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A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution

Hu Yaobang Invites Chiang Ching-kuo to Mainland



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Hu Yaobang's Important Speech

At a Beijing rally to mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, the Party chairman further elaborates the policy towards Taiwan and invites island leaders to visit the mainland (p. 6 and pp. 14-21).

Other speakers at the rally voice the opinions of democratic parties and non-party personages on the question of national reunification (pp. 21-23).

In Memory of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

In an article written by Mao Zedong in 1956, the late Party chairman gives a concise yet authoritative assessment of the historical role of Dr. Sun as the forerunner of the Chinese revolution (p. 13).

Ties With Taiwan Proposed

Government departments and mass organizations prepare to contact and establish ties with their counterparts in Taiwan (pp. 6-7).

Arafat Visits Beijing

Chinese leaders meet with the PLO chairman and reaffirm China's full support for the Palestinians and other Arab people in their just struggles (p. 8).

Karmal in a Quandary

The Soviet-backed regime in Kabul faces increasing difficulties as guerrilla fighters intensify attacks, while Karmal's troop strength is drastically reduced through mass desertions (pp. 10-11).

More on Sino-Vietnamese Relations

Second instalment of a long article, discussing the origins of

present differences and bad relations with Viet Nam (p. 24).

A Comment on the Film Script "Unrequited Love"

An analysis of the ideological errors and artistic failures of a much-discussed literary work about which there has been a lot of confusion and misunderstanding (pp. 28-29).



Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner.

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The Taiwan Issue

Is there any possibility for foreigners to mediate and bring about the peaceful reunification of China?

The return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and realization of peaceful reunification is China's internal affairs which can be settled only by the Chinese people. We are

opposed to any foreign country interfering or setting up obstacles to prevent the return of Taiwan. Foreign friends are welcome to help by various means to expedite the return and the realization of peaceful reunification of the country.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

People's Livelihood

What has been done to improve the Chinese people's living standard?

In the last two and a half years, fairly good progress has been made in improving the people's livelihood.

Since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, China has made tremendous achievements in economic construction, and the people are much better off than in pre-liberation days. However, owing to "Left" errors characterized by undue haste in construction, the pace of raising the people's living standard has been slow. The irrational ratio between accumulation and consumption, for example, resulted in a high accumulation rate at the expense of consumption. Despite the fact that per-capita national income was on the rise since 1958, wage increases for the workers and staff members were only marginal, as was also the case with the peasants' incomes. For a period of time after the gang of four was overthrown in October 1976, our economic work continued to suffer setbacks resulting from impatience for success. "Left" mistakes in economic construc-

tion were corrected in real earnest after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was held in December 1978. Measures have since been taken to achieve the best possible results in the light of China's actual conditions and capability. Economic growth is geared to raising the people's living standard. The upshot has been a remarkable improvement in their livelihood.

There has been rapid development in agriculture thanks to two factors: (1) the adoption of measures to reduce the burdens of the peasants and (2) the introduction of the responsibility system in farm production. An all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery has been achieved. As a result, the peasants' living standard has improved noticeably.

In 1980, per-capita income for the peasants was 170 yuan as against 117 in 1977, and purchasing power in the rural areas in 1980 increased by 20.8* per cent compared with 1979. Figures for this year are expected to be higher. All this has brought about great

changes. While food and clothing used to take up the bulk of their earnings, the peasants in many areas now spend their money in this order: building houses, clothing, food and articles for use. In 1978-80, houses totalling 900 million square metres of floor space were built in the countryside for 15 million households. Though the sale of bicycles, sewing machines and radios has increased year after year, they still fall short of the demand. During this period, TV sets have found their way into the rural market.

The standard of living of the workers and staff in the cities has improved too. Wages were increased on three occasions in 1976-79. By implementing the policies of "to each according to his work" and "more pay for more work," workers in most enterprises now receive more bonuses and other fringe benefits. What with better welfare, their real income has greatly increased. Take, for example, a comparison of two surveys of 1,200 worker-families in 50 enterprises made in Beijing in 1979 and 1980. Per-capita monthly income in 1980 was 12 per cent more than that of the previous year, and spending increased by 20 per cent, which meant an 11 per cent increase in the actual level of consumption after taking the price hikes into consideration. The money they spent on food every month increased by 14.5 per cent; clothing, 27.7 per cent; articles for use, 45.8 per cent. There was also a marked increase in the number of durables. In 1980 alone, the above-mentioned 1,200 families bought

* In 1980, retail prices in both the urban and rural areas rose 6 per cent over that of 1979.

LETTERS

Concept of Value and Life Style

I was interested in the article "Socialist Construction and the Way of Life, the Concept of Value and the Growth of People" in *Beijing Review* (Japanese edition, issue No. 35; excerpts of the article under the title "Socialist Values" in this issue—Ed.) written by Yu Guangyuan.

The article said: "What shall be the rational structure and style of consumption of the Chinese people who are enjoying better material life? Are they going to follow the present Western model of consumption or creatively develop a model of their own?" I am convinced that the sensible Chinese will choose the latter.

Everybody is talking about life styles. My own observations correspond to the author's point of view: The outcome of seeking material life and the estrangement of man from man is solitude and agony for a large number of people. Wealthy life styles often breed poor spiritual and cultural lives. This is the poverty of prosperity. I am convinced that while

267 TV sets, 72 tape-recorders, 168 electric fans and 1,327 pieces of furniture.

Light industry has over the last couple of years maintained a rapid rate of growth. The 1980 total output value of light industry was 18.4 per cent more than that of 1979. The figure for the first eight months of this year was 12 per cent higher than that of the corresponding period of last year. Stress has been put on producing more consumer goods so as to boost supplies to the market. By the end of last May, the national total retail sales of social commodities reached 94,400 million yuan, 9.1 per cent more than that of the same period of 1980.

raising the living standard of the broad masses, China can construct a new spiritual civilization and establish and develop socialist ethical relationships.

Tamotsu Kurosaki
Toyama, Japan

Hydroelectricity

"Small Hydropower Stations" in *Beijing Review* (issue No. 32) examined the sophisticated developing economy of the People's Republic of China.

Compared to thermal power generation, combined networks of large and small hydroelectric stations offer many interesting features. Since the turbines do not need to be resistant to high temperatures, the engineers can concentrate on mechanical efficiency and durability. Man-made lakes provide chances for transportation and fish cultivation. Local hydropower facilities reduce transmission losses to rural areas and spread turbine and transformer technologies to rural areas. In an expansive phase of the economy, small local facilities provide an opportunity for disseminating energy technology.

In addition, our public is deeply concerned about pollution and worker hazards at nuclear fuel re-

The increase in the people's purchasing power will give a fresh fillip to economic growth. Though the production of consumer goods has been expanded to a great extent, it still falls short of the rising demand. The Chinese people's livelihood will improve only step by step. Ours is not a consumers' society, and we are opposed to pleasure-seeking and the tendency to indulge in material enjoyment. The people should have lofty aspirations, and equal importance should be attached to the building of socialist ethics and the development of material civilization.

—Economic Editor
Wang Dacheng

processing plant facilities. As in uranium mining, lung cancer danger is high in fuel processing plants. Since immense effects on the people's employment and health are produced by the structure of the energy industry, I hope good studies on the role of hydropower will appear soon.

Unfortunately, American capital investment in fossil fuel and atomic fuel mines and technology makes it politically difficult for hydropower to be discussed objectively in the capitalist nations. I believe scientific writers in socialist countries could make a major contribution by publishing their findings on small and large hydropower economics.

Michael William Corr
Seattle, Wash., USA

Communists and Criticism

Before reading your magazine, my idea about Communists was that they did not accept criticism nor tolerate it. Those who criticized wrong deeds of the administration and higher officials, were persecuted as counter-revolutionaries.

But after reading your magazine, I realize that your position is to appreciate criticism. For example, your magazine lets your readers express their ideas through your "Letters From the Readers" section. This is a progressive practice of your country.

Somapala Weeratunga
Malabe, Sri Lanka

Pop Music

I write concerning the article "Zhao Feng on Pop Music" (issue No. 29). I am still young and enjoy pop music very much. Your article says that China "should introduce to our (Chinese) audiences good foreign light music, musicals and other lyrical music pieces which are of a higher standard than the pop music." In response to this, I want to explain that pop music also has pieces of high quality. And further, the lyrics of some pop songs are progressive, for example, those of Joan Baez or John Lennon. Of course, most pop tunes are simple. Recreational music should not be particularly complicated. It should be folk music of the people.

Bernhard Hildebrandt
Hattingen, W. Germany

POLITICAL

Revolution of 1911 Commemorated

The 70th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911, which fell on October 10, was commemorated throughout China.

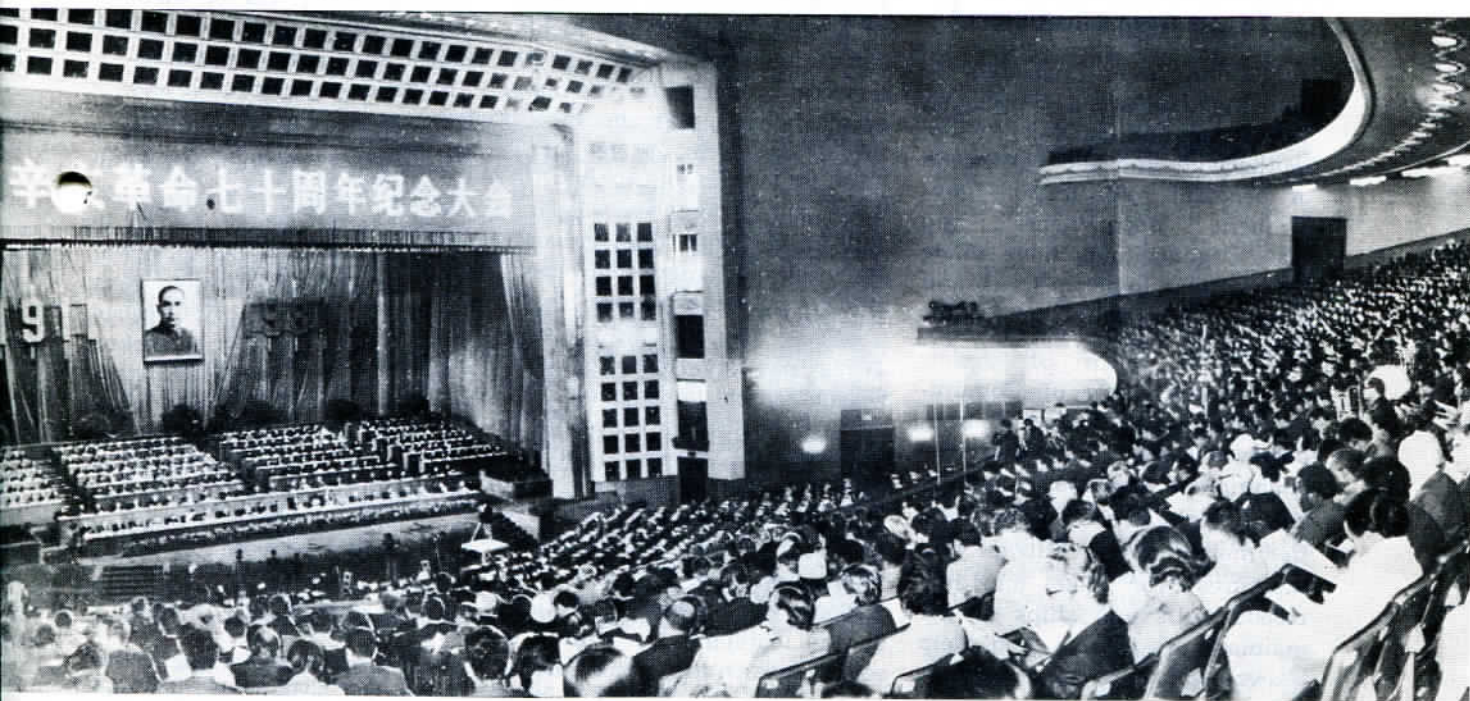
A grand rally in commemoration of this occasion was held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Among the 10,000 people who attended were Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Hua Guofeng and other Party and state leaders. Also present were foreign friends in the capital or from abroad, veterans of the Revolution of 1911 and those who had worked together with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as well as overseas Chinese and compatriots from Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao).

