

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

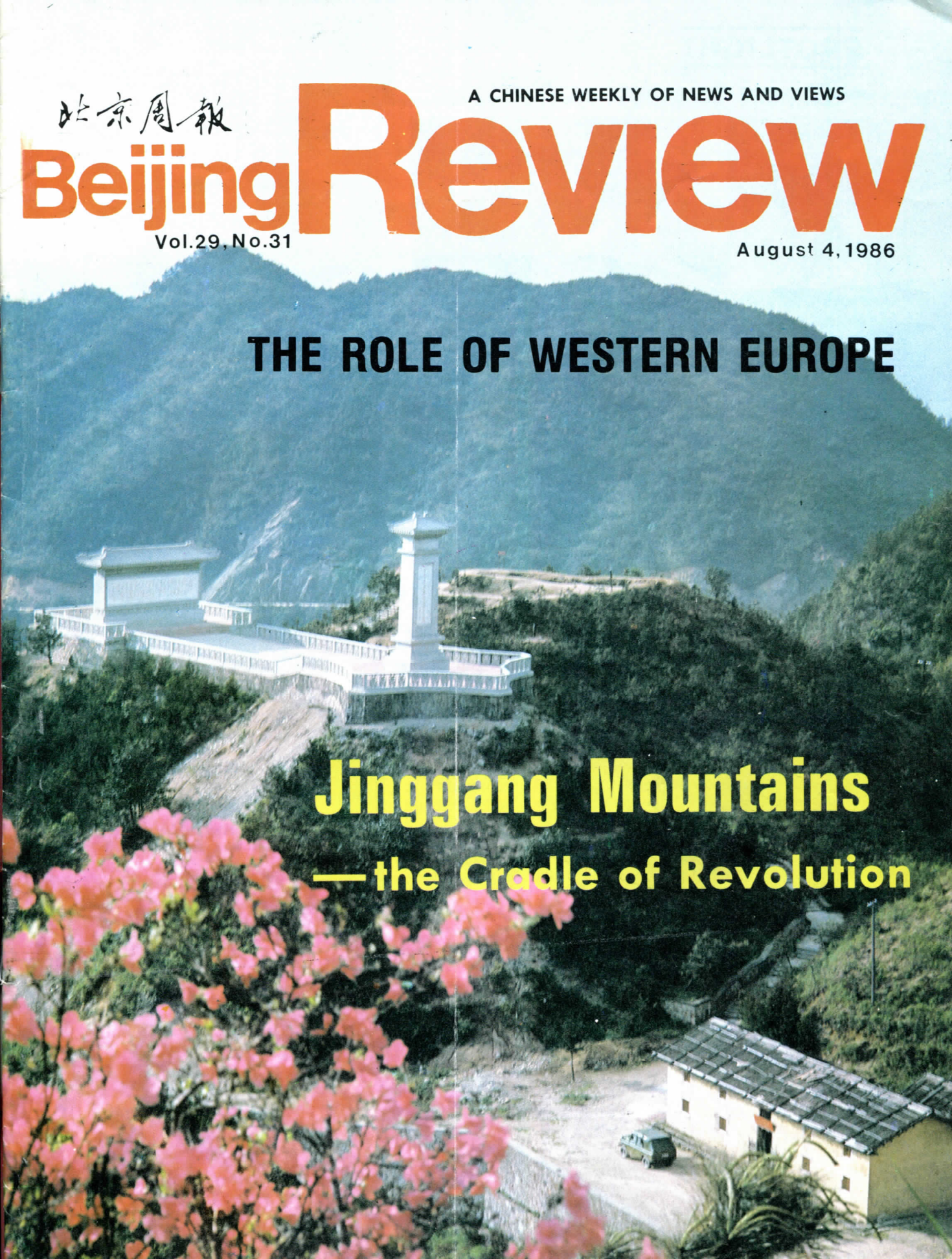
# Beijing Review

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## THE ROLE OF WESTERN EUROPE

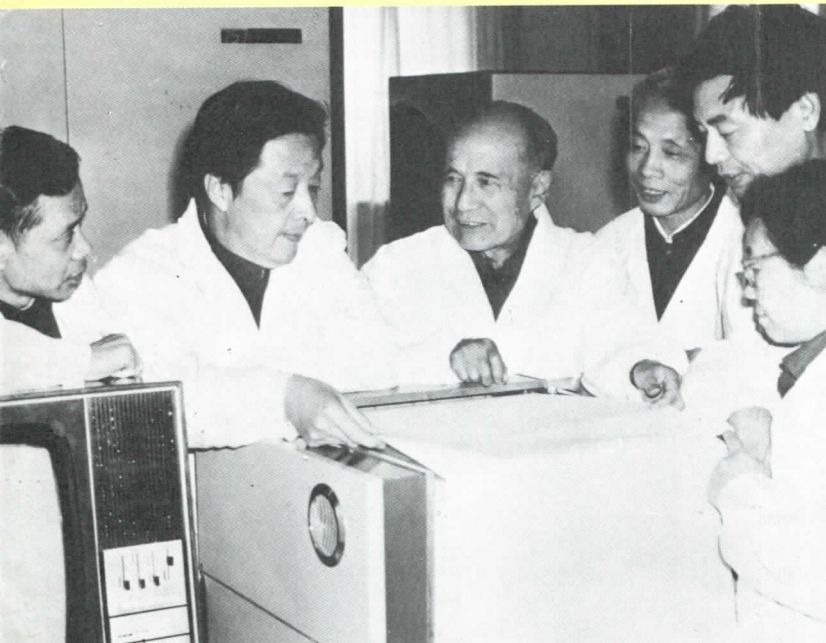
### Jinggang Mountains —the Cradle of Revolution





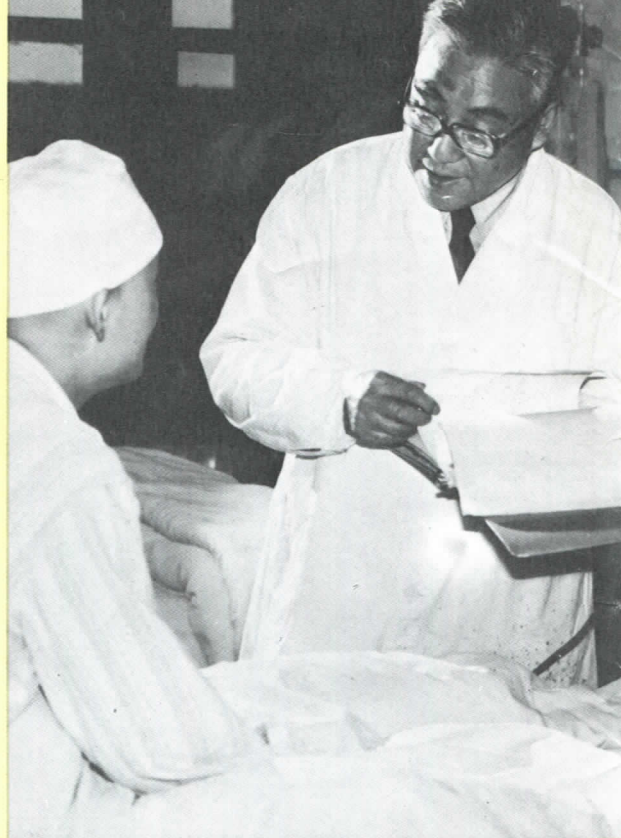
# SPOTLIGHT

## Chinese Scientists at Work



Prof. Wu Jikang (third from left), noted computer expert and member of the General Assembly of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, developed a large-capacity computer.

Engineer Luo Laikang of Shandong Province was awarded a gold medal at the 1985 world exhibition of young inventors' creation in Bulgaria for his invention of viscose paper for heat-treatment protection.



Prof. Song Hongzhao (right) of the Beijing Union Hospital devised a new method for treating choriocarcinoma, raising the cure rate from 10.8 percent to 82.2 percent.

China has more than 7 million people employed in science fields. Over the past six years, they have made considerable contributions to the nation's socialist construction.

Sun Jiadong, chief engineer of the Chinese Ministry of Astronautics Industry, has successfully developed an experiment telecommunication satellite and microwave survey control system.





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by Sun Shuming

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Political Reform Now Essential

■ Streamlining the administrative machine, raising work standards, changing the methods of appointing officials, improving the legal system, increasing socialist democracy and separating the powers of Party and government — these are the five elements of a proposed reform of the political system in China. (p. 5).

### Western Europe's Role in US-Soviet Rivalry

■ While striving to promote dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union and detente between Eastern and Western Europe, West European governments are also trying to moderate the superpowers' arms race and retain for themselves a positive and independent role in the confrontation. (p. 12).

### Premier Zhao Completes Six-Nation Visit

■ Premier Zhao's trip to the Balkans and the Mediterranean area has been a great success. It shows that by extending the hands of friendship to nations of all types, China hopes to contribute to maintaining world peace (p. 4).

### 'Double Hundred' Policy's Tortuous Path

■ The policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" has gone through many phases in the past 30 years. While left-deviationist line and the failure to understand the nations's political situation and the theories behind the policy eventually led to its temporary abolition, conditions are now ripe for its implementation (p. 20).

### Sports — A Fun in the Countryside

■ Rural residents now have more time and money to spend on sports. An on-the-spot survey by our correspondent Zhao Zhonglu in the rural areas of the coastal Jiangsu Province (p. 30).

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## Zhao's Six-Nation Visit Is a Success

by Zheng Fangkun

**T**he four-week goodwill visit paid by Premier Zhao Ziyang to Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain, Turkey and Tunisia, which ended on July 27, was a great success.

The first result of the visit was an enhancement of the friendly relations between China and the six, which all want to co-operate with China, even though they are very divergent in nature, some being socialist, some capitalist, some being members of blocs, some non-aligned, and developed to greater or lesser degrees.

China bases its relations with other countries on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. During his stay in Bucharest and Belgrade, Premier Zhao and his Romanian and Yugoslav counterparts once more emphasized that relations between their countries were characterized by complete equality, independence, sovereignty, mutual benefit and respect, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. These embody the Five Principles which apply among all nations, socialist states included.

Through cordial talks with the leaders of the countries visited and by meeting people from various circles, the Chinese Premier helped to deepen mutual understanding, thus laying the foundation for cementing friendship.

The second result of the visit was the strengthening of confidence in co-operation and the opening up of new fields for collaboration. Opening to the outside world is China's firm and unshakable basic policy, which involves developing co-operation with other countries. Without co-

operation and dialogue there can be no open policy. China's wish to develop trade and economic, scientific and technical exchanges with various countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is sincere and earnest. It is not a temporary measure, but reflects a long-term plan to modernise the country.

All six countries Zhao visited are relatively small ones whose industries and technologies are still being developed. This shows that China will co-operate with small nations as well as big, with developing ones as well as technologically-advanced nations, with capitalist nations as well as socialist ones. China's open policy applies to all. Because each country has its own advantages, they can also make up for one another's shortcomings.

Co-operation among developing countries in Tunisia has already reaped results. In Tunis, Zhao and his Tunisian counterpart hailed a phosphate fertilizer plant, a joint venture involving China, Tunisia and Kuwait, which is presently under construction, as a useful attempt at south-south co-operation. In Ankara, the leaders of both China and Turkey also resolved to set an example of south-south co-operation by jointly contracting projects in third countries.

In Madrid, Zhao mentioned setbacks sustained in the course of co-operation. Temporary difficulties are sometimes inevitable. To ignore them was not realistic. But the Chinese premier wished to remove any doubt there may be about future collaboration. Failure is the mother of success, he said.

The third result of the visit is that China has co-ordinated its efforts for peace with the six and expressed its support for their struggle for peace in the Mediterranean area and the Middle East.

The aim of China's independent foreign policy is to preserve peace. China wants a peaceful international environment in which to build up the country. The longer peace lasts, the better. One of the tasks of the Chinese leaders' tours abroad is to preserve peace. Premier Zhao's Balkan-Mediterranean tour was no exception. Peace can be maintained only by constantly working for it. It will not fall from the skies without struggle. We cannot stop the arms race merely by wishing it to stop.

On this fundamental problem facing mankind, China speaks a common language with many countries. Premier Zhao shared many common or similar views with the leaders of his host countries. In spite of differences in their social systems and in their economic conditions and position in the world political arena, all of them strongly urged that international tensions be reduced and world peace as well as regional stability established. Peace and development cannot be separated; each wishes to develop its economy and unhesitatingly stands for peace. Their consensus on this issue is what enables them to overcome their differences and to hold very similar views on many particular issues.

