Ten days later, China’s Phanthog became the first woman conqueror from the north side.

In 1978 and 1980 respectively, a famous Italian mountaineer reached the summit from both the south and north slopes without carrying oxygen.
On April 27, all the Chinese climbers on the north side set out. On May 5, the climbers met on the summit, overjoyed at their success, and the realization of a great dream.

China's Cering Doje once said, "many people have paid a high price attempting to climb this summit, but only a few people actually reached the top. The efforts of those who did not reach the top should not be forgotten."

The Sports Radio Association of China set up a communication network which guaranteed contact between the climbers and headquarters throughout the ascent. The three Japanese TV men actually reached the summit, but only a few people looked on. Daisaku Ikeda of the Japanese Diet has called the climbers "heroes of the modern world, and to better participate in modern culture."

Heidegger Translated Into Chinese

The first Chinese version of Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time) was published in China in December last year, with a run of 31,000 copies in the first printing. At an academic symposium held in Beijing last April, representatives from philosophy and publishing circles praised the publication of the book as a most significant event. The symposium was held to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology - one of the most influential philosophers to come out of the 20th century. Heidegger wrote *Sein und Zeit* in 1926 and dedicated it to Husserl, his teacher.

At the symposium, experts agreed that Husserl's ideas exerted a major influence on the development of modern philosophy, aesthetics, sociology, literature and literary criticism in Europe and other places in the world. Heidegger's philosophy is an advanced and important aspect of phenomenology. However, few of his works have been introduced to China, although some Chinese scholars did begin to study his writings in the 1930s.

In the late 70s, Chinese scholars felt an urgent need to introduce the progress of world culture to China to gain a better and deeper understanding of the modern world, and to better participate in creating a new world culture. The study of phenomenology was listed as one of the key social science research topics in the Seventh-Five-Year Plan period (1986-90). The publication of *Sein und Zeit*, a most difficult and obscure work, marks a breakthrough in China's study of phenomenology.

The translation of the work was done by two young scholars from the Foreign Philosophy Research Institute of Beijing University. They began their work in 1981 and it took four years to complete the translation. During this period, they received useful assistance and instruction from many renowned scholars and their colleagues. Professor Xiong Wei, their tutor, checked and revised their translations. Xiong, now in his 70s, was a student of Heidegger in the 30s when he studied in Germany. In the early 60s, Xiong translated 12 important chapters from the book into Chinese. He recalls that even though Heidegger did not speak Chinese, he had a strong interest in oriental philosophies. In 1946, Heidegger spent the whole year studying *Dao De Jing* (Canon of the Dao and its Virtue) by the ancient Chinese philosopher Lao Zi, with the help of the well-known scholar Xiao Shivi.

*Sein and Zeit* is one of the titles in the *Modern Western Academic Works Series*, edited by Culture: China and the World Series Editorial Committee. The Chinese today adopt an open-minded attitude to the study of cultural phenomena, trends and cultural patterns of different nationalities in different regions and different periods in history. The book series aims to introduce the most influential and important modern classics to China. The works of renowned scholars such as Friedrich W. Nietzsche, Jean-Paul Sartre, Max Weber and Sakayia Tachii have already been published.

Chinese Swimmers Take Gold Medals

At the Third Asian Swimming Championships held in Guangzhou last April, China took five gold medals in diving and water polo, and 24 in swimming events, beating the Asian swimming powerhouse Japan, which took 6 golds; the only other first place was achieved by Singapore.

The championships, which took place from April 4 to 11, involved more than 300 athletes from 14 Asian countries taking part in swimming, diving and water polo competitions.

Chinese women swimmers produced outstanding performances: one swimmer broke the world record in the 50-metre-freestyle and three swimmers and two teams bettered Seven Asian records.

Yang Wenyi, from Shanghai, clocked 24.98 seconds in the women's 50-metre-freestyle, bettering the former world record by 0.30 second. Yang, 16, has become the first Asian woman to break a world swimming record. The Chinese newspaper *Ti Yu Biao* (Sport News) praised her for "setting a milestone in Chinese swimming history marking the rise of China as a world swimming power."

In the 50s and 60s, Chinese swimmers Mu Xiangxiong and Mo Guoxiong broke the world record in the men's 100-metre-breast stroke.