Hu Yaobang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered an important speech (see p. 14). Others who also spoke at the meeting were Qu Wu, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (see p. 21); Hu Juewen, Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association (see p. 22); Lam Sum Lee (Li Moan), former KMT high-ranking general who arrived from the United States for the occasion (see p. 22); and Miao Yuntai, Member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (see p. 23).

On the evening of October 9, the preparatory committee for commemorating the 70th

anniversary of the Revolution of 1911 held a ceremony to receive historical relics of the 1911 Revolution and gifts presented by people both at home and abroad. The next day the committee gave a tea party.

Commemorative activities were multifarious. In Beijing, the Museum of Chinese History organized an exhibition at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Zhongshan Park where 400 letters, inscriptions and relics were on display. In other big cities, places where Sun Yat-sen had lived or worked were open to visitors. The Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing, which was newly repaired, looked more magnificent than ever. In Wuhan, Hubei Province, the Memorial Hall of the Wuchang Uprising of 1911 was officially inaugurated. New films and plays on the Revolution of 1911 and prominent figures involved were shown or staged.



The hall where the rally was held.

Chiang Ching-kuo and Others Invited to Visit the Mainland

CHAIRMAN Hu Yaobang invited Chiang Ching-kuo and other party, government and army leaders as well as personages from all walks of life in Taiwan to visit the mainland and their native places. The invitation was extended by Hu, in his capacity as a leading member of the Chinese Communist Party, at the Beijing rally held on October 9 in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution.

Hu Yaobang said that it would be good if those who visit the mainland wish to talk with us, but they are also welcome if they do not wish to do so for the time being. What have Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo and the others and compatriots from all

walks of life in Taiwan to lose if they do this?

Hu Yaobang pointed out that the Taiwan question is entirely China's internal affair. It should be settled by the leaders and people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

He stressed: There is nothing in our present proposal that is unfair or should cause anxiety to the Taiwan side. If the Taiwan side is still worried about something, it may raise questions for study and settlement during the negotiations. It is understandable for a certain distrust to exist as a result of long-time separation. But if we do not come into contact and talk things over, how can we remove the barriers and build up mutual trust? If

we do not solve this knotty problem and instead wear each other down in confrontation, how can we face Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the martyrs since the 1911 Revolution or face our compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and our descendants?

He said that the Communist Party will not retaliate like the Kuomintang did against us; the excesses of the "cultural revolution" will never be repeated.

Foreign aid is important, but what is most important, most reliable and most powerful is the great patriotic unity of the 1,000 million people of our own country. Dr. Sun Yat-sen will rest in peace in the nether world if we seek to understand and respect each other, work in long-term co-operation and stand together through storm and stress so that our ancient civilized nation can stride forward proudly in the world.

Responses to Chairman Ye Jianying's Statement

In response to Chairman Ye Jianying's statement concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification, government departments and mass organizations have made preparations to get in touch and establish ties with their counterparts in Taiwan.

—The Ministry of Communications has adopted a five-point decision, including the opening of regular passenger and freight services between the mainland and Taiwan and measures for the maritime rescue units and ships of the mainland to rescue and help Taiwan ships in case of emergency.

—The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has adopted a six-point decision, including the opening of direct postal services between the mainland and Taiwan by sea and by air, the direct exchange of mails, direct telecommunication links by satellite between Beijing and Taipei, and the exchange of vocational knowledge, technology and information.

—The Ministry of Foreign Trade has announced that it welcomes industrialists and businessmen in Taiwan to come to the mainland to make investigations, negotiate business, attend the export commodities fair in Guangzhou, hold exhibitions or set up agencies. Export and import corporations on the mainland are willing to send representatives to Taiwan to negotiate trade with indus-

trialists and businessmen there. Arrangements will be made to supply coal, oil, Chinese medicines and other materials to Taiwan at preferential prices.

—The General Administration of Civil Aviation of China has announced that arrangements have been made for its planes to fly to cities in Taiwan to facilitate family reunions, visits by relatives and tourists, academic, cultural and sports exchanges as well as trade between the people living on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. In case of emergency, Taiwan planes may land at any civil airport on the mainland and will be provided with necessary safety measures and service facilities.

—The China National Pharmaceutical Administration wel-

comes people in Taiwan's pharmaceutical circle to conduct trade with their mainland counterparts in Chinese medicinal herbs, ready-made medicines and chemicals. They are also welcome to come to the mainland with industrialists and businessmen to invest in the production and research of medicines.

—The Red Cross Society of China has expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Taiwan Red Cross Society and help Taiwan compatriots to establish contact or reunite with their families, relatives and friends on the mainland.

In addition, the China National Tourist Administration has expressed the hope that tourism between the mainland and Taiwan will be restored at an early date. Scientists and athletes on the mainland are looking forward to frequent visits and exchanges with their Taiwan counterparts.

In response to Chairman Ye's

statement, the people's governments in the two coastal provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian have pointed out that mutual visits by relatives and friends on both sides of the Taiwan Straits should not be restricted. Taiwan compatriots are welcome to settle on the mainland, and their freedom of entry and exit will be guaranteed. Industrialists and businessmen in Taiwan are welcome to invest in these two provinces and develop the economy. Preferential treatments will be given to them.

ECONOMIC

Coal Output Goes Up

China produced 49.91 million tons of coal in September, overfulfilling the state plan by 2.51 million tons. The annual plan of 600 million tons can be met if monthly output in the last quarter exceeds 50 million tons.

Coal production failed to meet the state plan in the first eight months of this year. At a national conference on coal production held in August, Minister of Coal Industry Gao Yangwen made a self-criticism and held himself responsible for the drop in coal output. He said that the target set by the state was not too high nor were the working conditions unfavourable. He attributed the failure to incompetent leadership at various levels as well as the lack of investigation and efficient measures to solve problems that had cropped up.

In the last few years, leading members of the Ministry of Coal Industry seldom went to the grass-roots units to make investigations and direct production or to take part in physical labour. To remedy the situation, the ministry adopted the decision that leading cadres at all levels should carry out criticism and self-criticism and go to the grass-roots units to help solve problems. All leading cadres, from the minister to the coal mine team leaders, with the exception of those who are old, weak, sick or disabled, should join the miners to do some physical labour. Minister Gao Yangwen led a working group to Pingdingshan in Henan Province, Datong in Shanxi and other major coal mines to make on-the-spot investigations and work alongside the workers. Coal mining bureaus of 17 major coal-producing provinces and autonomous regions have sent over 5,000 cadres to help improve the work of the various mines and take part in labour.

Coal is a major energy resource in China. The government and the people have



Leading members and technicians of a coal mine under the Huainan Coal Mining Administration discussing work with the miners in the pit.

always attached great importance to coal production which directly affects the country's industrial and agricultural production as well as the people's daily life.

Tap Water for the Peasants

More than 2,000 rural production brigades on the outskirts of Beijing are now using tap water, thereby putting an end to the days when they had to fetch water from the wells, ponds, rivers or lakes.

This is a new type of water-supply system. Instead of the traditional water tower, a compressor is used and plastic pipes have replaced iron ones which easily get rusty. This has not only reduced the cost but also saved much time in installation. Investment in the new water-supply system and electricity consumption all add up to only two-fifths of the amount needed for the old type of water supply. For a village with 1,000 households, installation of the new system takes only 20 days.

Inventor of this new system is Liu Xingchang, manager of the Daxing County Running Water Company on the outskirts of Beijing. In April this year when several scientists

from the World Health Organization visited Daxing, they were impressed by Liu's invention and said that this new system had attained advanced world standards and should be popularized in other developing countries.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Arafat in Beijing

"The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab people in their just struggle to restore their national rights and regain their lost territory." This statement was reiterated by Premier Zhao Ziyang at the banquet he gave in honour of Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Zhao Ziyang said that Arafat is an old friend of the Chinese people and he praised the heroic Palestinian people for their valiant struggle to restore their sacred national rights under the leadership of the PLO and with the sympathy and support of the Arab and other countries and peoples who uphold justice.

Arafat said in his speech at the banquet that the Palestinian people's just struggle has been growing stronger and stronger with the support of just-minded and freedom-loving friends the world over. He added that the Palestinian people's commitment against aggression is firmer than ever before and that they are full of confidence in winning victory no matter how great the difficulty and sacrifice.

Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua held talks with Arafat. Re-

ferring to the situation in the Middle East in particular, Huang Hua said that as a focus of contention between the two hegemonist powers, the situation in the Middle East is extremely tense and the people there suffer as a consequence. The complex Middle East question cannot be solved by relying on this or that big power; reliance should be placed on the solidarity of the Palestinian people and the Arab countries and people.

The Delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization paid an official and friendly visit to China (October 7-10) at the invitation of the Chinese Government. While in Beijing Chairman Hu Yaobang and Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping met with Arafat on separate occasions, and had cordial and friendly conversations with him.

Vice-Chancellor Genscher Visits China

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, paid an official visit to China from October 5 to 7.

Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Gu Mu and Huang Hua met with him on separate occasions, and discussed the further development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. During his meeting with Vice-Chancellor Genscher, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping said that in recent years the two countries have successfully co-operated in various fields and that co-operation can take multifarious forms in the future. In the economic field, he said that co-operation can be strengthened through technical transfers and

(Continued on p. 12.)



Industrialized Countries' Dependence On Developing Countries

A FEATURE of the present world economy is the interdependence between the industrialized countries and the third world countries. That the third world countries, less developed and less industrialized, want help and co-operation from developed countries is fairly obvious, but all too frequently people tend to overlook the fact that industrialized countries have grown more dependent on developing countries. The developed countries are actually dependent on the developing countries in many respects, most notably petroleum.

Energy. Consumption of energy in the industrialized countries has grown rapidly, especially their consumption of oil. These countries use up over

60 per cent of the total world's oil output and 75 per cent of their oil is imported from the third world. The United States imports 40 per cent, while Japan, West Germany and France import 90 per cent of the oil they use from third world countries. Many countries are experimenting with solar, wind, water, biogas, nuclear and tidal power to replace petroleum as sources of energy, but these forms of energy are still a long way from becoming a practical substitute for oil.

Raw Materials. Besides oil, the third world countries supply 60 per cent of the chief farm produce and minerals the developed countries need. Ninety per cent of Japanese and West-

ern European mineral imports are from developing countries. The United States imports one half of the nine major industrial raw materials it requires. The economic prosperity and development of the industrialized countries depend on continuous and stable supplies of raw materials from the third world countries.