The situation in the Mediterranean area is very complicated and the factors making for instability are many. Geographi-





cally it occupies an important strategic position, as it connects the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. For a long time warships of United States and the Soviet Union have plied its waters, converting it into a place of contention for supremacy. Their open strife and veiled struggle is intense, making the countries bordering the sea unsafe and nervous. Since the beginning of this year the situation in the region has worsened. The basic reason for the turbulence is that problems left over by history have not been resolved fairly and reasonably. The Chinese government is deeply concerned with the situation. During his stay in Athens, Premier Zhao expressed his appreciation of the Greek government's policy of developing friendly relations and co-operation with all nations around the sea. In Tunis, he gave support to the Arabs and the Palestinians in their struggle to recover their homelands.

China believes that the Mediterranean should be a sea of peace and friendship, not a place for the superpowers to show off their forces. The interests of the various nations along the Mediterranean require this, as does the relaxation of tension in Europe and the world. Only then can the region attain stability and tranquility.

These three results of Premier Zhao's visit are significant ones. For if all countries put friendship and co-operation first, the prospects for peace would be much brighter.

## EVENTS/TRENDS

### Political Reform Put on Agenda

**S**ome reform of the political system is necessary to complement the current economic reforms, said Wang Zhaoguo, a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, at a meeting of graduates of the Central Party School on July 16.

Wang said that the reform of the political system would represent a self-improvement of China's socialist system and an important part of the effort to build a socialism with unique Chinese characteristics.

The purpose of the reform, Wang added, should be to establish a better socialist political system having a high degree of democracy as well as of efficiency, and an improved legal system. He stressed that the reform must also be conducive to strengthening the leadership of the Party and be carried out in a planned manner.

Wang Zhaoguo discussed the five aspects of the proposed reform, namely, streamlining the administrative organs, raising work efficiency, changing the personnel system, improving the socialist legal system, carrying forward socialist democracy and introducing a division of work between the Party and government.

In his speech Wang Zhaoguo also raised the question of the role of middle-aged and young people recently promoted to positions of responsibility in China. He said, "The most important task for young Party and government officials is to expedite the country's continuing reform."

Wang listed four tasks for the younger cadres: (1) They should be bold and good at creatively combining basic Marxist principles and the policies of the Central Committee with the

concrete conditions in their regions and units. (2) They should intensify their Party spirit and be prepared to work as unselfish servants of the people. (3) They should carry forward the Party's fine tradition of hard work by going to the grass-roots and to places with harsh working conditions in order to temper themselves and tried out their talents. (4) They should give attention to working both efficiently and democratically and guard against becoming young bureaucrats.

#### Multi-Party Co-operation Praised.

Multi-party co-operation under the leadership of the Communist Party has been a very important part of China's political system. At a recent meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" advanced by the late Chairman Mao Zedong for handling relations between the Chinese Communist Party and the other democratic parties, the leaders of some parties spoke highly of the achievements made by employing this principle, and aired their opinions on how to improve democracy in China.

Zhu Xuefan, vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, said that it took time for the political system of any country to be perfected and China's system of multi-party co-operation under the leadership of the Communist Party is a product of the history of the past 40 years. He suggested that Communist Party members and the members of the other democratic parties strengthen their contacts and make friends.

Fei Xiaotong, vice-chairman of the China Democratic League,

## News in Brief

**C**hina has 3.5 million contract workers, about 5 percent of the country's total work force. Under the contract system workers sign contracts with firms after consultation on the duties, rights and interests of both sides. Contracts may be extended if both sides wish, but workers remain free to look for new jobs and businesses to hire new people.

**T**wenty-two people died when a typhoon accompanied by torrential rain struck coastal areas of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in southern China on July 23. At least 700 people were injured and another 100 are still missing after water broke through dikes, flooding hundreds of villages and 13,300 hectares of farmland, and sinking 200 fishing boats. Damage is estimated at 200 million yuan.

**B**ank savings deposits in China's urban areas reached 107 billion yuan at the end of June, an increase of 17.4 billion yuan. The figure represents about 76.9 percent of the total increase in bank loans. Officials attribute the increases to improved trade and an expansion of private business.

said the development of the forces of production calls for corresponding changes to the superstructure, and the current economic reforms have made it necessary to revamp China's political system. He thought supervision by the people was inevitable in a truly socialist democratic system.

Huang Dingchen, chairman of the China Zhi Gong Dang, said that the ruling Communist Party must listen often to different opinions and criticisms and correct its own shortcomings and mistakes in time. "Supervision by the democratic parties is conducive to strengthening the Party's leadership in socialist construction and to the establishment of a highly developed democracy," he added.

Lei Jieqiong, vice-chairman of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, suggested institutionalizing political consultation and democratic supervision, thus creating an harmonious atmosphere in which people with or without party affiliations can feel free to speak out.

## Drive Launched To Help Africa

**T**he serious drought and famine in Africa have aroused great concern in China. Last week young people, including millions of students, launched a nationwide effort to raise relief funds to add to the aid provided by the government.

Heading the list of activities were charity performances on July 28 in Beijing by outstanding singers, dancers and acrobats from around the country. The performances were jointly sponsored by seven national organizations, including the All-China Federation of Youth, the All-China Federation of Students and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

During the week, college and high school students from all over the country launched fund-raising drives.

Leading members of the ACFY and ACFS, two organizers of the nationwide campaign, attended local activities as advisors.

Li Keqiang said the youth and students federations had proposed to designate September 7, the first Sunday of the autumn school term, as Day of Life Aid.

"We are expecting that some 1 million college students, including graduates, will participate. African students in China will be welcome to join in," Li said.

The money raised will be handed over to the drought victims in Africa through the Red Cross Society of China, according to Li. He said that although he did not expect the proceeds to be astronomical, "it is a way we Chinese can show young people's concern towards the African people and support their efforts to pull through and rebuild their own countries."

Li added, "We hope that through our activities more people will realize that the brotherhood of mankind is the promise of the 21st century. We must adhere to the principles of peace, friendship, fraternity, mutual aid and cooperation."

"China and the African countries all belong to the Third World. We have similar experiences and the same goals. We have a responsibility to fulfil our internationalist and humanitarian obligations," Li concluded.

## Zhao Ends Balkan, Mediterranean Tour

**C**hinese Premier Zhao Ziyang concluded his tour of Mediterranean and Balkan countries on July 26.

During his stay in Turkey from July 17 to 22 the premier held talks

with Turkish President Kenan Evren and Prime Minister Turgut Ozal on ways and means of furthering economic and trade co-operation between China and Turkey, and exchanged views on international issues of mutual concern. The leaders agreed that there were broad areas and great potential for co-operation between the two countries, which had been linked by the ancient "Silk Road" 1,000 years ago.

In talks with Ozal on July 18, Zhao said China and Turkey should explore the possibility of exchanging major commodities on a long-term basis so as to help supply each other's needs and increase their trade volume steadily.

Prime Minister Ozal agreed with Zhao. He offered a number of positive proposals on how to increase two-way trade and on how to work jointly on projects in third countries, setting a good example in South-South co-operation.

Premier Zhao met Turkish President Kenan Evren in Istanbul on July 21. Both leaders expressed their satisfaction with the rapid development of Sino-Turkish relations in recent years. The Turkish president suggested working together to secure contracts for construction projects in third countries.

During Zhao's visit, a contract was signed for Turkey to import 500,000 tons of oil from China. The first shipment of 100,000 tons will be delivered in late July.

Zhao's official goodwill visit to Tunisia from July 23 to 26, the first by a Chinese premier since Zhou Enlai visited the country in 1964, represents an important event in the annals of Sino-Tunisia relations.

In Tunisia, Zhao met President Habib Bourgiuba and Prime Minister Rachid Sfar, as well as Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The two premiers exchanged views on ways to further friendly relations between their countries and expressed satisfaction with the recent development of Sino-Tunisian relations, which would provide useful experience for South-South co-operation, especially in the field of barter trade, and in cultural, sports and other fields.

Zhao and Sfar also discussed a number of international and regional issues of common interest. Zhao said that without the solution of the problem in the Middle East, which is closely related to the Mediterranean region, the situation in the area will not be eased, nor will there be peace in the Mediterranean. He strongly condemned the Israeli government for its intransigent policy of aggression and expansion, supported by a superpower, which has prevented a settlement of the Middle East question.

In their speeches, both Zhao and Sfar also urged an early end to the Iran-Iraq war, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. ■

## Infrastructure Built For Nuclear Plant

The first-stage project of the Dayawan Nuclear Power Plant in Guangdong Province, south China, has come to the finish after 27 months of construction, according to the overseas edition of the *People's Daily*.

The paper reported the second stage construction of the nuclear power plant will start soon. The second-stage project includes the installation of a nuclear island (two reactors) and two conventional nuclear islands (conventional power generating units), which have a generating capacity of 900,000 kilowatts each.

The first-stage project includes a

## China & the World

**US Correspondent Expelled.** John F. Burns, Correspondent of the *New York Times* in Beijing, has been expelled from China for deliberately going into parts of the country closed to foreigners. His activities were said to be incompatible with his status as a journalist and violated "The Law Governing Aliens Entry Into and Exit From the People's Republic of China," according to an officer of the State Security Bureau.

### Sino-Indian Talks end Without Substantial Progress.

A seventh round of talks between Chinese and Indian officials ended in Beijing on July 23 without making real headway on the border issue. However the talks proceeded in a friendly, if frank atmosphere, and both sides agreed to hold another round of talks in New Delhi in the near future.

### Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition in Moscow.

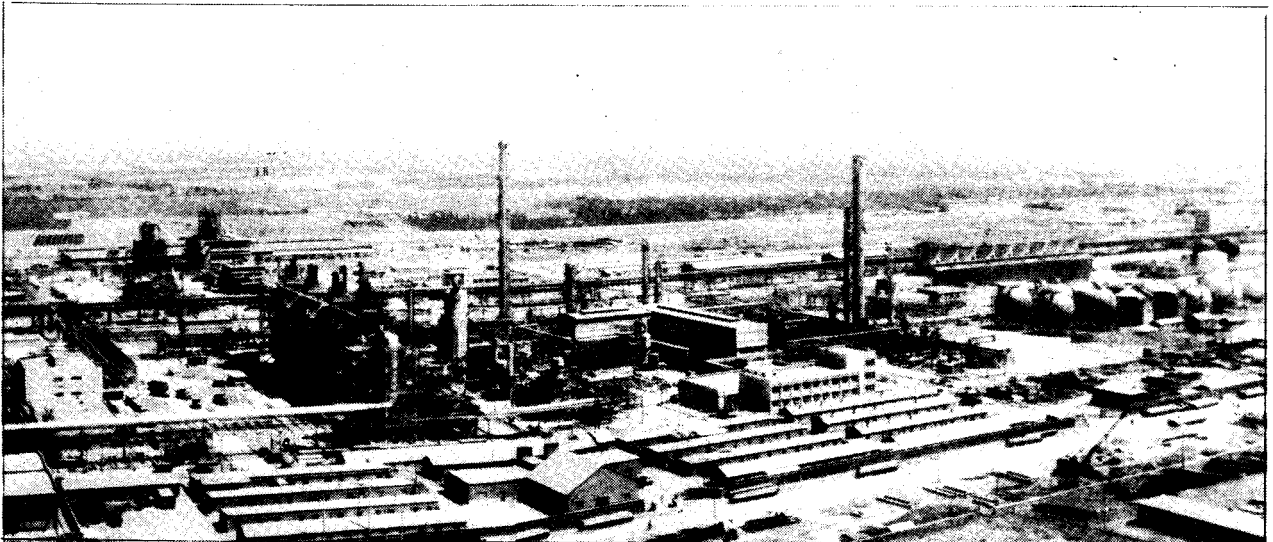
A Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition, the first of its kind to be staged by China in the Soviet Union since 1953, opened on July 25 in Sokolniki Park, Moscow. There are more than 4,000 exhibits on show in the 2,500-square-metre exhibition hall, including satellites and a model of the "Long March 3" rocket used to launch them.

1,400-metre mole, a 1,000-ton and two 500-ton temporary unloading berths, an 1,054-metre underground waterproof wall, a highway leading to Shenzhen, a

reservoir and telecommunications facilities.

The paper also reported that a Shanghai plant has successfully manufactured China's first deoxy-

genation water tank, the major component of the water feeding system for the conventional islands of the Qinshan Nuclear Power Plant in east China.



The 300,000-ton ethylene plant of the Qilu Petrochemical Co. went into trial production early this year.

LI YIPING

## Key Projects Make Smooth Progress

**C**hina has made fresh advances in the construction of key projects in the first half of this year, with priority being given to the energy and communications industries.

According to statistics released by the State Statistics Bureau, four out of the 40 large and medium-sized power generating plants planned to start operation this year had been completed by the end of June. The four have a total generating capacity of 340,000 kw. Installation work has started on the rest.

In the same period, 15 coal mines tunnelled new pits totalling

91,000 metres in length, and six key oilfields, including the Daqing, Shengli and Zhongyuan, drilled wells totalling 5 million metres in depth, half of their annual target.

In railway construction, priority was given to the Datong-Qinhuangdao Railway and the double-tracking of the Hengyang-Guangzhou section of the Beijing-Guangzhou Railway.

Other major projects completed in the first half of this year include the three 10,000-ton berths at Ningbo Port in Zhejiang Province, and the three 300,000-ton ethylene plants of Daqing, Qulu and Yangzi. In addition, work on the second phase of the construction of the Shanghai Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex, including the cold

and hot rolling mills, also started early this year.

China's Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-90) gives priority to those projects that are the most needed, i.e. in energy development, transport and communications and raw materials processing. But in the first six months of this year, the proportion of non-essential works in total capital investment in construction was still too large. Therefore, the State Planning Commission plans to check up on capital construction projects one by one by means of a national inspection programme in the second half of this year. The commission intends to postpone or cancel some projects to reduce overall capital investment, making it possible to devote limited funds to key projects. ■



## ISRAEL-MOROCCO

**Peres Visit Rocks Arab World**

*After Egypt, Morocco is the second Arab country to have direct talks with Israel, the United States acting as go-between in the spirit of Camp David.*

The surprise visit of Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to Morocco on July 21 came as a shock to the Middle East, similar to that of the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel in 1977. The meeting was described by Moroccan King Hassan II as a dialogue, rather than negotiations, in which the two "exchanged views" on the Middle East peace issue and the problem of Palestine.

The talks yielded no breakthrough on either issue, however. Hassan insisted that the Fez Plan adopted at the 12th Arab summit in 1982 (demanding a Palestinian state and Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands) is the only basis for peace. But Peres refused to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and refused to withdraw from occupied Arab territories as required by the Fez Plan.

Diplomatic sources considered the meeting significant, however. It invited strong reactions from the Arab world. The Egyptian Government expressed its support for Hassan's initiative, and reiterated its sympathy for all kinds of activities helpful to the peace process. While the Gulf countries stayed silent, Jordan and Sudan expressed their disapproval of the meeting and other Arab countries such as Algeria, Libya, Iraq, Lebanon and the PLO condemned it. Syria broke off diplomatic relations with Morocco because of the meeting.

It is believed the United States acted as broker for the Hassan-Peres meeting. Washington claimed Peres's tour opened a new chapter of the Middle East peace process. Great Britain, France and Federal Germany showed their support for the summit, but the Soviet Union has said it did not consider Morocco's meeting alone with Israel appropriate to the settlement of the Middle East issue.

Morocco has kept up informal contacts with Israel. But the recent Hassan-Peres meeting is the first official contact. Diplomatic sources said both sides had their respective aims in initiating the meeting. Prime Minister Peres wants to change Israel's warlike image and gain support at home and abroad. According to an accord between the Israeli Labour Party and the Likud bloc, Labour Prime Minister Peres will change jobs with hardline Likud Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir in in

October. But Labour fears the "job swap" may mean their "suicide" as Washington does not wish to see the change.

On assuming office in 1984, Peres promised and achieved some progress in withdrawing troops from Lebanon, and in developing the Israeli economy. But he achieved almost nothing in attaining direct dialogue between Israel and the Arab world, which is also one of his policy goals. Peres hopes to push the Arab world into direct talks with Israel by means of the meeting with Hassan II.

It is said Moroccan officials think the suspension of the PLO-Jordan accord has brought the present neither-peace-nor-war pattern to the region, which they feel does not favour the Arab countries. They believe direct knowledge of Israel's thinking on the question of peace is necessary before the next Arab summit. According to the Egyptian mass media, Moroccan-Israeli dialogue will also help to repair Moroccan-US relations, which suffered a severe setback when Morocco signed an agreement of federation with Libya. The United States is Morocco's main weapons supplier. Morocco receives an annual US\$140 million in economic aid from Washington.

by Zhou Zongshu and  
An Kuozhang

## SRI LANKA

**Progress in Defusing Ethnic Conflict**

*Sri Lanka's political parties stepped up their efforts to solve the island nation's long standing ethnic strife.*

Efforts to solve the ethnic problems in Sri Lanka have accelerated since the beginning of direct negotiations on July 13 and the resumption of the Political Parties Conference (PPC) on July 15.

Since Tamil militants shot down 13 government soldiers in Jaffna, north Sri Lanka, in July 1983, the nation of 15 million people, 18 percent of which are Tamils, has been thrown into continuous unrest. To date, 400 people have

been killed, 2,500 shops and plants have been closed and about 100,000 Tamils have become homeless.

The Tamil separatists have asked for the establishment of an independent Tamil state in Sri Lanka. The government is strongly opposed to the idea.

Since the fighting erupted, the Sri Lankan government has adopted a series of measures to solve the problem, but none has succeeded.

Observers in Colombo, however, say the latest development represents a real step forward towards a peaceful settlement to the prolonged ethnic battles.

The delegation of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), a moderate party of the minority Tamils, visited the capital on July 13, and had two rounds of direct talks with President J.R. Jayawardene on the government proposals to delegate power to provincial councils that will be set up throughout the country.

Informed sources say the two sides analysed the government proposals clause by clause, and had a "free and frank exchange of views" in a "friendly atmosphere."

The discussions should continue for a couple of weeks.

Before coming to Colombo, the TULF had negotiated with the Tamil militant groups in Madras in a bid to reach a joint stand on the government proposals. Reports from Madras said that some of the militant groups have indicated their willingness to let the TULF negotiate. However, they would not empower it to negotiate on their behalf. Neither would they be bound by the outcome of such negotiations.

Latest reports from New Delhi said the Indian government had talks with the representatives from the militant groups. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the main militant group, would not comment on the proposals. Other groups suggested amendments,

they all refused to take the proposals as the basis for a political settlement.

The militants had reportedly decided to await the outcome of the Colombo talks before resuming discussions in New Delhi. They had agreed to take no action that would impair the atmosphere at the direct talks, but said they were determined to keep up their defences during the talks.

Meanwhile, the Political Parties Conference, convened by President Jayawardene late last month to ascertain the views of the political parties towards the proposals, resumed on July 15.

So far, all the parties participating the PPC, except the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and the New Lanka Equal Society Party, have responded positively to certain aspects of the government proposals. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the main opposition party, has boycotted the PPC.

Colombo observers point to the active roles played by Vijaya Kumaranatunge, general secretary of Sri Lanka People's Party, and S. Thondaman, minister of rural industrial development and president of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, a powerful trade union of the plantation workers with mostly Tamil members. These two have made several visits to the

southern Indian state and have had discussions with leaders of the Tamil militant groups on the peaceful settlement of the ethnic problem. These private talks are said to have been useful.

While the peace efforts have been going on in Colombo, New Delhi and Madras, fighting has not stopped in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. Many believe that an effective ceasefire will be needed before the militants can be brought to the government's negotiating table.

Sri Lanka's economy has suffered badly from the fighting. Its trade deficit rose by 34 percent—from 9,907 million rupees in 1984 to 14,034 million rupees (US\$519.7)—as a result of the drop in the prices and their quantities of tea and rubber exports.

On May 3 an Air Lanka plane exploded at the Colombo Airport, leaving 19 persons dead and 24 injured. The blast negatively affected Sri Lanka's tourist industry, a major source of national income.

It is hoped, therefore, that the ethnic problem will be solved as soon as possible while the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country are still intact.

by Zhao Xinkao

#### BONN-MOSCOW

### No Breakthrough After Genscher's Trip

*Federal German foreign minister's visit to Moscow has not achieved any major breakthrough in bilateral relations or on disarmament, it may give a push to the second US-Soviet summit, however.*

During his three-day stay in Moscow, Federal German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher held talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze on East-West relations, disarmament and bilateral relations. Although the two sides called for

greater efforts towards arms control, they failed to make significant progress in either bilateral relations or disarmament.

Over the past few months the Soviet Union has, while deadlocked in arms control talks with the United States, impressed the

world with a number of major diplomatic moves in Europe. The Kremlin has appointed new ambassadors to Britain, France and Federal Germany, received Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and French President Francois Mitterrand in Moscow and sent its Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to visit London. Moscow well understands the importance of Western Europe at a time when the process of disarmament has become more complicated than ever before.

The Soviet Union, which regards Western Europe as "the laboratory of detente," hopes to restore through intensified diplomacy the kind of atmosphere it enjoyed in the 1970s, or at least to make a dent in Washington's NATO alliance.

Before his departure for Moscow Genscher went to Paris to consult French President Mitterrand, who had just concluded a visit to the Soviet Union, and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac. He also met the British ambassador in Bonn to be put in the picture about the Soviet foreign minister's visit to London, and the US delegate to the Geneva disarmament conference Paul Nitze to be told the US reaction to the latest Soviet disarmament proposals.

In his talks with Genscher on July 21, Gorbachev urged Bonn to take practical steps towards disarmament and criticized Federal Germany for its participation in the US "Star Wars" programme.

Federal Germany has accepted US Pershing II and cruise missiles as part of a NATO plan to counter Soviet SS-20s aimed at Western Europe. Gorbachev noted that "disrupting the existing political and territorial status quo in Europe could only result in chaos and the worsening of the situation." He made in June an "interim" proposal on nuclear weapons offering a separate deal on medium-range missiles while

permitting laboratory research for the US Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) if both superpowers agree to abide by the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty for 15 more years.

Speaking at a news conference at the end of his stay, Genscher said the latest Soviet arms control proposals could be a "basis" for progress in disarmament talks. He indicated that during his visit efforts had been made to encourage the superpowers to meet around the summit table later this year.

West Germany and the USSR

signed three agreements on co-operation in medicine, agriculture and the peaceful use of nuclear energy and they had also agreed to increase contacts between their foreign ministers.

However, substantial differences on arms control and other major issues remain. Just as with the talks between the Soviet Union and France and Britain, Genscher's trip has not resulted in any major advance on disarmament, but it may give a push to the process of arms control and to the holding of another Soviet-US summit. ■

by Chang Qing

#### IRAN-IRAQ

### A Quick End to War in Doubt

*Few observers believe Iran's claim that it will bring the war with Iraq to an end this year by means of a decisive offensive.*

Iran has declared that it intends to throw its whole might against Iraq to secure a quick defeat and an end to the six-year-old war before the end of the year. But in Baghdad, capital of Iraq, foreign observers are sceptical. They believe that Iran's claim lacks a realistic basis.

"Judging from the situation in the two belligerent nations, the possibility of ending the war within this year is slim," a neutral and well-informed foreign observer commented.

Iran's leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, is in fact unable to carry through his current offensive. And the commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps implied in a recent speech launching a fresh offensive that it would be almost impossible to defeat Iraq in such a short period. Also, the Saddam regime in Iraq is basically stable. The country enjoys extensive ties in this region, since its existence is considered an essential component of the power

balance in the Gulf and the Middle-East area as a whole. More importantly, Iraq is able at present to match Iran both economically and militarily.

The decision to switch from a war of attrition and to go for an early decisive victory soon was made by Khomeini at the end of May, but his Revolutionary Guards are not implementing the decision on a national scale. To meet the challenge, Iraq has adopted a series of important counter-measures.

First, it is preparing for an all-round counter-offensive. President Saddam held four meetings of top government officials and army officers in June, which decided to increase the size of the army and to prepare for all-out war. Several divisions have been regrouped. About 70,000 college students will enter military service during the summer vacation. The staff of government institutions,

(Continued on P. 19)



## Western Europe's Role in US-Soviet Rivalry

*In the atmosphere of US-Soviet confrontation and discussion, Western Europe strives to promote dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union and detente between Eastern and Western Europe. At the same time, West European governments are working to restrain the superpower arms race, while retaining for themselves a positive and independent role. Western Europe's position and role, however, hinges on whether it can increase its strength and move forward in the unification process. Whatever their differences, West European countries are without exception seeking to develop in a relaxed international environment. This universality helps Western Europe's voice to be heard in a multipolar world and play a positive role in the maintenance of world peace.*



More than 12,000 people from Europe, Asia and Africa gathered on November 16, 1985 in Geneva to protest against the superpowers' arms race and their interference in other countries.

by Qian Nengxin\*

Since the end of World War II, Europe has been a key area of rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the past 40 years, the shifts in US-Soviet relations—from the cold war to detente to revived confrontation—have affected Europe as

well. After the Reagan administration inaugurated its "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI), the two superpowers adjusted their defence policies and ushered in a new stage marked by both confrontation and dialogue. The new climate has put Western Europe in a delicate position, and has made the question of readjusting its relations with both superpowers in order to ensure its own security

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one of major concern in capitals across Western Europe today.