Profits. For the Western industrialized countries to export capital, they need the third world. More and more developed countries must invest their "surplus" capital in third world markets. Net investments of the industrialized countries in the developing countries have grown greatly. In the 1950s, the average annual export of capital was \$5 billion, climbing to \$11 billion in the 60s, more than doubled the 1950's figure. In the early 1970s, it had increased to \$20 billion. It is estimated

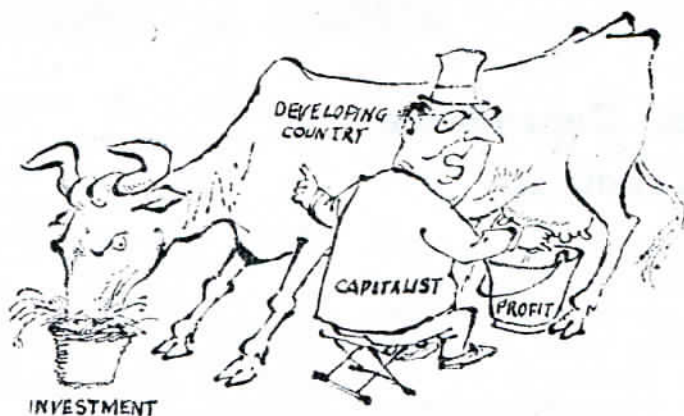
Vietnamese Military Personnel Defect To China

Vietnamese air force second lieutenant Kieu Thanh Luc and warrant officer Hoang Xuan Doan and Yuang Van Loi, an architect, and seven other Vietnamese defected to China on September 30 in a military UH-1H helicopter, landing in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. They said they had taken this step because they were dissatisfied with the rule of the Le Duan clique and had come to seek freedom and happiness.

After so many years of war, the Vietnamese people want peace and stability. But Le Duan and his men, backed by Moscow, have taken to pursuing an aggressive and bel-

licose policy of regional hegemonism. The ruling clique has sent troops to overrun Kampuchea and to harass and provoke China against the interest and wishes of the Vietnamese people. The whole nation has been kept on a war footing. Manpower and resources are geared to waging an aggressive war. The present rulers are continuing to inflict terrible suffering on the people, and the Vietnamese people have had enough of it.

The Vietnamese people are fed up with the present regime and they are expressing their dissatisfaction in various ways. Le Duan and his men face the masses' wrath and are deserted by their followers. There are strikes and demonstrations, and the peasants' refusal to work is everywhere evident. Some have taken up arms to fight the regime, but more have fled abroad. The defection of Kieu Thanh Luc and others shows the growing discontent of the Vietnamese. Even military personnel are now running away.



Fair trade. A basketful for a bucketful.
Cartoon by Fang Cheng

today to be \$80 billion a year. The reason behind this accelerated increase of export of capital to third world countries is the pursuit of super profits by the monopoly capitalists of the industrialized countries. The margin of profit from capital invested in developing countries is twice as high as that invested in developed countries.

Exports. The export trade of the industrialized countries is becoming more dependent on third world countries. In 1969-71, US exports to developing countries accounted for 29.6 per cent of its total exports. It reached 33.8 per cent in 1979. In the corresponding period, the European Economic Community raised exports to the developing countries from 14.2 to 21 per cent, and Japan from 40.9 to 45 per cent. The increasing

volume of exports to the third world has given a huge boost to the economies of the developed countries.

Since the populations of the third world countries are growing rapidly, there will be larger markets and greater economic potentials. It is expected that developing countries will be major markets for exports from the industrialized countries in the next 20 years. From the long-term point of view, the economic growth of the third world countries and of the developed countries are interdependent. It is not without reason that more and more perspicacious Western statesmen and businessmen are stressing the urgent necessity to readjust North-South economic relations.

— Li Jingwei

The Hard-Pressed Karmal Regime

THE regime in Kabul under Babrak Karmal has issued a draft decree recalling all soldiers and non-commissioned officers under 35 discharged before October 1978 for 12 more months of service. Severe penalties are threatened for non-compliance.

The military strength of the Karmal regime has been greatly reduced, mainly through mass desertions. When the Soviet Union sent its troops into Afghanistan at the end of 1979, the Kabul regime had 12 divisions, totalling 80,000 men. Today, 20 months later, the re-

gime's military strength has shrunk to about 25,000-strong. Karmal's army was not decimated in battle. Although numbers were killed or wounded, most had deserted, because they were against the Soviet invasion of their country and they refused to serve the Soviet-established regime. Many went off to join the guerrillas, taking their weapons along with them. The Soviet invaders have no confidence in the Kabul regime's army. Soviet military advisers have been sent down to company level to take charge and there have been several purges within the army. This has only aroused greater dissatisfaction and unrest and led to more desertions. It is reported that since the beginning of this year, Soviet troops have had to be employed directly against the resistance fighters.

Guerrillas Active. Afghan guerrilla forces have grown more active and in strength. They have the people's support and know the mountain terrain, which enables them to launch successful attacks against enemy transport lines and military facilities. Repeated offensives against these guerrilla forces by Soviet troops and troops of the Karmal regime have failed to wipe out Afghan resistance. Afghan villages have been bombed and strafed by Soviet helicopter gunships and successive encirclement operations have not been very effective. On the contrary, guerrilla activities have been stepped up. Fighting, previously confined to the countryside and mountains, is reported in the cities of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat. Governors of 18 provinces have been killed by guerrillas and more than 100 senior officers and officials have been shot at in the capital itself.

The Soviet Union's plan to use Afghans to fight Afghans

Political Trends in Britain

Report From London

SEPTEMBER and October are busy months for British political parties. Come autumn and they begin to review their work and revise their policies. The Liberal Party, the Labour Party and the newly-formed Social Democratic Party have already held their annual conferences. The Conservative Party conference began on October 12.

Electoral Alliance

The Liberal Party formally decided at its annual conference at Llandudno to forge an electoral alliance with the Social Democratic Party to fight the next general election due in 1984. The Social Democratic Party has agreed to work together. This has attracted widespread attention.

On September 14 the Liberal Party called an informal meeting to hear leaders of the Liberal Party explain why the two parties should form an alliance. The unusually large attendance endorsed plans for the setting up of a national alliance with the Social Democrats. Next day most of the 1,700 delegates voted for the setting up of this alliance. A Liberal Party member said afterwards that the assembly this year was a significant turning-point in the history of the Liberal Party and that the Liberal-Social Democratic alliance was the only way for the Liberals to win the next general election.

Struggle Inside Labour Party

The annual Labour conference at Brighton reflected the sharp struggle between mod-

erates and Left-wingers for control of the party apparatus. The six-month fight for deputy leadership was solved on September 25 when Dennis Healey, former Chancellor of the Exchequer and a moderate, was re-elected deputy leader by defeating Anthony Wedgwood Benn, former Secretary of State for Energy and a Left-winger, by a slender margin of 0.852 per cent. The conference also swept five Left-wingers out of Labour's National Executive Committee, including Norman Atkinson, who was replaced as party treasurer by Eric Varley, a moderate and a former Secretary of State for Technology and Power. A third thing that took place at Brighton was that the Left's bid to deprive the leader and deputy leader of the Labour Party of the final say in writing up the Party's election manifesto was rejected by the conference.

A BBC commentary pointed out that this was the third successive failure of the Left-wing to seize Labour Party leadership. When Labour Party policies were being discussed at the annual conference, the motion that unilateral nuclear disarmament be included in Labour's next general election manifesto came up. Labour MP and party defence spokesman Brynmor John, who is opposed to unilateral disarmament, left the conference in a dudgeon when he was repeatedly denied an opportunity to express his plea for multi-lateral disarmament. A British TV commentary says

has not been a great success, for the Kabul regime has not been able to muster enough men and support. Since September last year, the Kabul authorities have issued a series of decrees to conscript more soldiers. Men over 21 were called up first. Now, even 13-year-olds are being rounded up to fight. At first people were urged to "do their patriotic duty." Now, pressgangs make house-to-house searches. At first, "severe punishment" was threatened to those trying to dodge the draft. Now, young men are being executed in public before firing squads. Although the measures have grown more and more drastic, the Kabul authorities have not accomplished what they set out to do. It has been counter-productive. Their conscription plans have been signal failures.

Popular Protests. The latest decree to conscript more men has aroused widespread protest. As soon as it was broadcast on September 17, the people of Kabul took to the streets and demonstrated for two days, shouting slogans against the Karmal regime and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The demonstrators clashed with troops. The authorities sent out to suppress them and with Soviet troops. It is said that this was the largest demonstration since the anti-Soviet demonstration against the Russians killing some 100 students in April last year. In Kabul, Jalalabad and other cities demobilized soldiers have gone into hiding to escape conscription and arrest. The anti-conscription demonstrations have already forced the Kabul authorities to revise their draft decree limiting the scope of the conscription.

— Dong Ping

that although the conference has passed the resolution, it does not mean that unilateral disarmament is automatically included in the party election manifesto as it was not passed by more than two-thirds.

British political observers are watching the trends emerging

out of these party annual assemblies. They believe that the political changes taking place are the biggest since World War II. The two biggest opposing parties have now been joined by a third big political contender and could lead to greater political polarization.

It is generally believed that the next general election will take place in another two years, but the annual conferences show that the chief political parties have already begun preparing for it.

— Xu Qingmei

(Continued from p. 8.)

joint ventures, as well as in big, medium-sized or small projects.

Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua expressed appreciation for West Germany's efforts to strengthen European unity and safeguard European security. He added that Europe, the United States, Japan, China and other third world countries should unite to deal with the Soviet Union's aggression and expansion.

During the talks, Genscher expressed the view that the Federal Republic of Germany will make its contributions to the strengthening of European unity.

The two sides also exchanged views on the situation in South-east Asia, on the North-South dialogue and on bilateral relations. They shared similar views on many important international issues and expressed the willingness to co-operate on a long-term basis in the economic and other fields.

SOCIAL

Helping Criminals Turn Over a New Leaf

To reform criminals through labour and education so that they will become useful members of society is an important

policy of the Chinese Communist Party based on revolutionary humanitarianism. At the recent eighth national work conference on reforming criminals through labour, this effective policy was reaffirmed.

In the past 30 years and more, China has reformed several million criminals into law-abiding people supporting themselves by their own labour. Among them were 45 Japanese prisoners of war and 589 POWs of the Kuomintang and the puppet "Manchukuo" regime. With the exception of a few, the Japanese POWs have after their release become supporters of world peace and activists in promoting Sino-Japanese friendship.

Laziness and aversion to work are among the factors leading to crimes. Therefore an effective way to remould criminals is for them to take part in productive labour under strict supervision. In China it has become an established practice for prisoners to work in the factories or on the farms six to eight hours a day, the aim being to foster the habit of physical labour. The skills they learn in this way will help them find suitable jobs when they are released.

Apart from physical labour, prisoners have two to three hours for studying politics and attending literacy and technical

classes, and education concerning the legal system, moral values and meaning of life is also conducted among them. The prisoners usually undergo literacy tests before they are grouped in different classes according to their educational level.

In northeast China's Liaoning Province, 80 per cent of the prisoners take part in such studies. A recent test given to prisoners at a jail in north China's Shanxi Province shows that the cultural and technical level of about half of them has reached that of an ordinary technical worker, and about 80 of them have approached the level of senior technical workers.

Prisoners who pass literacy and technical tests are given certificates and those who have made important innovations are given awards or have their term of imprisonment reduced.

Addressing the recent conference on reforming criminals, Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee's commission for legal affairs Xi Zhongxun said that as most of law-breakers now are young people, care should be taken in educating and reforming them. Those in charge of the work should show concern for them, just as parents would to their children, doctors to their patients and teachers to their students.

In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

Mao Zedong

(November 12, 1956)

LET us pay tribute to our great revolutionary forerunner, Dr. Sun Yat-sen!

We pay tribute to him for the intense struggle he waged in the preparatory period of our democratic revolution against the Chinese reformists, taking the clear-cut stand of a Chinese revolutionary democrat. In this struggle he was the standard-bearer of China's revolutionary democrats.