### The Question of Security

Security is, of course, of vital importance to West European countries. It is also an overriding consideration in their dealings with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Current US-Soviet relations involve the following two characteristics:

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*For the sake of its own future, Western Europe hopes the two superpowers will balance their arms at a low level, so that it can feel safer and more independent.*

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1. Escalation of the arms race into outer space. Indications are that this round of the contest will see no significant results for at least 10 or 20 years and possibly longer. In the meantime, the efforts will entail squandering incredible amounts of financial and material resources. Moreover, the cut-throat competition will result in major changes in the

military strategy and tactics of both sides.

2. Increase in arms control initiatives. Because of America's SDI, the Soviet Union in early 1986 proposed the thorough destruction of nuclear weapons round the world in three stages over the course of 15 years. The plan was the first comprehensive

Union, unwilling to lag behind in this regard, has adopted and will continue to adopt corresponding counter-measures to offset the effects of the US endeavour. Some West European countries have, either perfunctorily or for self-interest, become involved in America's SDI programme upon the request of the United States.

Union, among the West European countries and within each of these countries themselves.

Western Europe also worries about possible changes in the military strategy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Ironically enough, with the "balance of terror" between the United States and the Soviet Union, Western Europe has become relatively safe. Despite its doubts about NATO's "strategy of flexible response," Western



**British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French President François Mitterrand on January 20 announcing that their countries would build a double rail tunnel under the English Channel.**

nuclear disarmament programme proposed by the Soviet Union in many years, and it was met by a US counter-proposal. Any development in US-Soviet arms talks — as a side effect of their arms race — has an impact on the world, Europe in particular.

In the face of a new round of US-Soviet arms race, Western Europe has become anxious. For the sake of its own future, it hopes the two superpowers will balance their arms at a low level, giving Western Europe more room to manoeuvre between them, and to feel safer and more independent. However, the Reagan administration insists on carrying out its space programme. And, the Soviet

The move, however, does not mean Western Europe has thrown itself into the lap of the United States and become directly involved in the arms race in outer space. Conflicts of interests between Western Europe and the United States will inevitably become more and more obvious in future research, trial-runs and the deployment of US space arms. Furthermore, with the escalation of the US-Soviet arms race, in order to defend its own safety and position, Western Europe will have no choice but to beef up its military might, which will inevitably sharpen tensions between Western Europe and both the United States and the Soviet

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*The basic tenet of Western Europe's defence policy is "defence plus detente equals security." No substantial changes will happen to this policy in the foreseeable future.*

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Europe was more concerned over the erosion of US military protection following the increase of Soviet strength that tips the balance of power in favour of the Soviet Union. Though it has seen no substantial defensive changes, Western Europe fears that once realized, SDI will improve the military position of the United States in strategic offence and defence and consequently ruin the "strategy of flexible response." Then Western Europe would really have a dilemma: it would have to rely more on either the United States for defence, which would mean the loss of its independence, or sever its defensive links with America and face the formidable Soviet military presence. Although such a situation is unlikely in the near future, political and military officials in Western Europe consider it a lurking possibility.

Western Europe is also deeply worried about the Soviet peace offensive and the US-Soviet

***Western Europe's contradictions with the United States are something the Soviets can make use of. But Western Europe's fear of the Soviet military threat is a guarantee for US-West European partnership.***

disarmament talks. While welcoming the improved East-West relations that result from the resumption of negotiations between the superpowers, it doubts the US-Soviet talks will result in agreements over substantive issues. With history as their guide, Western Europe worries about the possibility that the two super-

nuclear weapons over the next five years unacceptable, especially while the United States and the Soviet Union themselves retain large arsenals of nuclear weapons.

The basic tenet of Western Europe's defence policy has been "defence plus detente equals security." No substantial changes

the 1960s, as Western Europe strengthened its military capabilities, the concept of "two pillars" came to the fore within NATO. Confronted with the military might of the Soviet Union, however, Western Europe could not survive without the American "nuclear umbrella." Instead of stepping out from under that umbrella then, Western Europe has sought a "balance point" in its security by depending on US military protection, improving its defensive measures in a restrained way and easing the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the Eastern and Western military blocs. This is indicative of the importance of Western Europe's military position, and its sensitivity as well. On the other hand, it reveals Western Europe's tender spot. The recent spread of "Neo-Gaullism" in Western Europe embodies its effort to seek strengthened military might and a reinforced independence. The tendency also finds expression in the reactivation of the West European Union and the resumption of Western European military co-operation. However, such efforts have not offset the effects of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.



Italian students demonstrating on April 16 in Rome against US bombing in Libya.

powers might conclude an agreement detrimental to their respective allies. It also worries about the reduction of US-Soviet strategic nuclear weapons and their conventional forces in Eastern and Western Europe. In principle, Western Europe is unwilling to oppose the Soviet proposal for the destruction of nuclear weapons; but it well understands that the intention of the Soviet proposal is to alienate Western Europe from the United States and prevent it from strengthening its defence. In particular, Britain and France find the Soviet proposal to freeze their

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***The recent spread of "Neo-Gaullism" embodies Western Europe's effort to seek strengthened military might and reinforced independence.***

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with regard to the policy are expected. In the early postwar period, Western Europe lived under the US defence umbrella. In

## **Relations With E. Europe**

Relations between East and West European countries also affect Western Europe's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Relations between the two European blocs made considerable progress in political, economic and cultural fields as



well as personnel exchanges during the detente of the 1970s. Politically, with the participation and backing of the United States and the Soviet Union, the two sides have acknowledged the status quo of postwar Europe. The principle for developing bilateral political relations has been established, as marked by former West German Chancellor Brandt's eastern policies and the final documents of the Helsinki European Security Conference. The German problem, which is Europe's most sensitive issue, made a big step forward along the path of normalization when the two sides signed the "basic treaty" in 1972. More striking has been the development in their economic relations, as the volume of trade between Eastern and Western Europe more than tripled from the early 1970s to the early 1980s. In the early 1980s, however, as relations between the United States and the Soviet Union became strained once again, a situation of confrontation reappeared in Europe. Nevertheless, relations between Eastern and Western Europe remained relatively normal, as leaders from both sides exchanged visits and leaders from both parts of Germany together proposed "a community of responsibility." The improved relations were then described by the US media as "a minor detente within the East-West stalemate." At present, even as the United States and the Soviet Union are locked in a new round of their arms race, evidence shows that the two halves of Europe are moving closer together.

Western Europe considers its diplomatic ties with its Eastern counterpart extremely important. In the eyes of Western Europe, the postwar Yalta pattern of relationship caused the European division and the confrontation between the two military blocs, with the two parts of Europe being manipulated by the superpowers. To obtain its independence, Western

Europe has found it necessary to win over its eastern partner and lure it away from Soviet control so as to reduce the Soviet threat, and at the same time shake off the control of the United States. This strategy was expressed by French President Charles de Gaulle in the 1960s when he proposed "a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals," in which "detente, under-

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***At present, as the United States and the Soviet Union are locked in a new round of arms race, evidence shows that the two halves of Europe are moving closer together.***

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standing and co-operation would prevail." Though de Gaulle's proposal did not materialize, it has been restated by German leaders Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and many other European statesmen. The new and different versions of de Gaulle's proposal are more flexible, mature in their strategic considerations and pay more attention to such a plan's consequences. Their goal is to secure steady political and economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe without totally alienating the United States and the Soviet Union.

Western Europe's attempt to develop relations with Eastern Europe was first challenged by the Soviet Union. From the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Soviet Union saw the danger of losing control of Eastern Europe and therefore tried everything in its power to prevent Eastern and

Western Europe from moving closer together. It tried to prevent leaders of the two sides from visiting each other and sometimes openly stopped East European leaders from visiting their West European counterparts. Militarily, it reinforced or renewed its arms deployments in some East European countries. The Soviet Union also tried to bring economic relations between Eastern and Western Europe into the orbit of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and, in a switch of tactics, chose to recognize the EEC as an international political entity. Its ultimate goal is to channel economic exchanges between Eastern and Western Europe through the CMEA in order to tighten its control over Eastern Europe.

The relations between Eastern and Western Europe have also suffered from restrictions imposed by the United States. In principle, the United States is not opposed to Western Europe's infiltration into Eastern Europe in order to weaken Soviet control there. However, the United States will never allow such infiltration to go so far as to ruin the status quo of Europe, for fear of losing its grip on Western Europe. Evidence of this is the US interference in the Soviet-West European natural gas and steel pipe barter deal, forcing Western Europe to participate in the economic blockade against Poland and restricting contacts between Federal and Democratic Germany.

Pressured and restricted by the United States and the Soviet Union, Western Europe has had to act prudently in developing its relations with its eastern neighbours. But as things stand now, Western Europe has many cards in its hand. In addition, Western and Eastern Europe share common political and economic interests. Therefore, attempts by the United States and the Soviet Union to undermine West European efforts

***While the US-Soviet conflict intensifies, Western Europe may adopt the policy to promote detente, curb the US-Soviet arms race and seek a broader spectrum for its activities.***

to improve relations with its eastern counterparts will eventually prove to be counter-productive.

## **Relations With Third World**

Western Europe's relations with the third world are complicated by the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union over the third world.

Relations between Western Europe and the third world have made remarkable progress since the 1960s. The two rely on each other to fend off the effects of the global rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are also economically interdependent. In particular, the signing of the Lome Convention and its ensuing developments have prompted Western Europe to pursue varying degrees of political and economic ties with more than 60 third world nations.

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***R***elations between Western Europe and the third world in fending off the US-Soviet rivalry have made much headway since the 1960s.

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Western Europe does not see eye to eye with the United States in dealings with the third world. In contending with the Soviet Union for strategic points and spheres of influence in the third world, the United States tries to secure both strategic sea routes and stable supplies of raw materials. The Reagan administration, which has been tougher than its predecessor, has gone over to the offensive to counter Soviet expansionist activities in the 1970s in Central and

South America, Africa, the Middle East and Northeast Asia. The Reagan administration has also tried to pressure third world countries out of their struggle for economic independence. Such US policies have contributed to political turbulence in the third world and have also complicated its economic development. Though Western Europe assumes an approach similar to that of the United States in containing Soviet expansion in the third world and in diverting their economic crisis on to the developing countries, Western Europe also has some of its own ideas about the developing world. According to European analysis, the major problems facing the third world today are those of economic development, which includes massive foreign debts, famine and declining prices for raw materials and primary products on the international market. To deal with such problems, the industrialized West needs to help promote economic development and political stability in the third world. By so doing, Western Europe will not only make it more difficult for the Soviet Union to move further into the third world, but will also contribute to the economic growth of the West. To this end, West European statesmen and scholars have put forward such slogans as "the South is the engine for the economic growth of the North," "interdependence between North and South," and "there is no way to get over the present economic crisis except through strengthening North-South co-operation." This West European approach has irritated the United States, which has accused its allies of trying to profit from America's problems with the third world. (Of course, in its approach, Western Europe also harbours the intention of

safeguarding its spheres of influence in the third world). Henry Kissinger suggested that the United States and Western Europe devise a common strategy towards the Soviet Union and the third world. Western Europe, however, prefers playing a separate and distinctive role in the third world. It is generally against armed interference in the third world. It does not want East-West differences to become an obstacle to North-South dialogue. However, when things in the third world go against their interests, West European countries do not hesitate to flex their military muscles, as in the case of the British-Argentine war over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, in which the European Economic Community openly supported the British.

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***H***enry Kissinger suggested that the US and Western Europe devise a common strategy towards the Soviet Union and the third world . . . . But Western Europe prefers a separate role.

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Western Europe is explicit in its opposition to Soviet expansion in the third world. West European countries and the EEC have boycotted and opposed Soviet expansion in southern Africa and the Horn of Africa since the mid-1970s as well as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its support of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea.

Though there does exist a negative side in their dealings with North-South issues, West Eu-

European countries are generally active in opposing US-Soviet confrontation and expansion in the third world.

### **Economic Development**

Whether Western Europe can improve its position and assume a larger role in defusing US-Soviet competition depends on whether it can strengthen its economic standing.