We pay tribute to him for the signal contribution he made in the period of the Revolution of 1911 when he led the people in overthrowing the monarchy and founding the republic.

We pay tribute to him for his signal contribution in developing the new Three People's Principles from the old Three People's Principles in the first period of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

He bequeathed to us much that is useful in the sphere of political thought.

Save for a handful of reactionaries, the people of contemporary China are all successors in the revolutionary cause to which Dr. Sun Yat-sen dedicated himself.

We have completed the democratic revolution left unfinished by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and developed it into a socialist revolution. We are now in the midst of this revolution.

Things are always progressing. It is only 45 years since the Revolution of 1911, but the

This is an article in commemoration of the 90th birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

face of China has entirely changed. In another 45 years, that is, by the year 2001, at the beginning of the 21st century, China will have undergone an even greater change. It will have become a powerful industrial socialist country. And that is as it should be. China is a land with an area of 9,600,000 square kilometres and a population of 600 million, and it ought to make a greater contribution to humanity. But for a long time in the past its contribution was far too small. For this we are regretful.

However, we should be modest — not only now, but 45 years hence and indeed always. In international relations, the Chinese people should rid themselves of great-nation chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

Dr. Sun was a modest man. I heard him speak on many occasions and was impressed by the force of his character. From the way he applied himself to the study both of China's past and present and of foreign countries, including the Soviet Union, I knew he was a man with a receptive mind.

He worked heart and soul for the transformation of China, devoting his whole life to the cause; of him it can be justly said that he gave his best, gave his all, till his heart ceased to beat.

Like many great figures in history who stood in the forefront guiding the march of events, Dr. Sun, too, had his shortcomings. These shortcomings should be explained in the light of the historical conditions so that people can understand; we should not be too critical of our predecessors. □

Hu Yaobang's Speech at Beijing Rally in Commemoration Of 70th Anniversary of 1911 Revolution

Comrades and Friends,

Seventy years ago, in 1911, revolutionaries under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen initiated a revolution in old China that overthrew the Qing Dynasty. That revolution raised the banner of a democratic republic on the territory of China and the Republic of China was founded. This was a revolution of great importance in China's history. In the present situation it is of tremendous immediate significance for the 980 million compatriots on the mainland and 18 million compatriots in Taiwan to commemorate this glorious occasion.

Historic Contribution of 1911 Revolution

Scarcely a day passed after China was gradually reduced to the status of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country starting from the 40s of the 19th century that the Chinese people did not wage a revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. National capitalism began to develop in China in the last decades of the 19th century and the new emerging force of the bourgeoisie mounted the stage of history. The patriots imbued with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas of nationalism and democracy led a revolutionary movement which was the vanguard of the trend of the times in the early years of the present century. This revolutionary movement concentrated the desire of the Chinese people of that time for national independence and a democratic republic. The Qing Dynasty was extremely corrupt, bringing humiliation to the nation and forfeiting its sovereignty. It had thus become entirely the tool of imperialism to rule China as well as the representative of the reactionary feudal forces. The revolutionary party firmly believed that revolutionary armed force would have to be used to overthrow the regime. The masses of people supported their call. Comrade Mao Zedong said that in China's modern history of people's revolutionary struggle, the 1911



Revolution was in a fuller sense the beginning of a national and democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. This evaluation is entirely correct.

The 1911 Revolution did not reach the anticipated goal of establishing an independent and free bourgeois republic and failed to free China from its semi-colonial, semi-feudal status. However, the historic contribution that the revolution made is indelible. It put an end to the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for thousands of years; this was a tremendous advance for Chinese society. Not only did the two attempts in the early years after the founding of the republic to restore an autocratic monarchy fail quickly, but any form of reactionary autocratic rule was bound to fail. Contrary to what the imperialist powers wanted, the 1911 Revolution overthrew the Qing Dynasty they supported. This demonstrated for the first time in modern history that im-

perialism could not control China's destiny. From that time on, opposition by the people brought the downfall of any reactionary force with imperialist backing, no matter how strong its armed forces. The 1911 Revolution brought ideological emancipation to the people of China. Since rule by the emperor, which for thousands of years had been regarded as divine, could be overthrown, what other thing that was reactionary and backward could be considered sacred and could not be transformed? The Chinese people and their activists were greatly inspired, and they continued to forge ahead, learn progressive ideas and struggle courageously and unceasingly to find the revolutionary road for China.

The May 4th Movement took place eight years after the 1911 Revolution. The proletariat began to show itself as an independent political force in the Chinese revolution. The Communist Party of China was founded not long after. Thirteen years after the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China co-operated for the first time. Then the Northern Expedition was launched to overthrow the rule by the Northern warlords who had imperialist backing. Twenty-six years after the 1911 Revolution, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party co-operated for the second time. This made it possible for the Chinese people to wage the great war against Japanese aggression for eight years until victory and realize the return of Taiwan to China. Then, 38 years after the 1911 Revolution, the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Zedong led the people throughout the country in bringing the new democratic revolution to victory and founding the People's Republic of China, thus putting an end to China's semi-colonial, semi-feudal status, securing national independence and people's democracy and then shifting over to socialism. China's economy and culture, hitherto very backward, experienced an unprecedented and tremendous development, thanks to the efforts of the people of all nationalities throughout the country under very difficult conditions. The goal sought by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other patriots of the 1911 Revolution had finally been achieved to an extent far beyond their expectations. The course of history of the past 70 years shows that the 1911 Revolution, regarded as the beginning of the democratic revolution, opened the road for a series of historical developments. That is why we Communists and the people of all nationalities throughout the

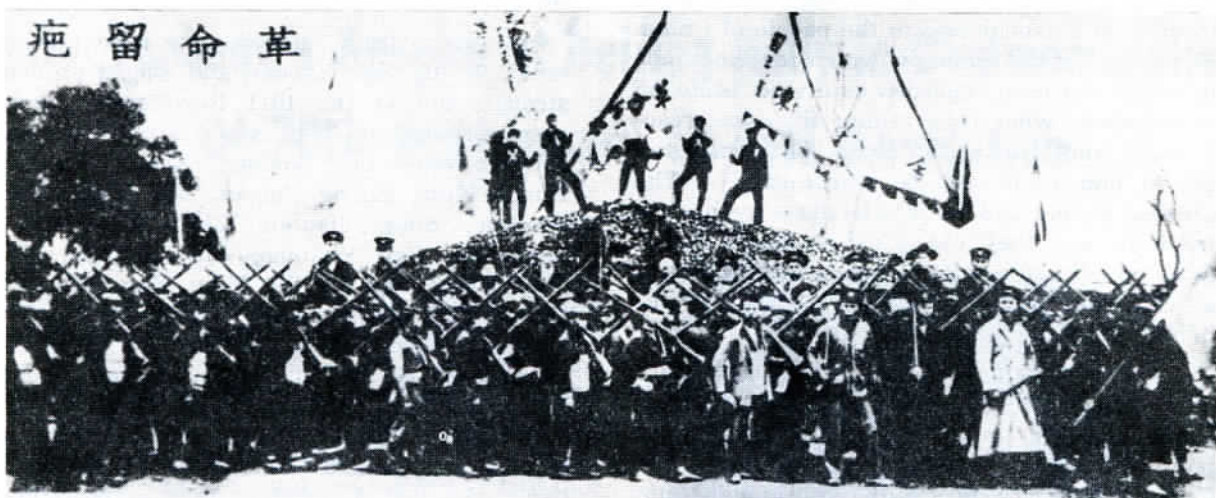
country regard the victories of new democracy and socialism as the continuation and development of the 1911 Revolution. We pay great respect to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the 1911 Revolution, and his comrades.

Many patriots joined the revolutionary ranks led by Sun Yat-sen and waged arduous struggle during the 1911 Revolution. Some even forfeited their lives. Among the noted patriots were Lu Haodong, Zheng Shiliang, Huang Xing, Zhang Taiyan, Zou Rong, Chen Tianhua, Song Jiaoren, Zhu Zhixin, Liao Zhongkai, Cai Yuanpei, Hu Hanmin, Tao Chengzhang, Qiu Jin, Xu Xilin, Xiong Chengji, Liu Jingan, Zhan Dabai, Zhang Peijue, Wu Yuzhang, Chen Qubing, Liu Yazi, Ju Zheng, Yu Youren, Li Liejun, Cai E, Zhu De, Jiao Dafeng, Dong Biwu, Lin Boqu, Feng Yuxiang, Xu Fanting, Zhang Xiruo and Situ Meitang, as well as many others. Among them, apart from those who laid down their lives at that time, some continued to follow the democratic revolution of Sun Yat-sen, some became communists and some others departed from the revolution. The people will for all time honour those who made contributions to the 1911 Revolution. Their lofty spirit in fighting and making sacrifices for the revolution will for all time be respected and a model to learn from.

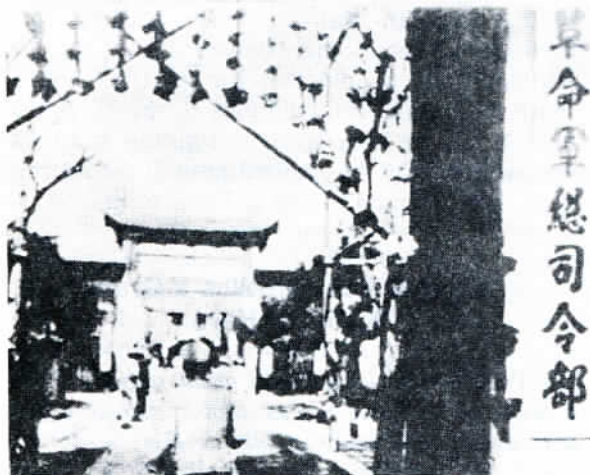
Dr. Sun Yat-sen Was a Great National Hero

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a great national hero, a great patriot and the great forerunner of the democratic revolution in China. His meritorious deeds are inscribed for ever in the annals of Chinese history. He devoted his whole life to seeking national independence, democracy, freedom and the happiness of the people. The Chinese people of all nationalities will never forget his historic accomplishment of raising high in dark China the banner of democracy and revolution; they will never forget his historic contribution in leading the revolution that overthrew the autocratic monarchy and established the republic and in persevering in the struggle against the warlord forces that seized the signboard of the republic to exercise reactionary rule; they will never forget his historic achievement in leading the Kuomintang to develop its first co-operation with the Communist Party and in carrying the Three People's Principles of the 1911 Revolution forward to those of 1924 when he convoked the First Congress of the Kuomintang.

DR. SUN YAT-SEN AND THE 1911 REVOLUTION



On May 23, 1907, insurrectionists organized by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Huanggang of Guangdong Province took an oath and set out. During the period 1907-11, Sun Yat-sen led the Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary League) in organizing eight uprisings.



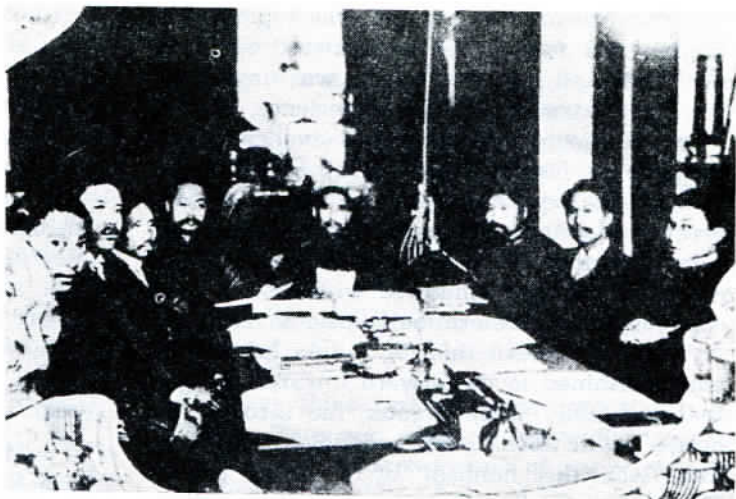
The general headquarters of the revolutionary army during the Wuchang Uprising.

The revolutionary army fighting heroically against the reactionary army of the Qing government in Hankou.



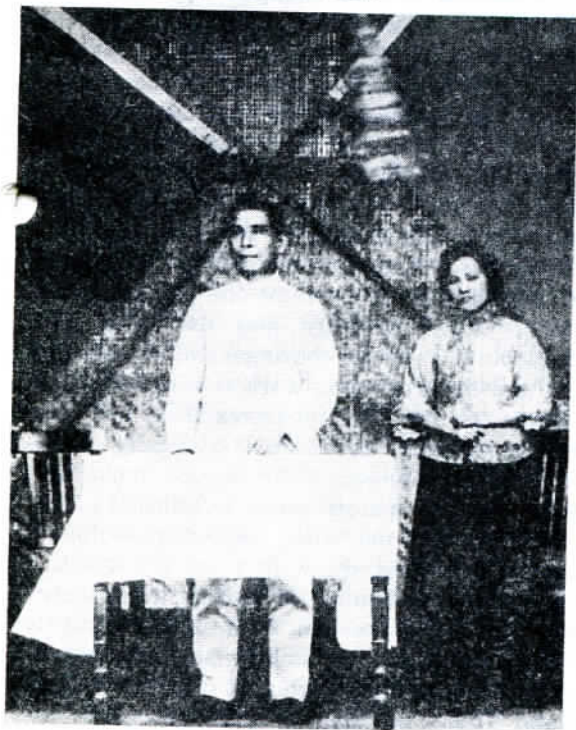


On December 29, 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected provisional president.



The provisional central government called its first cabinet meeting on January 4, 1912. Dr. Sun Yat-sen is in the middle and the third one from right is Huang Xing, minister of the army.

Dr. and Madame Sun Yat-sen at the inaugural ceremony of the Whampoa Military Academy in 1924, which was founded with the help of the Chinese Communist Party. Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and Nie Rongzhen, members of the Communist Party, were given responsible posts in the academy.



In November 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Liao Zhongkai (front right) in Guangzhou. Liao helped Sun formulate the three great policies: alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

The life of Sun Yat-sen was replete with success and failure; he encountered all kinds of danger and setbacks, but he was unyielding. He went on summing up experience, seeking new ideas and courageously advancing with the tide of history. He firmly believed that through the people's struggle China could take great strides forward in politics, economy, culture and other fields and "catch up with" the advanced nations. Endowed with a strong will and outstanding determination, he never ceased fighting to achieve this ideal. As he said: "I am determined to go forward towards the goal that I pursue. The greater the setback, the harder I will work. I will redouble my efforts." This was the heroism of a great patriot. Throughout his life, Sun Yat-sen gave publicity to the slogans "everything for the public weal" and "of the people, by the people, for the people" and persisted in "bringing about a thorough awakening of our people" and "allying ourselves in common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality." Even in his later years, in spite of his illness, he travelled to north China for the convocation of a national assembly and abrogation of unequal treaties. He raised the call "peace, struggle, save China." Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit is the most precious legacy he left us, a legacy that will always inspire all revolutionaries and patriots of the Chinese nation. Respect for Dr. Sun Yat-sen and memory of him remains a strong spiritual link between the mainland and Taiwan.

China's Three Tasks in the New Historical Stage

Comrades and friends,

Our motherland has entered the historical stage of carrying out socialist modernization in all fields. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China re-established a political line, an ideological line and an organizational line complying with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China which distinguished right from wrong in historical experience. The goal for advance has been set and the road for construction has been decided upon. We must now strengthen the unity of the people of all

nationalities throughout the country, enlarge to the broadest possible extent the united front of all socialist labourers, of patriots who support socialism and of patriots who support the reunification of the motherland, mobilize all positive factors and work hard with one heart and one mind to build our country into a modern and powerful socialist state with a high degree of democracy and civilization. To sum up, we are presently confronted with three great tasks at home and abroad, that is, to achieve the four modernizations, to defend world peace and to fulfil the great cause of reunification.

The prime task of great importance for the people of all nationalities throughout China is to concentrate major efforts on socialist construction to modernize agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. This is also the foundation for fulfilling the second and third tasks well. The Chinese people for the past hundred years and more, especially since the 1911 Revolution, have yearned and struggled for China's joining the ranks of advanced nations in the world as a prosperous and strong country. We now have the conditions and possibilities to fulfil this ideal step by step through planned efforts. China is rather backward economically and culturally, but it is not backward in everything. There are many difficulties on our road of advance, but there are also favourable conditions. Backwardness can be changed and difficulties surmounted. We should continue to liberate our thinking, rouse ourselves, seek truth from facts and break with set patterns that do not accord with dialectical materialism and suit the needs of the four modernizations. Efforts should also be made to study new problems arising in all trades, to find new approaches and open up new prospects. We should continue to adhere to the four fundamental principles, and consolidate and promote the political situation of unity, stability and liveliness. We should build a strong contingent of workers by hand and by brain who work courageously and in unity for the four modernizations and who are ideologically advanced, technically proficient and disciplined. We should make full use of existing material and technical foundations, bring into play the superiority of the socialist system and carry forward the creative spirit and patriotism of the nation, while learning as much as possible what is useful to us of the science and technology and administrative and management skills of other lands and expand our economic exchange and co-

operation with other countries, guided by the principles of equality and mutual benefit. We are bound to reach our magnificent goal of modernization. In this respect we ought to follow the example of countless revolutionary martyrs since the 1911 Revolution, energetically promote education in patriotism and internationalism among the people of all nationalities throughout the country and inspire everyone to act with a high sense of national self-respect and self-confidence. This is an important basis for us to build our socialist spiritual civilization. It will become a powerful motive force in the development of our socialist material civilization.

Our second task of great importance is to defend world peace. The defence of world peace and prevention of world war are not only essential international conditions for carrying out our modernization programme, but also the international duty of the Chinese people to all humanity. The founding of New China led to complete national independence. Gone are the days when China was dependent on imperialism in diplomatic affairs. We formulate and carry out our foreign policy independently, proceeding from China's national interests and also from the common interests of the people the world over. We firmly oppose imperialism and hegemonism, oppose any aggression or armed threat, in order to safeguard world peace and make efforts to promote an international situation that develops in a direction favourable to world peace and to the people of all countries. All sorts of hegemonists, big and small, are going ahead with aggression and expansionism in many places in the world. This is the main source of aggravated turmoil in international affairs and it is undermining world peace. We have always held that the danger of world war is very grave and must be given full attention. All peace-loving forces should struggle firmly against hegemonism and against aggression and expansionism since this will make it possible to postpone the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace over a fairly long period of time. To reach this aim, we hold that the third world countries should seek common ground while reserving differences and unite as one, and make every effort to unite broadly on the basis of equality with all countries that oppose war and aggression. We still advocate "allying ourselves in common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality" and stand for worldwide application of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We oppose unprincipled connivance at and concession to the acts of

aggression by big and small hegemonists. We do not intend to seek our own interests at the expense of others through any kind of war. We ask peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world to strengthen the joint struggle against hegemonism and aggression. This is the only realistic way to defend world peace. The Chinese people have unswerving fighting spirit and great vitality. We do not quail before hegemonist threats and provocations. We are determined to make due contributions to the defence of world peace.

Our third task of great importance is to ensure Taiwan's return to the motherland so as to complete the great cause of reunification. All people share this aspiration, especially on the occasion when they are commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution. Taiwan had been occupied for 50 years before it was returned to China; later, owing to the rupture of peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the outbreak of a new civil war, Taiwan was again separated from the mainland and has remained so for 32 years. What a misfortune for our nation! For several thousand years since China became a unified country, all our nationalities have had the glorious and patriotic tradition of opposing division and safeguarding unity. All splits of the country were historically temporary and against the will of the people and reunification was always the final result. On the mainland, the success of the Chinese people's revolution in 1949 finally put an end to the disunity that had torn China apart for decades, and brought about the unification that the people demanded. But the fact that the mainland and Taiwan are still not reunited remains a cloud hanging over the mind of the people of the whole country. Great changes have taken place in China and the world as a whole. The desire to bring to an end Taiwan's separation from the mainland as quickly as possible has become a rising and irresistible historical trend.

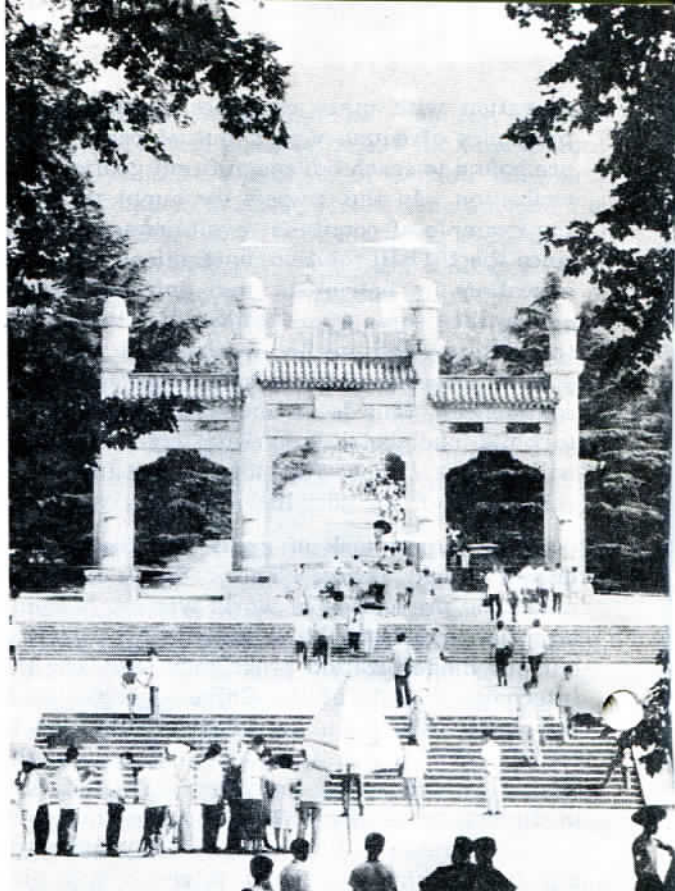
Policy for Reunification Of Motherland

On New Year's Day 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued a message to compatriots in Taiwan in which it proclaimed the policy for the return of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland. Soon afterward, we proposed an early exchange of mail, trade, air and shipping serv-

ices and economic, scientific and cultural exchanges between the mainland and Taiwan. Ten days ago, on the eve of National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, issued another statement elaborating on the policy for the return of Taiwan to the motherland to achieve peaceful reunification. His statement expressed the common will of our Party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our word is our bond. The people of Taiwan, our compatriots in Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and Chinese nationals residing abroad have done much to help reunify the country, and they are bound to respond warmly to the policy announced by Chairman Ye Jianying. People all over the world who are concerned about peace in the Far East are also glad to learn of this policy.

The question of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair. It should be settled by the leaders and people on both sides of the Straits. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party co-operated twice in history, to complete the Northern Expedition and conduct the war against Japanese aggression. This gave a strong impetus to our nation's progress. Why can we not have a third period of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to build a unified state? It is true that neither of the two previous co-operations lasted long, but fair-minded people all admit that the two unfortunate splits were not caused by the Communist Party. We do not wish to settle old accounts here. Let bygones be bygones! Let the past lessons help us to co-operate better in the future!