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***Whether Western Europe can improve its position and assume a large role in defusing US-Soviet competition depends on whether it can beef up its economic standing.***

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During the 1950s and 1960s, with average annual economic growth rates of between 5 and 6 percent, Western Europe achieved unprecedentedly fast growth in the history of capitalist economies. The advance helped extricate Western Europe from its economic plight of the early postwar years and brought the region's combined economic strength close to that of the United States and above that of the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup>

Since the early 1970s, however, Western Europe's economic strength has dwindled because of the two most serious postwar economic crises and the rise in oil prices. In the meanwhile, its economic structural reform has met with great resistance, and, as a latecomer in the technological revolution, has failed to adopt effective measures to catch up. Inflation runs high in these countries, and this has been compounded by increasing unemployment. The negative effects of the United States' high deficit, high interest rates and high

exchange rate have added to Western Europe's prolonged economic stagnation or slow growth.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, however, dramatic changes took place in the relative economic strength of Western Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union. The weakening of Western Europe's economy enhanced the economic position of the United States, while the Soviet economy, affected by both internal and external factors, began its own period of slow growth. The changes in the economic outlooks of these nations have sharpened the economic contradictions between Western Europe and the United States and have also adversely affected the Soviet's position as Western Europe's traditional market.

It was not until 1985 that Western Europe's economy began an upswing that is expected to extend through the next two to three years. It is likely that its economic growth rate will inch ahead in the next few years. Inflation, which has already plummeted, is unlikely to rise or fall drastically. In addition, the serious unemployment problem is not expected to worsen, though neither is it likely to show marked improvement. From a long-term point of view, with the reform of its economic structure and the results of the new technological revolution, the mid-1990s may prove a watershed period for the West European economy. Its rate of growth may be increased to, say, 4 percent, though this will still be a far cry from the high speed of the 1950s and 1960s. By contrast, the United States' and the Soviet Union will have found it difficult to speed up their economic development, considering the two nations' huge arms expenditures and other factors. Given this, Western Europe may find itself in an economically advantageous position vis-a-vis both the United States and the Soviet Union.

### **Union — a Major Issue**

Shoring up Western Europe's union is another major question with a bearing on raising its position in East-West relations and countering US-Soviet domination and rivalry.

Since the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Nuclear Power Community in the 1950s, the West European alliance has gained a solid foundation and considerable

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***Western Europe has also made much headway in "speaking with one voice" in political affairs and defence, particularly in major foreign policy decisions.***

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strength, despite the twists and turns of its development. The number of EEC members has increased from 6 to 12. In the economic field, unification has been extended from common tariff and agricultural policies to the establishment of a European currency system and scientific co-operation. In political affairs and defence, particularly in major foreign policies, Western Europe has also made significant advances "to speak with one voice".

Since the early 1980s, the West European alliance has confronted severe tests and challenges. Inside Western Europe, prolonged economic stagnation, imbalanced economic development and other factors have sharpened the conflicts of interest among the EEC member states. The EEC countries have been at loggerheads over common agricultural policies and budgetary contributions, both of which have held up the progress of the EEC



***As one area in a multi-polarized world, Western Europe can be expected to pursue a more active role in opposing the arms race and safeguarding world peace.***

alliance. As for external influence, the intensified US-Soviet contention and the consequent tensions in Europe have made Western Europe more turbulent and insecure. If Western Europe does not improve its political and defence alliance, it will face the danger of disintegration and loss of its current international clout. Because Western Europe's economic growth rate and technology have lagged behind those of the United States and Japan, its international economic position and competitiveness may be further weakened. Though in facing up to both internal and external pressures and challenges (particularly external pressures and challenges), West European countries have made notable breakthroughs in recent years. The strengthening of defence co-operation initiated by Federal Germany and France, the adoption of the "Eureka Programme" designed for co-operation in high-tech studies and development, the improvement of the voting system within the community, the enforcement of the plan for expanding the common market (free circulation of commodities, funds, labour and labour services will be achieved by 1992), and other important measures are all manifestations of important breakthroughs. Although these measures may meet with difficulties in the process of their implementation and some may eventually be shelved, they still show the determination of Western Europe to extricate itself from its economic plight and to cope with outside challenges.

The United States and the Soviet Union each have plans of their own towards Western Europe. In its political report, the recent 27th Congress of the Soviet

Communist Party acknowledged that the United States, Western Europe and Japan are the three centres of capitalist force. This shows that the Soviet Union has had to face up to the strength of a united Western Europe. While imposing increased political and military pressures on Western Europe, the Soviet Union has also strived to take advantage of problems between the United States and Western Europe in an attempt to win over the latter and isolate and undermine the United States. Inside Western Europe,

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***Europe's union can develop only by strengthening co-operation and co-ordination while respecting the sovereignty of all member states and shunning supranational integration.***

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however, the Soviet Union manoeuvres among various political groups and interferes in the progress of the alliance by capitalizing on France and Britain's fear of Federal Germany's growing strength. The United States, for its part, has adopted a "use-and-restrict" policy towards the alliance. It hopes Western Europe's united forces are capable of resisting Soviet expansion into Europe and some parts of the third world, so as to reduce its own burden in its competition with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the United States has tried to restrict Western Europe's defensive and political alliance, in an attempt to strengthen its control over this area.

Western Europe remains, however, a powerful economic adversary of the United States. Because of this, the United States will leave no stone unturned in its attempt to interfere in Western Europe's economic alliance by taking advantage of the special relationship between Britain and the United States as well as Federal Germany's dependence on the United States for defence.

Western Europe is composed of more than 20 nations, each with its own policies, positions, strengths and weaknesses. Because of their differences the progress of the alliance will be slow and difficult. Problems in Western Europe have manifested themselves in the clashes of "parochial nationalism" in political, economic, monetary and defence affairs, while the emergence of the so-called "Atlanticists" and "Europeanists" reflects the different stands in their foreign policies.

The road travelled by the community over the past two decades shows that Western Europe's alliance can develop only by strengthening co-operation and co-ordination while adhering to the sovereignty of all member states, and shunning supranational integration. The reason that the alliance of Western Europe could develop both in the past and in the future is that it suits the needs of the countries involved. But in many cases, external pressures, particularly that of the US-Soviet rivalry, have tightened the alliance.

## **Conclusions**

In sum, Western Europe's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union have the

following characteristics:

1) In their struggle for influence in Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union have the total control of the continent and which one will outmanoeuvre the other, as their final objective, while Western Europe, sandwiched between the United States and the Soviet Union in their rivalry, is seeking its own military security, political independence and economic development. Western Europe's differences with the United States are ones the Soviet Union can make use of. At the same time, Western Europe's friendliness to Eastern Europe poses a threat to the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Western Europe's fear of the Soviet military threat is the basic guarantee of its continued partnership with the United States. Of all these complicated relationships, the

military threat of the Soviet Union is Western Europe's major concern. Therefore, Western Europe will seek to strengthen its own forces and display its independence while maintaining its ties with the United States.

2) Under the intensified US-Soviet conflict, Western Europe confronts both dangers and opportunities. To promote the relaxation of US-Soviet and East-West tensions, to strive for curbing the US-Soviet arms race and open a wider stage for its activities may be Western Europe's basic goals, given the current international climate. Confronting the Soviet' peace offensive and the Soviet' attempt to scuttle the Western Europe-US alliance and curb the growth of Western Europe's independent forces, as well as Washington's

persistence in the arms race, Western Europe may become more determined in its struggle for a greater say in dealings with the Soviet Union so as to gain more influence in international affairs.

3) The development of Western Europe since World War II has turned the region into a major international force in the economic, defence and political arenas. While the United States and the Soviet Union intensify their global rivalry, Western Europe acts as a force for world peace and stability. Its future position and role depends on whether it can strengthen its forces and develop its alliance. As one pole in a multi-polar world, Western Europe can be expected to pursue a more active role in opposing the arms race and safeguarding world peace. ■

*(Continued from P.11)*

factory workers, middle school students and some women have been receiving military training. Basra, the main city close to the border and a possible target, has become "a city of a million soldiers." The whole country has embarked upon general mobilization.

An effort has been made to boost President Saddam's prestige. A recent special meeting of the 9th national congress of the Baath Socialist Party issued a statement commending the President's role in "leading the whole Party, nation and army along the road towards victory, dignity, progress and prosperity." The meeting unanimously re-elected Saddam general secretary of the Party, thus reaffirming its trust in him.

Before that, the Iraqi President presided over eight grand medal-awarding ceremonies within 20 days, presenting medals to officers and officials in charge of Party affairs, public security, information and the mass media in a bid to boost morale.

Iraq has also strengthened its diplomatic activities seeking political sympathy and support from the international community, requesting a moratorium on its debt repayments and purchasing new weapons. Iraq has also intensified its support for Iranian opposition groups.

Finally, Iraq has made use of its superiority in the air to attack Iran's port installations, bridges, army camps, factories and ships. Iraqi warplanes raided the international telecommunications centre at Assad Abad on June 8 and July 2, twice cutting off Iran's links with the outside world.

On the other side of the border, Khomeini's May 31st order to speed up the war effort has led to a flurry of activity. Only a month later, on June 30, the Iranian army launched an attack on the border city of Mehran, now recovering from a two-day battle in which Iraqi troops were compelled to pull back from the border. This is an undoubted victory for Iran's "new strategy." But Iraq launched a fierce counter-attack from south Majnoon Island on July 11,

destroying a number of Iranian positions. This shows that Iraq is determined to push forward with its own "new strategy," using attack as the best means of defence.

Now attention is focused on where the war will go next. Some observers believe that the battle of Mehran, which has boosted the Iranian pro-war faction's ambition of inflicting an early defeat on Iraq, will help bring forward the launch of the planned general offensive. Others believe that Iran is not yet ready to launch the decisive battle for final victory over Iraq, thus making it unlikely, although some limited action is inevitable.

Most military and economic experts in Baghdad are saying that no matter when the major offensive comes, it is very unlikely that Iran can deliver a quick defeat to Iraq. Since the prevailing balance of military forces established over a number of years has not changed substantially, it is hard to believe that the war could stop by the end of the year. ■

**by Yin Chongjing**

# The 'Double Hundred' Policy: From a Rough Ride to a Smooth One

by Yu Guangyuan

The year 1956 saw a new dawn for China's intellectuals, for it was then that the Party Central Committee, headed by Mao Zedong, shifted its focus of work from the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production to economic and cultural construction and put the question of intellectuals high on its agenda.

At a conference called by the Party Central Committee early that year, Premier Zhou Enlai asked all Party organizations to tap the potential of the nation's intellectuals. To achieve this, he suggested three measures: (1) giving intellectuals more appropriate jobs; (2) according them trust and understanding, correct treatment and support by providing them with proper working conditions. Zhou also cautioned the Party against lack of tact in dealing with scientists and matters scientific. The Party Central Committee then adopted the Decision on the Question of Intellectuals, which it began to implement shortly afterwards.

It was in this social climate that the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" came into being. This basic policy for the prosperity of China's arts and sciences was instituted to meet the needs of China's economic and cultural development. This "double hundred" policy was also a

result of the government's decision to stop copying Soviet practices, characterized by the use of political force to interfere with freedom of scientific research and artistic creation, launching political criticism in scientific and artistic fields, and slapping political labels on scientists and artists. A typical example of this erroneous method was the arbitrary political meddling in the debate between the two schools of genetics in the Soviet Union. One school was called "proletarian," "progressive," "dialectically materialist" and "practical," while the other was branded "bourgeois," "reactionary," "idealistic," "metaphysical" and "pseudo-scientific" (for details, see *Beijing Review*, issue No. 21). This was mechanically copied in China and resented by Chinese scientists and artists. But a growing awareness of the personality cult surrounding Stalin helped China's leaders to understand clearly that they must follow a policy different in principle from that of the Soviet Union.

## Historic Events

According to Lu Dingyi, then head of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, the "hundred schools" policy in relation to scientific work was first advanced at a Central Committee meeting in February 1956. On April 25, Mao Zedong made a speech expounding the 10 "major relationships" in China's revolution and socialist construction. In a later discussion of this speech, Mao elaborated further on the

idea of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Mao again restated the "double hundred" policy in May, at a state conference, and Zhou Enlai relayed Mao's speech to the departments concerned. On May 26, Lu Dingyi gave a speech entitled "Letting a Hundred Flowers Bloom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," explaining the policy and evoking widespread responses at home and abroad.

Thirty years have since elapsed. Today, recalling the events of the time and rereading the relevant historical documents, one finds that the Central Committee was at first quite steadfast in carrying out the "double hundred" policy. Lu Dingyi's speech expounded the Party Central Committee's clear-cut proposition. "In literature, art and scientific research, the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' is intended to advocate freedom of thought, debate, creation, criticism and expression, and insistence on and reservation of one's views. Among the people, there should be the freedom not only to disseminate materialism but also the freedom to propagate idealism. The debate between the two must also remain free. Academic criticism and discussion should be reasonable and practical. This means that heated academic polemics based on science should be encouraged. Criticism and discussion should be based on research work, and simple and arbitrary attitudes should be opposed. Free discussion should be encouraged and administrative interference should

The author is an adviser to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He was the head of the science section of the Party Central Committee's Propaganda Department when the "double hundred" policy was introduced in 1956.



be opposed. People being criticized should be allowed to make counter-criticisms. The minority with different viewpoints should be allowed to reserve their own views, and the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority should be avoided. Those who have made mistakes in academic studies should not be required to criticize themselves if they do not wish to, after their mistakes have been criticized and discussed. If different views arise with regard to a certain academic question, discussions should be allowed even if a conclusion has already been reached."