There is nothing in our present proposal that is unfair or should cause anxiety to the Taiwan side. If the Taiwan side is still worried about something, it may raise questions for study and settlement during negotiations. It is understandable for a certain distrust to exist as a result of long-time separation. But if we do not come into contact and talk things over, how can we remove the barriers and build up mutual trust? If we do not solve this knotty problem and instead wear each other down in confrontation, how can we face Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the martyrs since the 1911 Revolution or face our compatriots on both sides of the Straits and our descendants? The Communist Party will not retaliate like the Kuomintang did against us; the excesses of the "cultural revolution" will never be repeated. Here, I would like to tell the Taiwan authorities that not only



Dr. Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum in Nanjing.

has Dr. Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum been repaired repeatedly, but the ancestral tombs in Fenghua have been repaired, too. The Mei Lu villa on Mount Lushan is well preserved and the family members and relatives of high-ranking Kuomintang officials are being properly looked after. "A tree may grow ten thousand feet high, but its leaves fall back to the roots." Does Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo not love his natal land? Doesn't he want to have Mr. Chiang Kai-shek's remains moved back and buried in the cemetery of the Chiang family in Fenghua?

In my capacity as a leading member of the Communist Party, I today invite Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo, Mr. Shieh Tung-ming, Mr. Sun Yun-suan, Mr. Tsiang Yien-si, Mr. Kao Kuei-yuan, Mr. Chiang Wei-kuo and Mr. Lin Yang-kang, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Yen Chia-kan, Mr. Chang Chun, Mr. Ho Ying-chin, Mr. Chen Li-fu, Mr. Huang Chieh, Mr. Chang Hsueh-liang and others, and personages in all walks of life in Taiwan to visit the mainland and their natal places. It would be good if they wanted to talk with us, but they are also warmly welcome if they do not want to talk with us for the time being. What have Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo and the

others and the compatriots in all walks of life in Taiwan to lose if they do this? Foreign aid is important, but what is most important, most reliable and most powerful is the great patriotic unity of the 1,000 million people of our own country. Only those who rely on themselves are aided by heaven. No one comes to the aid of him who breaks the country's Great Wall, no matter what high-sounding words he uses. Dr. Sun Yat-sen will rest in peace in the nether world if we seek to understand and respect each other, work in long-term co-operation and stand together through storm and stress so that our ancient civilized nation can stride forward proudly in the world. Dr. Sun Yat-sen raised the call "peace, struggle, save China." Why do we today not call, in a loud voice, "peace, struggle, build up China"? The great cause of reunifying the motherland peace-

fully and making the Chinese nation prosperous and strong depends on no more than taking the decision or a turning of the hand. Let us study Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teaching, "agreeing with the trend of world affairs and serving the urgent needs of the community," join hands and work together to create a new glorious page in the history of the Chinese nation!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese nation!

Eternal glory to the martyrs of the 1911 Revolution!

Eternal glory to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner!

(Subheads and boldface emphasis are ours.)

Other Speeches at Beijing Rally

(Excerpts)

Join Hands to Reunify China

by Qu Wu

KUOMINTANG - COMMUNIST co-operation was first proposed and initiated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We are all descendants of the Yellow Emperor, and we are all kinsmen. What disputes and differences are there between us that cannot be settled through negotiations? The point now is to open the door of negotiations and for the two sides to send people to meet for an exchange of views so as to remove obstacles and lay the foundation for the third Kuomintang-Communist co-operation. Since the Taiwan authorities call themselves loyal disciples of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, they should follow his revolutionary behests and put national interests above everything else, forget previous ill will, work together with us for the sake of



Qu Wu is Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

the country's reunification and the unity of the whole nation.

The China Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang was born, and has developed, in the course of carrying forward Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit of uninterrupted progress and in the protracted struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. Many among members of the Taiwan authorities and their military and administrative personnel are our schoolmates, old friends, colleagues and fellow officers. To realize our ideal of saving the country and people, we placed our faith in Dr. Sun's revolutionary ideas and together followed him in working for the cause of revolution. Some of us studied revolutionary theories together in the Whampoa Military Academy, others shared trials and tribulations in the Northern Expedition, and still others fought side by side on the anti-Japanese battlefield. Later we parted company and went different ways due to divergent political views and different circumstances in which we found ourselves. Today, however, we can definitely join hands with each other and strive for rejuvenating the Chinese nation.

My Understanding of the United Front Policy

by Hu Juewen

I WAS born in 1895, the year the Qing regime ceded Taiwan to Japan. Now 86, I, like many other patriots from the old society, am feeling that "my time of serving my country is running out" and therefore I am "more desirous of doing my country a good turn." In the years that are left to me, I not only hope to see my country grow prosperous and strong, but I also hope to witness the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of national reunification. I have long been engaged in industrial and commercial business and I am a responsible member of the China Democratic National Construction Association which is mainly devoted to uniting and organizing people in the industrial and commercial circles. Although I have many shortcomings, I won't resort to deception, nor try to please the public with claptrap. On this my old friends in Taiwan should trust me. I would like to take this opportunity here to say a few words to our Taiwan compatriots and all Chinese and foreign personages who are concerned with the reunification of China.



Hu Juewen is Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association.

"Isn't it a united front conspiracy?" Many people (including myself) from various business circles and the democratic parties joined the united front around the time of the founding of the People's Republic of China; and we have acquired firsthand experience during the past decades. The united front is of course initiated and led by the Chinese Communist Party, but this policy does not only belong to the Communist Party. It belongs to all democratic parties, people of all walks of life, and China's nationalities. The essence of this policy is to unite all who can be united with, to bring all positive factors into play, to transform negative factors into positive ones, so as to serve the reunification and construction of the country. What's wrong with such a policy? How might it involve a conspiracy? Under the guidance of the united front, the businessmen on the mainland are playing an active part in national construction that would have been hard to imagine in old China. What's more, a number of them are working in responsible posts in political organizations and have joined the management of state affairs. We are keenly aware that the united front is truly an effective weapon for China's revolution and construction. As for the policy of the united front and its implementation, I myself have been an eyewitness. I consider it my obligation to sincerely advise those Taiwan compatriots and people abroad who have been influenced by the so-called "united front conspiracy" theory that when they study the policies recently put forward by Chairman Ye Jianying they must free themselves of the influence of the slanderous idea.

Hope for Early Decision From Taiwan

by Lam Sum Lee (Li Moan)

LOOKING back to the decades of my own experience I have come to this conclusion: The co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will enable our country to quickly surmount all our difficulties and move ahead in its development. To do other-

wise would cause our country great losses and bring untold misery to the people. If we look at the history of our nation, we will see that whenever our country was unified it became prosperous and strong; otherwise it was weak and the people suffered. Therefore, the unity of our country and the solidarity of our people are questions which concern the vital interests of our nation. Although I have lived abroad for

Lam Sum Lee (Li Moan) is a former Kuomintang high-ranking general.

many years, the problem of our country's unification has always been uppermost in my mind. I feel very upset and ashamed whenever I hear people say "the Chinese from Taiwan" and "the Chinese from Mainland China." Upon



my arrival in Beijing, I saw the message given by Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, expressing the Chinese Government's policies towards Taiwan Province. I feel excited be-

cause, in my opinion, this message speaks for the fundamental interests of the whole nation. It takes into account peace in the Far East and throughout the world and the interests of the Taiwan authorities. The message expresses the hopes of all Chinese compatriots, both at home and abroad, for an early reunification of the motherland. I hope the Taiwan authorities will make an early decision to hold peace negotiations. I hope that Chiang Ching-kuo will make the proper decision.

I also hope that my old schoolmates and old friends on Taiwan will push for the reunification of the motherland, remember Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teaching "peace, struggle, save China," and contribute to the third co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

My Feelings and Hopes

by Miao Yuntai

TODAY, at this grand meeting commemorating the 1911 Revolution, I am filled with excitement and delight, as all of you present here, and I am cherishing great hopes for the future of China.



Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a great revolutionary forerunner. Had he lived to this day, he would have been very happy to see that his ideals had come true and continued to develop.

The reason why I have returned to settle down in the motherland is that I believe socialism is the most advanced and most modern social system in the present world. During the first years of the Chinese Republic, my

heart turned to capitalist democracy. That has become something of the past. Now, I am extremely happy and delighted to live a new life in the socialist motherland.

China's democratic revolution followed a long course. The Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen provided an important beginning for the old-democratic revolution, while the Communist Party led by Mr. Mao Zedong brought the new-democratic revolution to complete fulfillment and furthermore went on to complete the socialist revolution. The Chinese Communist Party inherited and carried forward the revolutionary tradition of the 1911 Revolution. I am a non-party person. I speak on behalf of the majority of the people without party affiliation. I hope that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will join hands again in co-operation, to seek the unification and prosperity of the country and to promote world peace.

National independence and national unity were what Dr. Sun Yat-sen hoped for and dedicated his whole life to. Today, while commemorating the 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, we should better preserve and carry forward this tradition. □

Miao Yuntai is a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Origin and Development of Present Differences

This is the second part of an abridged translation of an article published in the quarterly "Journal of International Studies," No. 2 (Oct. 1, 1981). The first part appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

AN adverse current has appeared for some time in the Sino-Vietnamese relationship. Where does it come from?

The relationship was very close between China and Viet Nam in the 1950s. This continued to be the case until the mid-60s despite the occurrence of minor differences between the two Parties and the two countries, differences which primarily resulted from Sino-Soviet polemics over questions pertaining to the correct line in the international communist movement.

When Brezhnev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1964, he chose to change the Soviet approach and "actively support" the Vietnamese war of resistance against US aggression. As a result, Viet Nam began to gravitate towards the Soviet Union.

From 1965, when China was doing her utmost to assist Viet Nam's war against the United States, Vietnamese publications churned out a series of articles attacking contemporary China by referring to earlier history and complaining about "aggression from the north." They cited wars of Vietnamese national resistance against ancient Chinese feudal dynasties, linking them with Viet Nam's ongoing war against the United States.

In April 1966, Comrade Zhou Enlai said to Le Duan in Beijing: "In view of the Vietnamese side's recent special propaganda about the history of the Chinese feudal dynasties' invasion of Viet Nam in the past, we would like to know why you want to talk about this historical question at this time. The central issue now is opposing imperialism!" Le Duan replied that Viet Nam had no intention of opposing China with ancient problems. He said explicitly: "This we will never do. We are very careful." Hoang Tung, then chief editor of the Vietnamese *Nhan Dan*, was present on the occasion. Equivocating, he said that the articles appeared "in the *Historical Study*," but "not in the paper."

The record indicates that after the talk Viet Nam intensified its anti-China campaign. The attack escalated from articles in magazines to those in newspapers, from insinuations to open abuse and from words to actions. The Vietnamese provoked border incidents, expelled large numbers of Chinese residents and occupied Chinese territories.

Provoking Sino-Vietnamese Territorial Disputes and Creating Border Incidents. Initially, there were few territorial disputes between China and Viet Nam. In recent years, however, the Vietnamese authorities have repeatedly provoked clashes and created a disputed area along the border. They have even claimed two-thirds of the Beibu Gulf and dispatched troops to occupy part of China's Nansha Islands.

Before 1974, Soviet authorities consistently admitted that the Xisha and Nansha Islands were Chinese territories. When Viet Nam challenged China's sovereignty over the islands, they reversed themselves and began to support Viet Nam's expansionist policy.

The Beibu Gulf (Gulf of Tonkin) is a half enclosed sea. It is bounded by China's mainland, Viet Nam and China's Hainan Island. It has always been an important sea lane for economic and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Vietnamese people. It has also been used by people from other countries. The Beibu Gulf has never been delimited. On December 26, 1973, the Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister said: "Because Viet Nam has always been at war, the waters of the Beibu Gulf have so far not been divided by the two countries." However, Vietnamese authorities subsequently alleged that a Beibu Gulf boundary line has long been delimited by Viet Nam and China. The "sea boundary line" which the Vietnamese sought to establish in the Beibu Gulf would have skirted China's Hainan Island, including two-thirds of the Gulf in Vietnamese territory. Of course China refused to accept this preposterous demand.

The land boundary between China and Viet Nam was fixed by the Government of the Chinese Qing Dynasty and the French Government which ruled Viet Nam towards the end of the 19th century. In an exchange of notes in

1957 and 1958, the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties expressed their willingness to respect the boundary line and maintain the status quo until a few outstanding questions could be resolved by consultations between the two governments.

However, in 1974 the Vietnamese began to ignore the agreement by instigating incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border. During this period, the Vietnamese repeatedly moved in and occupied Chinese territory. Beginning in March 1975, the Chinese Government repeatedly proposed holding border negotiations between the two governments on the basis of the Sino-French treaty in order to establish a settlement through friendly consultations. But the negotiations did not begin until October 1977, primarily because the Vietnamese impeded them with quibbles. The negotiations dragged on for eight months without any results—an indication of Hanoi's delaying tactics. After 10 months, the two sides were unable to reach an agreement on a negotiating procedure.

At the same time that the Vietnamese were provoking incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border, they were accusing China of "carrying out armed provocations."

In order to prevent the situation from deteriorating further, China exercised great restraint. The Chinese Government instructed its soldiers and civilians in the border areas to stick to the government policies and ordered them to reason with the Vietnamese personnel who had intruded on Chinese territory. Abuses, fists and guns were absolutely banned. Even when Vietnamese armed personnel killed and wounded people on Chinese territory, the Chinese border guards did not retaliate. Miscalculating China's response as weakness, the Vietnamese escalated their provocative activities. They did so in a big way after the Sino-Vietnamese boundary negotiations were suspended. Finally, China's frontier guards could not but counterattack in self-defence.

Actually, there were not many disputed land areas between the two countries. Even Viet Nam admitted that some of the disputed areas which it occupied belonged to China. In September 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said to Le Duan: The question relating to the Sino-Vietnamese land boundaries "is no more than a dispute over dozens of *mu* of land in this area or in that area. I think it is not a big issue and it should be easy to settle it." Given this, why didn't the Vietnamese authorities want to solve the problem through negotiations? The funda-

mental reason is that the Vietnamese wanted to use the Sino-Vietnamese boundary dispute to incite anti-China sentiments at home and support Soviet opposition to China in return for Soviet aid.

Wanton Persecution of Chinese Residents.

Soon after the Vietnamese provoked the border controversy between China and Viet Nam, they began persecuting Chinese residents in their country. Chinese emigration to Viet Nam dates back to the Warring States (475-221 B.C.). It has continued during ensuing dynasties. Most of the emigrants were working people. Throughout the long years of their residence in Viet Nam, they have enjoyed friendly relations with the Vietnamese people. They have also taken part in Viet Nam's revolution and construction.

During the last century while Viet Nam fought against France, Japan and the United States for national liberation, the broad masses of Chinese in that country joined in the struggle. Many were killed as a result. Their indelible contribution to the Vietnamese people's liberation cause has been confirmed by some Vietnamese leaders.

In 1955, the Communist Party of China and the Workers' Party of Viet Nam met and agreed on a set of principles regarding the status of Viet Nam's Chinese residents. The agreement was based on the premise that the residents should be awarded the same rights enjoyed by the Vietnamese people, including the right to adopt Vietnamese citizenship—if they chose to do so. The agreement also stated that those residents who chose not to change their citizenship would not be discriminated against.

The agreement stipulated that the residents be permitted to join the Vietnamese Party and youth organizations, work in the Vietnamese government and enjoy the same political and economic status as Vietnamese staff members. It also required that the residents' language and customs be respected. Both Parties agreed that the questions relating to Chinese residents in south Viet Nam should be negotiated and resolved after its liberation.

During the past two decades, the Chinese Government has made every effort to implement the agreement. It has adopted many measures to help the Vietnamese assist those Chinese residents who desire to acquire Vietnamese citizenship.

Because they needed Chinese residents' participation in their war for national libera-

tion, the Vietnamese authorities once supported the spirit of the agreement reached by the two Parties. They stated explicitly in a document: "The Chinese adoption of Vietnamese citizenship should be entirely voluntary, absolutely not compulsory." "Those who are not willing to take the Vietnamese nationality should be given all rights. They must not be discriminated against; and we must not rashly take compulsive measures or look down upon them." The document also said: "Political, economic, cultural and social rights enjoyed by the Vietnamese people should also be given to the Chinese residents. We should permit Chinese interests in various fields vital to them and make them feel they are under the loving care of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

This was welcomed and supported by the masses of the Chinese residents. They chose to remain in Viet Nam and fight together with the Vietnamese people. Despite the bloody war and hard life, many adopted Vietnamese citizenship of their own accord.

After the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam in 1975, the Vietnamese authorities began to violate the agreement reached by the two Parties.

Not long after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities announced: "Almost all the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam took the Vietnamese nationality as early as 1956. They are no longer overseas Chinese, they are Vietnamese of Chinese origin." It is widely known that the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, starting in 1956, promulgated a series of reactionary decrees forcing the overseas Chinese in south Viet Nam to abandon Chinese citizenship. On May 20, 1957, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China issued a statement expressing strong protest against the clique's action. It pointed out that it was a gross infringement on the proper rights and interests of overseas Chinese in south Viet Nam and also a serious violation of the norms of international law. Four days later *Nhan Dan*, an organ of the Vietnamese Workers' Party Central Committee, carried a commentary under the title "The Ngo Dinh Diem Clique Is the Common Enemy of the Vietnamese People and the Chinese Residents." It stated that "the Vietnamese people fully agree with the statement of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China and strongly condemn the vicious means and plot of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique." It also pointed out that "the action taken by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to force the Chinese residents

in south Viet Nam to take Vietnamese nationality is an arbitrary and fascist action in serious violation of the international law." From 1960 to 1968, the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam explicitly declared on many occasions that "all the reactionary decrees taken by the US-puppet regime to persecute the Chinese residents must be abrogated, and all proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese must be maintained."

However, while the masses of the overseas Chinese in south Viet Nam were joining the Vietnamese people in joyously celebrating the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities renegaded on their commitment, declaring that almost all the overseas Chinese had adopted Vietnamese citizenship in 1956. In so doing, they affirmed the reactionary decrees issued by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to force overseas Chinese to accept Vietnamese citizenship, decrees which they once denounced as representing "arbitrary and fascist action in serious violation of the international law," and vowed to abrogate. This also totally violated the agreement reached by the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of the overseas Chinese in south Viet Nam.

Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities stepped up discriminating against and persecuting the Chinese residents. They dismissed from office all the Chinese residents who were promoted to leading posts due to their contribution to the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation. They also discharged all military cadres of Chinese origin. Various kinds of restrictions were also imposed upon Chinese residents with regard to their employment. Many were rendered homeless. Those who were lucky enough to keep their jobs were paid lower salaries than their Vietnamese colleagues. Chinese residents were also deprived of the right to run schools and hospitals. Students from the families of Chinese residents were not permitted to attend universities. Newspapers run by overseas Chinese were shut down and organizations of Chinese nationals were banned. Using diplomatic channels, China repeatedly urged the Vietnamese to stop opposing China and expelling Chinese residents. But, turning a deaf ear to this, they expelled large numbers of overseas Chinese in 1977. The Vietnamese public security men summoned the Chinese residents and said to them: "Our principle has been set that those who do not want to take the Vietnamese nationality will be expelled."

Viet Nam resorted to a variety of tactics in order to harass its overseas Chinese residents,

including laying them off from jobs, sending them to "new economic zones," levying heavy taxes on them, and confiscating their food cards, cancelling their resident registration papers, confiscating their property and arresting them on fabricated charges. As a direct consequence, hundreds of thousands of Chinese were expelled, many of whom returned to China. The agreement reached by the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the status of overseas Chinese in Viet Nam was made null and void.

Regional Hegemonism and Armed Invasion of Kampuchea. One of the most important factors responsible for the deterioration of relations between China and Viet Nam is Hanoi's attempt to establish regional hegemonism in Indochina. This is particularly true in regard to its armed invasion of Kampuchea.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Vietnamese war of resistance to US aggression, Vietnamese authorities began to push a plan for the establishment of an "Indochina federation." They also refused to withdraw the tens of thousands of troops they had sent to Laos in the name of protecting the "Ho Chi Minh trail." On the contrary, they kept sending additional troops to Laos in order to establish the military control of the nation. They also forced Laos to accept thousands of Vietnamese "advisers" and to sign a humiliating boundary treaty which resulted in ceding large portions of Laotian territory to Viet Nam. In 1977, a Vietnamese-Lao "treaty of friendship and co-operation" was produced in order to formalize the "special relationship" which, already existing between the two Parties, was now expanded to involve the two states.

While manoeuvring for overall control of Laos, the Vietnamese began their action against Kampuchea. After Kampuchea won its nationwide liberation, they demanded "common diplomatic and economic policies," i.e., a "united economy" and "united army," with the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. They also asked Kampuchea to join them in opposing ASEAN. Kampuchea staunchly refused. Less than two months after the liberation of Saigon, the Le Duan clique dispatched troops to occupy Kampuchea's Way Island, which was fiercely resisted by the country. Returning kindness with enmity, it also refused to withdraw from those Kampuchean areas which it had been permitted to use as support bases during the Vietnamese war for national liberation.

Back in 1967, both the National Liberation

Front of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic agreed in public statements to "recognize and respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within the present border, recognize and guarantee to respect the present boundary line between south Viet Nam and Kampuchea." But during the 1976 boundary negotiation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, the Le Duan clique demanded the annexation of large tracts of Kampuchean territorial waters and land. Kampuchea naturally refused. The clique was determined to conquer Kampuchea by military means because it concluded that the "unobedient" Kampuchea had become a hindrance to the establishment of the "Indochina federation."

In 1977, the clique began to unleash military provocations along the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border on an increasing scale. At the end of 1977 when it sent 50,000 troops to invade Kampuchea, it asked China to exert "influence" on the Kampuchean Government and force it to succumb to the pressure from the Vietnamese aggressors. China flatly refused. China suggested instead that Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and then negotiate a settlement. This strategic military invasion of Kampuchea launched by Viet Nam was repulsed by the Kampuchean army and people. Hanoi thus harboured deeper hatred for Kampuchea and China. The Fourth Plenary Session of the Vietnamese Workers' Party Central Committee, convened in the summer of 1978, decided to take the "speedy seizure of political and military victories along the southwest border" as "a persistently important task." It also decided that "the basic, long-standing enemy is US imperialism, but the direct enemy is Beijing and Kampuchea." From then on, Viet Nam intensified its preparation for another war of aggression against Kampuchea and stepped up its military deployment along the Sino-Vietnamese borders, actions which provoked more frequent incidents than before.

By the end of 1978, the Le Duan clique sent more than 100,000 regular troops in seven columns into Kampuchea. It captured Phnom Penh and set up the Heng Samrin puppet regime with which it signed an alleged "treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation." Thinking it had finally established its hegemonistic cause in Indochina, Viet Nam failed to foresee that the Kampuchean people with the support of the peace-loving, justice-upholding peoples of various countries could continue and extend their

(Continued on p. 31.)