Lu also ruled on the question of how to evaluate different schools of medicine. At the time, a veteran cadre in charge of public health claimed that traditional Chinese medicine was "feudal," Western medicine was "bourgeois," and only I.P. Pavlov of the Soviet Union represented "socialist medicine." Lu responded that both traditional Chinese and Western medicines were valuable, and that they should be studied and developed. He also encouraged the doctors of the two schools to co-operate. He suggested that the "double hundred" policy be applied first in the field of genetics to set an example for other fields of learning.

At the time Mao Zedong was very much in favour of this "double hundred" policy. After the Qingdao symposium on genetics (see our issue No. 21, 1986), *Guangming Ribao* (Guangming Daily) published an article by Prof. Li Ruqi, a noted Chinese geneticist. After reading the article, entitled "The Hundred School Policy Applied to Genetics," Mao suggested it be

reprinted in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily). He also changed the title to "The Only Way to Develop Science" and wrote a note for its reprinting in *Renmin Ribao*. In the note he said: "We have changed the title and made the original title the subtitle to show that we agree with the article. We encourage criticism of mistakes (all mistaken ideas and measures should be criticized thoroughly), and at the same time we encourage constructive propositions."

At that time the Party Central Committee's Propaganda Department was still required to draw its own conclusions on certain academic questions before criticisms were conducted. Lu asked Mao for instructions. But Mao replied: "Even if you had Marx as head of the Propaganda Department and Engels and Lenin as deputy heads, you would still be unable to cope with all academic questions. The only way to accomplish this is to let a hundred schools of thought contend."

Chinese intellectuals were very pleased with the effect of the Party's policies between the spring of 1956 and the summer of 1957. Many scientists, philosophers and sociologists were then considering how to contribute more to the country's socialist construction. After the anti-bourgeois rightist political movement launched in the summer of 1957, however, the "double hundred" policy was virtually discarded. Since then, though there have been some periods of academic freedom such as in 1959, when the symposium on commodity economies and the law of value was held in Shanghai, the vigour that prevailed in China's scientific circles in 1956 never resurfaced. Dominated by

the guideline of "taking class struggle as the key link," the practice of subjecting academic views to severe criticism and donning scholars with derogatory political labels became rife again. This was taken to the extreme during the "cultural revolution," when numerous old scores were settled. Those who had aired creative academic views earlier became the butt of cruel attacks. And Lu Dingyi's systematic explanation of the Party's "double-hundred" policy was treated as a reactionary programme advocating bourgeois liberalism. China's scientific work came to a standstill for an entire decade and the "double hundred" policy was relegated to history. Even after the downfall of the gang of four in 1976, academic activities remained stifled because "whateverism" (whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made must be resolutely supported and whatever directives Chairman Mao issued must be consistently followed) dominated. It was not until the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978 that the Party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts was revived.

## Historical Analysis

Why is it that the "double hundred" policy, which was initiated so firmly in 1956, ended so abruptly? And, why did the rude attitude towards scientific research and artistic creation which was criticized in 1956 reappeared after 1957, especially during the 1960s and 1970s?

There were several reasons.

First, the "double hundred" policy was adopted as China

***The "double hundred" policy advocates freedom of thought, creation, criticism and debate, and allows people to reserve their opinions. Among the people there should be the freedom to disseminate both materialism and idealism.***

shifted its focus from class struggle to economic and cultural construction. The Central Committee and Mao Zedong were well aware of this change. Lu Dingyi stated then that the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had been crowned with victory, and the system of exploitation would be eliminated within a few years, and China would soon be a socialist country without exploitation. He noted that the nation's unity had been greatly strengthened and fundamental changes had taken place in the intellectuals' political and ideological consciousness. Although class struggle still existed, the antagonistic forces were greatly weakened.

However, the Party did not fully understand the new situation. Any turning point in history is a result of the laws governing a society's historical development. It is natural that changes are accompanied by some misleading phenomena. But we should not alter our estimation of historical development because of such confusion, nor should we change our basic policies. China turned from revolution to construction in 1956. Today, in reviewing history, its course no longer appears as simple as might be thought. The situation after the completion of the socialist transformation was not as predicted by Mao Zedong. For instance, the free expression which appeared in the summer of 1957 was unpredictable. When the masses were encouraged to help the Party's consolidation campaign, some bourgeois rightists took the opportunity to attack the Party and the socialist system, in

an attempt to replace the Communist Party leadership. Because of this, some top leaders wavered, and began to think that China was still engulfed in sharp class struggle, and that class struggle should be stressed every year, month and day. Under these circumstances, since the historical conditions for the "double hundred" were considered non-existent, the policy itself was shelved. To save face, the "double hundred" was not openly discarded. It was re-interpreted; the essence of the policy was claimed to be "fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology." Thus, even when the gang of four held sway, the term "double hundred," which had already become an empty phrase, constituted no obstacle to the gang's wrongdoings.

Secondly, there was a lack of understanding of the theories behind the "double hundred" policy. Lu Dingyi's speech in 1956 was considered one of the fullest elaborations of the policy but today we find the theoretical explanations somewhat deficient. Since the "double hundred" is to be carried out during socialist construction, its particular characteristics during this period must be clarified. We should not only bear in mind that it was carried out under the Party's conscious, unified leadership, and that it is meant to benefit socialist art and science, but we should also consider the following questions: What is the correct relationship between the policy and class struggle; what is the relationship between academic debate and debate between Marxist and non-Marxist views; what is the correct

relationship between debate in academic and artistic fields and the questions of democracy and political freedom; what impact will this policy have on socialist economic and cultural construction; what are the obstacles to the enforcement of the policy and how are they to be overcome; and what are the conditions necessary for the policy's implementation. Some of these questions were only touched upon when the policy was first introduced. Others were raised but not answered adequately because of limitations of time. And, some problems were neither recognized nor raised. Later, with the change in the situation, incorrect answers were given to some questions. In fact, the incorrect replies given by some of the Party's policy-makers played a decisive part in the discarding of the "double hundred" policy.

In an article written by Lu Dingyi recently, Lu noted: "Comrade Mao Zedong said those contending among a hundred schools actually involved only two schools — bourgeois and proletarian. This principle is inapplicable to both the sciences and the arts, however. If we follow what Mao said there would be only 'one voice' in the scientific and art departments and 'political hats' would be in vogue. . . . If our theoreticians had employed Marxists positions and methods to study these questions at the time, they might have sensed that there was something wrong with Mao's remark. Unfortunately the majority of people, including myself, did not do so."

Thirdly, the enforcement of the "double hundred" may meet with

***Mao once said, "Even if you had Marx as head of the Propoganda Department and Engels and Lenin as deputy heads, you would still be unable to cope with all academic questions." The only way to do this, he concluded, was to let a hundred schools of thought contend.***

***As we mark the 30th anniversary of the "Double Hundred" policy, we now have the conditions to make it basic state policy...and when we come to celebrate its 40th or 50th birthday, we shall surely have even more gratifying achievements to our credit.***

much resistance. It may also shake up some academic authorities, whose authority is often related to their political authority. The "double hundred" may confront pressure from the public because it would cause the emergence of thoughts which are antagonistic to the popular or even ruling thought in society. Since even correct idea which arose during the enforcement of the policy were often opposed by many people, those croneous ideas which were also allowed expression by the policy were opposed even more strongly. At this point then, its opponents were likely to extend their criticism of certain thoughts to the policy itself. The role of public opinion should never be underestimated. It may influence the policy-makers and make them waver in their determination to carry out the "double hundred" policy.

Fourthly, the "double hundred" policy is essentially the antithesis of dogmatism and sectarianism. To let only one flower bloom and one school of thought be aired is the way of left-deviationist thought in scientific and art work. The abolition of the policy was the result of a temporary victory for left-deviationist thought gained in its counterattack against the "double hundred" policy. The dominant place of "leftism" in the Party in the late 1950s was, on the one hand, related to the wavering which appeared in the leadership's understanding of the historical change in China. On the other, it also had ideological and social roots. The parochial outlook of small producers with their feudal thinking is the social foundation of this left-deviationist thought, and it unfortunately frequently

plays an important role in our country's politics. When fascists like the gang of four held sway over the Party and state leadership, the enforcement of the policy was out of the question.

\* \* \*

In the three decades since the Party's Central Committee advanced the "double hundred" policy, there has been only one very short period of unfettered artistic and scientific productivity. Though it is a good policy, the "double hundred" yielded little in the way of results. When reviewing the road we have travelled in the past 30 years, we cannot help wondering what heights our arts and sciences would have attained, and how much our nation would have been free of constant political suffering if the policy had been consistently followed.

However, as historical materialists we should not spend our time fantasizing about what might have been that had taken place. There were objective reasons for everything that happened. The zigzags we have experienced over the past three decades have both subjective and objective causes. In the 1950s, we did not know about socialist structural reforms, and had no idea of the significance of opening to the world or of the demands modernization would put on science.

Today, as we mark the 30th anniversary of the "double hundred" policy, we are aware that we have already acquired the conditions for making the "double hundred" a basic state policy. We may expect that because of our adherence to the policy our sciences and arts will thrive. We must make sure that the policy will

not be discarded again. And, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, we are confident of achieving our aim through our modernization drive, our economic reforms and by expanded contacts with other countries. When we mark the 40th and the 50th anniversaries of the "double hundred" policy, we shall surely have more gratifying achievements to our credit. ■





JINGGANG MOUNTAIN

# Home to Both Revolution and Tourism

by Our Correspondent Zhang Wei

One of the first areas opened to the world in the 1960s, Jinggang Mountain has attracted many thousands of visitors from every corner of the globe as a treasure trove of revolutionary sites and scenic sport.

Jinggang Mountain, located in the middle of the Luoxiao Mountain Range, which borders Hunan and Jiangxi provinces, is the birthplace of the Chinese revolution. In 1927, when China's first revolution against the rule of the warlords failed, Mao Zedong organized the "Autumn Harvest Uprising" in the Hunan-Jiangxi border region and established China's first revolutionary base here. Mao's forces were later joined by the insurrectionary troops commanded by Zhu De, Chen Yi and Peng Dehuai. The merger accelerated the struggle on Jinggang Mountain and opened bright vistas for the Chinese revolution by following Mao's strategy of "encircling the cities with the countryside."

"A spark can start a prairie fire," Mao had predicted at the Jinggang Mountain stronghold. And indeed it did, for after more than two decades of bloodshed, the Chinese people led by the Communist Party finally toppled the Kuomintang rule and founded the People's Republic of China.

Most of the revolutionary sites in the Jinggang area are concentrated around the town of Ciping. In late October 1927, when Mao led his army to Jinggang Mountain, the town of Ciping became the headquarters for the revolutionary base, and it was here that he wrote his famous piece, *The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains*. All the sites with revolutionary associations have

now been put under the protection of the central authorities and opened to visitors.

The small town of Dajing, seven km northwest of Ciping, is the site of Mao's residence and an army clinic. When Mao arrived at

Dajing his troops organized the local people into militias and also helped them in the fields. Mao set up the clinic to treat residents free of charge.

Situated six km north of Ciping was the "Hongguang Hospital,"

The Longtan Lake.

ZHANG WEI





## JINGGANG MOUNTAIN

the Red Army's first hospital. With 32 rooms, a clinic and an operating room, it could accommodate more than 200 patients. In January 1929 the hospital was seized by the enemy, and more than 100 wounded Red Army soldiers were killed. A monument to the martyrs now stands at the former site of the hospital.

Jinggang Mountain was then difficult to reach, especially as the only five passes leading to it were heavily guarded by the Red Army, which set up outposts in all directions.