On the Film Script "Unrequited Love"

IN both ideological content and literary form, *Unrequited Love*, a film script jointly produced by Bai Hua and Peng Ning, has serious mistakes. The ideological errors of the film script provide a striking example in literary form of an incorrect ideological trend among some people who want to deviate from the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist road. In April this year, *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) carried an article criticizing *Unrequited Love*. This criticism was entirely necessary. But, because people still have a lingering fear of the 10 chaotic years of the "cultural revolution," and because for a period of time criticism and self-criticism were not carried out effectively in literary circles, the appearance of the article provoked strong reactions among readers. It even became a subject of discussion and speculation in foreign mass media, suspecting that the spring in China's literary world would pass and a biting cold would come. This is obviously a misunderstanding.

Unrequited Love depicts the life of a painter, Ling Chenguang, who, filled with patriotism, returns from abroad after New China was founded in 1949, but is subjected to all kinds of humiliation during the "cultural revolution." Finally, he takes refuge in a reed marsh and subsists on raw fish, living like a primitive man. After the downfall of the gang of four in 1976, he collapses in a snow-covered

field and dies. His body leaves an imprint in the shape of a huge question mark.

The script's title, *Unrequited Love*, makes its meaning clear. Ling Chenguang always loved the motherland but was unloved in return. Thus he agonized over his one-sided love for the motherland all his life. The film script makes only a passing mention of how the painter was warmly treated over the long years after his return to the motherland. From beginning to end, the script emphasizes the painter's life as one of unremitting hardship. Bai Hua uses the painter's sufferings during the days of the gang of four as a symbol of the tragic life of China's intellectuals. The painter's anguish over one-sided love is juxtaposed to the "harshness" of the motherland.

Here, a logical confusion emerges. Actually, the time when Ling Chenguang suffered was also the time when disaster befell the country. How could one say that the motherland was harsh to him? Bai Hua fails to link the fate of an individual with that of the people and the future of the country and fails to place it in a historical context. He pictures only the misfortunes of the individual intellectuals, and presents only a feeling of resentment tinted with "patriotism."

In a number of scenes, including the final one where the question mark is left in the snow, the script blurs the essential distinction between old

China and socialist New China and directs an accusing finger at the socialist motherland under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, instead of at the atrocities committed by the gang of four.

The script also mistakenly compares a revolutionary leader to the image of a Buddha blackened by the burning of worshippers' incense and suggests that this is what lies behind the tragedy of Ling Chenguang and others. It treats the complex historical phenomenon of personality cult in a negative-all manner. This extreme approach, which is a legacy of the "cultural revolution," is bound to lead to total negation of the revolutionary leader and of the Communist Party leadership as well as of political life under socialism. It also aggravates the unhealthy tendency resulting from the "cultural revolution"—a nihilistic attitude towards the Party and socialism.

From an artistic point of view, the script's theme is also far from true. It reveals the fateful shortcomings of writing from abstract concepts. It does not proceed strictly from reality and present what has been collected from life in art images, but from some concepts the writer thought out beforehand. It creates some images and plots to explain the concepts which are confused and mistaken.

At present, the situation on the literary and art front is excellent. We should treasure this new situation of a hundred flowers blossoming in the literary world. However, in order to further develop China's literature and art, healthy criticism and self-criticism should be car-

ried out. We hope that the criticism of *Unrequited Love* will help promote literary criticism and that Bai Hua will sum up his experience and draw a lesson so he will write good works which are beneficial to

the people and socialism in the future.

(Excerpts from an article in "Wenyi Bao" [Literary Gazette], issue No. 19, 1981)

Socialist Values

WHAT effect is the improvement in the Chinese people's living standards going to have on their way of life? What values should be propagated? Increasing numbers of Chinese scholars are studying these problems.

History, culture and even the natural environment have an influence on the people's way of life and their values. But the decisive factors are the politico-economic system and the economic and cultural levels of a society. Each person's life style and values are moulded by society and by his own conscientious activities. While it is the individual who determines what values and standards he lives his life by, society should give people moral guidance through propaganda and education.

The material life of the Chinese people is getting better. Does their life style therefore need to become more like that of Westerners? Does consumerism need to grow? If in China each family is to have two cars as many in the United States do, China will have to produce several hundred million tons of steel just to manufacture automobiles. In the United States, each person annually uses fuel

and power equivalent to 15 tons of standard coal. If the 1,000 million Chinese people burn as much as the Americans, the tonnage will be astronomical. In recent years, some Western scholars have pointed out that the improper search for a better material life has yielded harmful results: ecological disequilibrium, environmental destruction and estrangement of man from man. A public opinion poll revealed that many people in the West believe all should be able to satisfy their basic needs, and no one should seek after an unduly high standard of living. Chinese scholars should pay attention to this view when they study China's modernization and its people's patterns of consumption. China needs to study its own economy and society, work out a pattern of social consumption suitable to its conditions. It must introduce a healthy, happy and comfortable way of life which will not waste limited natural resources.

Life includes two aspects: material and spiritual. The Chinese people are striving to improve their material life. They also must develop a socialist spiritual civilization and perfect socialist ethical re-

lationships. Human relationship—between parents and children, between husband and wife, between brothers, between friends, between neighbours and even between strangers—should have new socialist contents. These relationships should be neither feudal nor capitalist, but should be developed by transforming and refining China's traditions in accordance with socialist principles.

The morals advocated in the old society—parents should be kind to their children, children should be filial to their parents and brothers should love and respect each other—can be transformed into socialist ethics of mutual understanding, mutual love and mutual help.

With the elimination of the exploiting classes in socialist society, the labouring people have become the masters of the new society. People's fundamental interests are no longer in conflict with each other. Comradely relationship of mutual love and mutual help should therefore be prevalent. The propagation of socialist ethics can make everyone's life happier.

(Excerpts from an article carried in "Zhongguo Shehui Kexue" [Social Sciences in China], issue No. 4, 1981)



DRAMA

"Sun Yat-sen's London Encounter With Danger"

After the failure of the Guangdong armed uprising in 1895—the first aimed at overthrowing the Qing Dynasty which Sun Wen (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) helped organize in his youth—he pseudonymously fled to London. There he planned to contact compatriots, some of whom he had known previously but lost touch with. He was preparing for another uprising. Disregarding all international norms the Qing court's legation in Britain abducted him. Sun Yat-sen regained his freedom through his own efforts and that of sympathetic British friends.

This episode is dramatized in an eight-scene play written by Li Peijian and performed by the China Central Experimental Drama Theatre. *Sun Yat-sen's London Encounter With Danger* is China's first play about Dr. Sun.

The play subtly portrays the inner world of Sun Yat-sen. In the scene "Life and Death Trials," the mastermind of the kidnapping (an Englishman who is counsellor of the Qing court's legation in Britain) uses both persuasion and force. He tries to entice Sun Yat-sen to capitulate. Nothing is gained. So he instructs his co-conspirators to build a big wooden box in order to secretly ship Sun Yat-sen back to China where he is to be executed. In the face of this danger, Sun's thoughts are with the fate of his nation. He believes his death will arouse the people and thereby hasten the fall of the Qing Dynasty. He

writes in his own blood: "Vitalize the Chinese nation!"

The playwright vividly presents the high aspirations and indomitable determination of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner of China's democratic revolution. Starring as Sun Yat-sen is Shi Weijian, who played the lead in the 1980 prize-winning film *Legend of Tianyun Mountain*. In this new role he displays calm and steadiness, and the audience is captivated by his performance.

The play also portrays the efforts of a servant and Sir James Cantlie, a noted British doctor who was Sun's teacher, to rescue Sun Yat-sen. It depicts the fine quality of the British people and the friendship between Sun Yat-sen and his foreign friends.

At the outset, the British servant believes the rumours that Sun Yat-sen is a "bandit" as alleged by the counsellor. Later he comes to understand that Sun Yat-sen is an unselfish revolutionary. When Sun's

death seems imminent, he asks the servant to give some money to a poor woman in London for him. The money is to be used to pay the doctor's fees of her child. Dr. Sun had promised to treat the child free of charge. Now, when this seems impossible he wants to pay the expenses. The servant discovers that the child whom Sun is concerned about is his own child and is deeply moved. The servant risks his own life to tell Sir Cantlie that Sun is being detained.

Sir Cantlie mobilizes his friends in the press to publish the news in the newspaper. The British people are outraged at this abduction and several hundred people encircle the Qing court's legation and lodge protests. The British Government also intervenes and the legation is forced to set Sun free.

This play which presents a historical theme of great importance has drawn considerable outside support. Xia Yan, Vice-



Sun Yat-sen (third from right) emerges from the Qing court legation and is greeted by his British friends.

Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, helped edit the script. Liao Mengxing, former secretary to Madame Soong Ching Ling, told the performers her personal recollections of Dr. Sun. The Central Documentary Film Studio loaned the theatre recordings of Sun Yat-sen's voice.

The play is being staged as part of the commemorative activities for the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution.



From right: Luan Jujie, Zhu Qingyuan and Gaudin.

SPORTS

Foil: China Captures Two Gold Medals

The four-day 1981 Nanjing International Foil Invitational Tournament, participated by over 60 athletes from Australia, France, Britain, Romania, China and Xianggang (Hongkong), closed on October 9.

China won the women's team event and took the silver medal for the men's team event. Zhu Qingyuan and Luan Jujie won gold and silver medals in the women's individual events.

During the women's finals on October 7, Zhu Qingyuan, a 24-year-old Tianjin girl, met Australian Georgina Farkashazy. Several outstanding fencers had already been defeated by Farkashazy before their match. Zhu is one of China's best known fencers. As soon as the finals began, Farkashazy opened up her attack. Zhu Qingyuan used a deft defence and won the first point. Farkashazy quickly coun-

terattacked and tied the score. Zhu beat Farkashazy 5 to 2 and took the gold medal.

Luan Jujie of China, with three wins and two losses, was the runner-up. Third place went to Georgina Farkashazy. Brigitte Gaudin of France, China's Wu Qiuhua and Gaudin's teammate Veronique Brouquier, placed fourth, fifth and sixth respectively.

Didier Flament and Patrick Groc of France took the gold and silver medals in the men's individual events. The third to sixth places went to Kuki Petro of Romania, William Gosbee and David Seaman of Britain and China's Wu Fujing.

China's "A" Team competed against the French team in the women's team finals. On the previous occasions, the Chinese team was repeatedly defeated by the French team, which is relatively strong because of the participation by Tascale Trinquet and Gaudin. Nevertheless, China's "A" Team defeated the

French team by 9 to 6 and won the gold medal for the first time. The French team was the runner-up. China's "B" Team placed third.

In the fierce competition between the men, each team had wins and losses. Places in the competition were decided by accumulated scores: The French team won first place. China's "A" Team was second and Romania was third.

Fencing, which originated in Europe, was formally listed as an Olympic event at the 1st Games in 1896. It was not introduced to China until the mid-1950s. At the First National Sports Meet in 1959, fencing was formally listed as an event. In 1974, China took part for the first time in the World Fencing Championships. At the 29th World Youth Fencing Championships held in Spain in 1978, China's Luan Jujie placed second in the women's foil contests. She was the first Asian fencer to mount the stand to receive an award in 70 years.

(Continued from p. 27.)

armed resistance. China has declared definitely: "The Chinese people unswervingly stand by the side of the Kampuchean people," and "resolutely support the Kampuchean people in carrying their lofty war of national self-defence to the

end." With the development of the struggle against aggression and expansion over the Kampuchean question, there appears the present situation of sharp confrontation between China and Viet Nam.

(To be continued.)



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