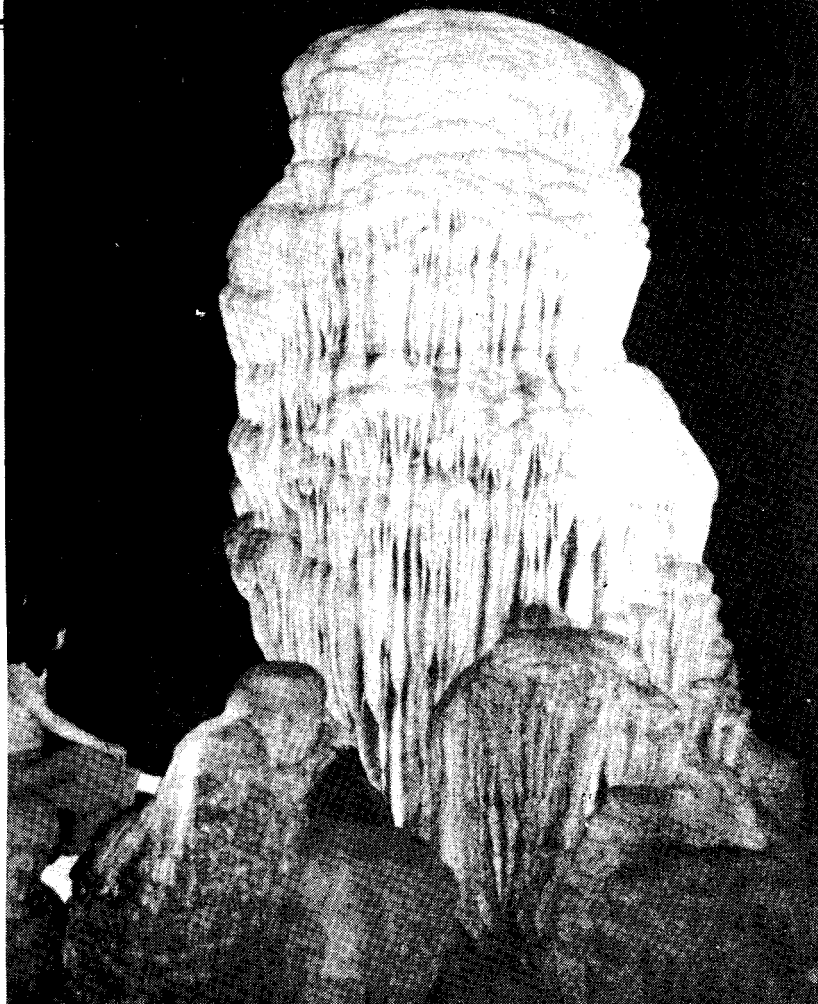
In August 1928, the Kuomintang troops of Hunan and Jiangxi provinces, learning that the main Red Army forces were being dispatched to southern Hunan Province and that the base was to be left poorly guarded, sent out four regiments to make a pincers attack on the Huangyangjie Outpost to the north of Jinggang Mountain. But with less than a full battalion, the Red Army forces defeated the enemy with the help of the local people. Inspired by the victory, Mao wrote in a poem:

*Below the hills fly our flags and banners,*

*Above the hilltops sound our bugles and drums.*

*The foe encircles us thousands strong,*

*Steadfastly we stand our ground.  
Already our defence is iron-clad,*



Inside the Stone Swallow Cave.

ZHANG WEI

*Now our wills unite like a fortress.*

*From Huangyangjie roars the thunder of guns,*

*Word comes the enemy has fled into the night.*

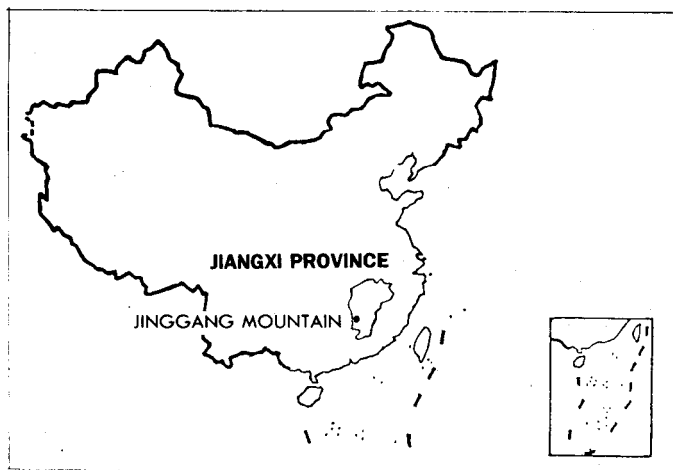
After liberation, a monument was erected with an inscription by Marshal Zhu De to the victory at Huangyangjie.

A former Red Army soldier (left) telling of his experiences on Jinggang Mountain.

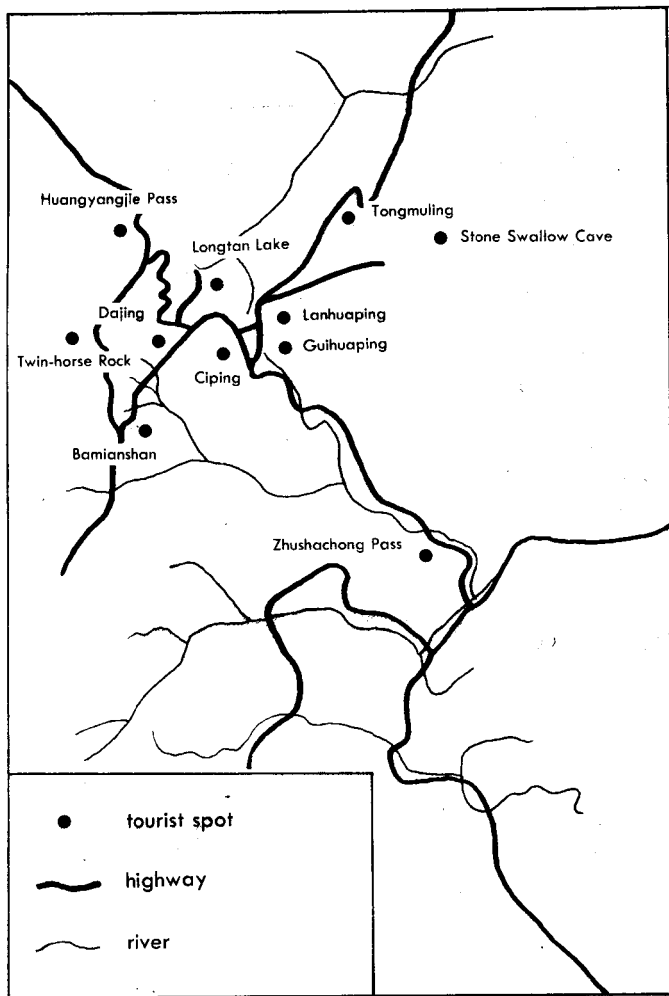
ZHANG WEI



In an area of some 200 square kilometres around the town of Ciping, there are eight scenic areas dotted with more than 230 outstanding scenic spots. One km to the east is Huaguo, or Flower-Fruit Hill, which is overgrown with red bayberry, sweet-scented osmanthus and orchids. Vast stretches of osmanthus trees, each several hundred years old, offer luxurious shade for visitors, while orchid trees perfume the area, which is also studded with tea plantations.



### Tourist Sketch Map of Jinggang Mountain



Most spectacular of all are the five passes, with cliffs so precipitous that "one man is able to hold off an invasion of 10,000," and ravines hundreds of metres deep. The Huangyangjie Outpost, which is often enveloped in cloud, looks like a small island in a vast sea. The octagonal Bamianshan Outpost to the northwest is lush with azalea bushes. In late spring the entire mountain turns red, like a bonfire burning in a green wilderness. Between Ciping and the Zhushachong Outpost, great stretches of primitive forest are home to flocks of birds, animals and a tremendous variety of trees and plants.

Jinggang Mountain resounds with numerous streams and waterfalls. Lake Longtan, seven km north of Ciping, is famous for the many waterfalls in its vicinity. Biyu Fall, six metres wide at the top and 17 metres wide at the bottom, falls 67 metres to a pool below. The most beautiful fall of all, however, is the Xiannu, or Fairy Maiden Fall. Divided in two by a round rock at the outlet, it drops 40 metres into a vast, seemingly bottomless pool. Observed from a distance, the fall looks like a girl with two pigtailed dancing on the slope.

About 12 km to the northeast of Ciping is a big cave, the Shiyan, or Stone Swallow Cave. Due to erosion over the years, numerous rocks have taken the shape of trees, mushrooms, flowers, animals and other figures. One looks like a mother teaching her child to read, another like a doe feeding her fawns.

So far a string of seven smaller caves have been found within the stone swallow, the biggest about 60 metres high and 50 metres deep, and the smallest at least 10 metres high and 20 metres deep, all as wide as they are long. Within each flow a number of streams.

In 1982, Jinggang Mountain was officially classified by the State Council as one of China's major areas of outstanding natural beauty. ■

## Improving Image of Women in Literature

**"ZHONGGUO FUNU BAO"**

(Chinese Women News)

The portrayal of women in socialist art and literature should not be influenced by ancient traditional literary ideas. Apart from a few works that have shown some individuality, modern Chinese literature is still rife with the images of woman as either iron-willed heroines, virtuous mothers and wives or bad women.

Depicting women as only legendary figures does not show them the respect they merit. Mu Guiying is a legendary Chinese literary figure. She is not real, however, and has little to do with real life. Though few women can compete with men physically, women are at least men's equal in terms of intelligence. It is unrealistic, therefore, to create phoney women figures in terms of physical strength. Mu Guiying, a robust heroine depicted in novels and operas of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) is only fictional and unconvincing, for women in the Song Dynasty were forced to have their feet bound. How could a woman with bound feet ride a horse and fight as a general as Mu supposedly did? The image of women presented by Mu did nothing to further people's understanding of women. Instead it was a way for a male dominated society to quench its thirst for make-believe. This style of writing can also be found in some socialist literary works that focus on iron-willed women.

In addition, the images of iron women in some works today also worry some people, for real women in China today do not match the iron woman formula: frivolity + conceit + being self-centred = formidable woman.

No matter what the intention is, drawing a portrait of a woman that is physically impossible is to sling mud at her. Such works should be considered immoral.

The feudal women of virtue are not images of women under socialism. Being a virtuous wife and mother is a traditional virtue. But this traditional virtue contains a host of feudal dross that must be rejected. The spirit of self-sacrifice for husband and children is a part of the archaic "three obediences" (to father before marriage, to husband after marriage, and to son when widowed) and the "four virtues" (morality, proper speech, appearance and diligence), are all spiritual fetters imposed on women in feudal society. In much literature, women have been asked by society to shoulder innumerable

able burdens. In one case, a young woman in the countryside, whose fiance sustained wounds that left him impotent, was encouraged to marry the man and adopt a baby. It is right for women to suffer for men, this and other stories seem to be saying. The authors might feel different if it was their daughter who was required to be so "strong."

It is also unfair to portray women as coy and manipulative. In the years of political turmoil in China, some women were forced to part with their husbands because of political pressure. However, in some of today's literature some of these women have been wrongly condemned and mercilessly castigated for their "unfaithfulness." Some writers have also used women as the symbols and sources of disaster. In real life, bad women do exist, but there are certainly no more evil women than there are evil men.

## 108 Million Now City Dwellers

**"ZHONGGUO CHENGSHI  
DAOBAO"**

(China Urban Herald)

China's urban population (not including that of suburban counties and rural areas under municipal jurisdiction) has reached 108 million, or about 11 percent of the nation's total population.

The third national census conducted on July 1, 1982, indicated China had 244 cities in 29 mainland provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The cities could be divided into nine categories according to their population. Three cities had populations of more than 4 million; six cities had 2-4 million residents each; 20 had 1-2 million people; 28 cities had 500,000 to 1

million people; 10 had 400,000-500,000 people; 23 had 300,000-400,000 people; 32 had 200,000-300,000 people; 65 had 100,000-200,000 people; and 57 had populations of less than 100,000. Shanghai is the largest city in China, with 6.32 million people, and the smallest is Erenhot, Inner Mongolia, which has only 7,246 residents.



# Electronics Exports Shoot Up

**C**hina's electronics exports in the first half of 1986 showed one of the largest increases in China's export history. Logging US\$223 million, Chinese electronics sold abroad grew 9.7 times over the same period last year.

In a July interview with *Beijing Review*, Wang Enzhi, manager of the planning department of the China National Electronics Import and Export Corp., said although China has been exporting parts and components for electronic devices, from January through June, it began exporting complete sets of electronic consumer goods. The 173,600 colour TV sets China sold for US\$8.627 million abroad made an increase of 603 times over the same period last year. Tape recorder sales, he said, came to US\$2.496 million, up 62 times, radios, US\$2.47 million, up four times, and computers and peripheral equipment, US\$210,000, up four times. Exports of radio equipment, loudspeakers and components also registered 100 percent increases.

Wang said China also exports production lines and technology. He said agreements and letters of intent have been signed with South Asian countries on selling production lines for black-and-white TV sets, electric fans, radios and technical transfers.

China exports electronic products to more than 30 countries and regions. Its radio-recorders and TV sets are sold in the United States, Japan and Europe. Before 1981, China exported no electronic products to Japan. However, by 1985, its electronics exports to Japan reached US\$806,500, and in the first six months of 1986, the figure reached US\$520,000.



A colour TV assembly line under the joint management of a Xian factory and Japan's Toshiba Corp.

The sharp increase in electronics exports is attributable to the increase in home production, Wang said. In recent years, the Chinese electronics industry has used imported technology to improve production and quality. Some of China's products are close to international standards and are competitive on the international market. Wang said it is expected that by 1990 China's electronics exports will have reached US\$400 million.

The China National Electronics Import and Export Corp. was established in 1980. Wang said it has branches in 17 provinces and municipalities and representative offices in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Hong Kong. ■

## Heilongjiang Improves Foreign Trade

**O**ver the past two years, Heilongjiang Province has

increased its import-export volume by US\$100 million annually. In 1985, the province's own exports (not including state-controlled oil) accounted for US\$420 million, and its imports during the same period reached US\$100 million. It is expected that by 1990, the export volume will reach US\$1 billion, and imports between US\$300 million and US\$400 million.

The province's major exports are:

Farm produce—soybean (Heilongjiang is the leading soybean exporter), maize, fodder and flax. Honey and fur, of which the province is the country's top producer in terms of both quantity and quality, and wild herbs.

Industrial articles—Heilongjiang is one of China's producers of machine tools and electrical products. Exports of these items last year amounted to



US\$30 million and are expected to reach US\$50 million this year. Customers from Western countries often speak highly of their quality and adaptability to computers. Flax fabric exports constitute 90 percent of its total exports of the country. Other industrial exports include machine-made paper, coal, coke, graphite and building materials.

Heilongjiang's main import items are raw and semi-finished materials and means of production. Many old enterprises need updating, and therefore it is necessary to import equipment and technical software.

Heilongjiang's foreign trade includes frontier trade with the Soviet Union, which is conducted at Suifenhe and Manzhouli on a barter basis. Accounts from these transactions are settled in Swiss francs. The trade volume between Heilongjiang and the Soviet Union in 1983 was 15.9 million Swiss francs, in 1984, 29 million Swiss francs, and in 1985, 32.5 million Swiss francs. A further increase is expected in 1986. The province exchanges soybean, meat, canned goods, thermoses, pencils, flashlights and garments for cement, chemical fertilizer and soda ash.

Heilongjiang's frontier trade with East European countries started in the second half of 1985. In 1986, however, it has signed formal trade contracts with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Trade with Eastern Europe is expected to grow at a faster rate than that with the Soviet Union.

by Yang Xiaobing

## Inner Mongolian Symposium

A foreign economic relations and trade symposium, together with an export commodity fair, will be held in Hohhot, capital of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, from August 5 to 12.

The economic and technical cooperative items for the symposium

will come to 54. The exhibition, occupying 1,800 square meters, will include a comprehensive pavilion and pavilions for local produce and animal by-products, metals and minerals, grain, edible oil and food, medicine and health, light industrial technology, textiles, metallurgy, machine tools and local foreign trade.

Invitations to the symposium have been sent to more than 700 firms in countries all over the world. This will be the first time for Inner Mongolia to host foreign trade talks on such a large scale.

The regional government welcomes all overseas guests to come to Hohhot and take part in the talks.

## Japan Buys Hair Treatment

All medical textbooks say baldness, which is caused by fatty infiltration, is incurable.

The Dabao Trichogen Cure produced by the Sanlu Factory in Beijing, however, says otherwise and boasts a "cure" rate of 98.3 percent. Their rates were reached by the China Medical Association's Beijing Branch, which observed 60 cases between August to December 1985 on individuals ranging in age from 18 to 55.

After experimenting with the Dabao Trichogen Cure for more than a year, the Ohasi Co. Ltd. of Japan signed a contract on June 14 with the Sanlu Factory to become its sole agent in Japan. Ohasi bought 10,000 bottles of the cure and seven other varieties of cosmetics from the Beijing factory. Ohasi's three Dabao Trichogen Beauty Parlours in Tokyo will go into operation after the arrival of eight Chinese technicians.

The Dabao Trichogen Cure has been judged effective by Japanese specialists, including such eminent figures like Dr. Otomo Tosimitsu and Dr. Kieda Mitsulu.

The curative effect of the Dabao Trichogen Cure has drawn general interest from Japanese businesses. Shiseido and other Japanese cosmetics manufacturers are negotiating with the Sanlu Factory on joint production.

The Dabao formula was first prepared in 1980 by engineer Wu Baoxin, director of the Sanlu Factory. Its domestic sales have come to 300,000 bottles. Wu said the cure has no side-effects and is non-toxic.

All 16 varieties of cosmetics manufactured by the Sanlu Factory are Wu's inventions. At present businesses in more than 40 countries and regions have asked for rights to deal in the factory's products.

Yue Haitao

## Beijing Hosts Media Conference

The Beijing Advertising Corp. and the International Media Representatives Hong Kong Ltd. sponsored the Beijing International Publishers Conference in Beijing on July 28-30.

Among the 300 participants were representatives from eight media and publisher groups from nine countries including Australia, the United States, Canada and Britain. Chinese import and export companies also sent representatives to the conference.

Principals from foreign publishing companies gave presentations on more than 30 world-famous newspapers and journals, in addition to a TV station and a radio network. Discussions were also held to advise the Chinese delegates on using the media to reach their target audiences.

The conference was an opportunity for international interflow in the advertising business, and is expected to help Chinese exporters in choosing international media to improve their competitiveness abroad.

by Yao Jianguo

## Rural Factories Sponsor Sport

A group of 43 sports reporters from various branches of the news media recently visited four counties under the cities of Suzhou and Wuxi in Jiangsu Province, for a look at how sports have been developing there.

As China's richest rural area, Suzhou's counties in 1985 logged an annual gross output of 11.69 billion yuan, more than three times the figure of 1980, which put Suzhou's annual gross output in the nation's No.4 spot behind Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin. In Wuxi, rural industries account for 50 percent of the city's annual gross output value. Today almost all the counties' residents work in rural industries, earning higher wages than their urban counterparts. Having been liberated from the toil of the field, rural residents now have more time to spend on sports.

### Farmers or Workers?

Shortly after arrival, some reporters asked Party Secretary Zhang Yonglai of Oujiao Village, Shazhou County, for a chance to interview the rice farmers. Zhang said he was surprised at the question. "About 75 percent of the village labour power works in the 10 village-run factories," he said. In 1985 these industries turned out a gross annual output value of some 27 million yuan, which accounts for 88.7 percent of the annual village gross output value. Residents in the village in 1985 had an average per-capita income of 1,100 yuan, or about 300 more than the average college graduate earns.

### Price of Leisure

"Years ago, only the better-off among us had enough free time for

sports," said Gu Baoqing, deputy director of the Suzhou Sports and Physical Cultural Commission. He said it was only in 1983 that Oujiao Village, whose residents have always loved basketball, could afford the 130,000 yuan needed to build a floodlit basketball court.

Yet human enthusiasm also counts. "If it were not for the efforts of the Party and government officials, most sports would

court, a training centre and a swimming pool. Wuxi County has invested 2 million yuan in sports stadium that will include a spare-time sports school. Now Wuxi County has sports teams. Each village in the four counties has at least one basketball team, one table tennis team, one Chinese chess team and one bridge team.

The case can be seen clearly in Oujiao Village again. The village



MIAO ZAIYA

Nie Weiping (first from right) watch a "go" match between local residents of Tangqiao Township.

not have taken roots in the rural areas of Jiangsu Province," said Huang Jichen, deputy general secretary of the China Sports Journalists Association. It is only within the last two years, he said, following directives from the China Sports and Physical Cultural Commission, that Taicang and Jiangyin, two of the four on the sportwriters' tour, have constructed a sports stadium, a floodlit basketball

is famous not only for its basketball team, but also for its Party Branch Secretary Zhang Yonglai, who often gathers his three sons and one son-in-law to form part of a basketball squad.

### Business Lends a Hand

"No major business is not involved in sports in one way or



WANG JIAN

A football team composed of farmers from Dalian City during training.

another. We sponsor national sports events to publicize our products and promote sports at the same time," said Xi Yepin, director of the Zhenyen Rubber Factory of Xizhang township, Shazhou County. Following a contract signed with the China Football Federation four years ago, the factory has spent 120,000 yuan sponsoring three "Little Soccer Cups," nationwide tournaments for children under 12. With the help of this publicity, the factory is now among China's top eight manufacturers of rubber shoes, with a total annual output of 10 million pairs in 1985. Today, while its modestly profitable undersized footballs are kicked in China's primary schools, the factory has invested 400,000 yuan to research and designed standard shoes for China's pupils. Factory director Xi said his goal is for 10 percent of China's 180 million pupils to buy one pair of Zhenyen rubber shoes in the future.

In Wuxian County of Suzhou, the Wuxian Explosion-Proof Motor Works collaborated with a Nanjing PLA basketball team to change the team's name into the "Camels," which is what the electric fan produced by the factory is called. The factory provides the team 48,000 yuan each year for the latter's help. This November, factory director Zhu Xirong, also the basketball team

manager, said he will bring the team to Thailand to participate in the "Thai King Cup," during which the "Camels" will publicize his electric fans, an added benefit since the home fan market is saturated.

Ouqiao Village also provides an annual 80,000 yuan to add its name to the Jiangsu provincial men's basketball teams and to have the provincial team train the village basketball team.

Jiangsu and neighbouring Zhejiang provinces have long been China's most developed area. Because its land is fertile, it is exceptionally precious. Because of this, building standard size soccer field there today is almost impossible. Residents have, therefore taken added interest in table games such as *go* and bridge.

In Tangqiao township of Shazhou County, *go* is so popular that 10 percent of Tangqiao's 25,000 residents now play the game. Two years ago only six people played *go* in this township. Prompted by former county Party leader Gu Bingjun, Zhang Jinxian, the township cultural official, one of the six who could play two years ago, began giving *go* classes. Zhang said since *go* is easy to learn, addicting once you do and relaxing, it has taken off. Last August more than 1,800 people participated in a *go* tournament held in the township.

Zhang said *go* now occupies the spare time of Tangqiao's residents, and has therefore replaced gambling, which surfaced there two or three years ago.

This April, China's No.1 *go* player, Nie Weiping, visited Tangqiao township and was engaged as the adviser to the township *go* association. Nie remarked later that though the general level of *go* in the township was not high, he expects it to produce a national *go* champion in a few years.

## Sports Households

In this part of China, sports is not run solely by the government. Many families organize sports gatherings and competitions. In western Wuxi County is Yangshi township, which was recently chosen for trial urbanization. The soccer household for this township is located in Chuxin Village, where the Kuang family's enthusiasm for soccer was inspired by the 67-year-old grandfather Kuang Yushen. Since they lived next to the county's middle school, which has a soccer field, Kuang Yushen taught his son, now a factory director, and his two grandsons and the other people in the village to play soccer when they were young. Today the village has two soccer teams. This month the Kuangs are holding a "Spark Cup" with a prize of 300 yuan. They have invited nine teams from their township to participate. Kuang Yushen's 46-year-old son, his two grandsons and two grandsons-in-law comprise one of the teams, and Yushen is their goalie.

In general, the sports level in the four counties is far from high, and none has produced any top athletes. Area residents and officials are, however, optimistic. Says Kong Qingpeng, deputy director of the Jiangsu Sports and Physical Culture Commission, "they can make it if they keep trying."

by Zhao Zonglu

# Chinese Acrobatics Through The Ages

Written by: **Fu Qifeng**

Price: **7.65 Yuan (RMB)**

125 pages

Published by: **Foreign Languages Press, Beijing**

Distributed by: **China International Book Trading Corp. (P.O. Box 399, Beijing)**

**A**crobatism is one of the most popular performing arts in China and always presented on holidays or festivals. *Chinese Acrobatics Through The Ages* (in English) published by the Foreign Languages Press in 1985 is a useful guide to China's acrobatics—its styles and techniques, past and present.

The book is a lively and vivacious description of various forms of acrobatics. Fu Qifeng, the author, describes the acrobatics from each of the dynasties of ancient China and devotes one special chapter to China's modern acrobatics. Some of the data in the book have been obtained from stone sculptures, brick carvings, pottery figures, murals and other unearthed materials. According to the author acrobatics was first a folk art that originated from daily life, and then advanced from the commoners into the mansions of nobles and high officials, and finally came back to the commoners. Although China's acrobatics has gone through many dramatic changes, it has retained some of its traditional aspects.

Fu says acrobatics was one of the world's first performing arts. As early as the New Stone Age, the Chinese people had created a primitive performing art in the course of hunting, stockbreeding, fighting and offering sacrifices to gods and ancestors. Acrobatics

did not become an independent performing art until the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476BC). One record says a warrior called Yi Liao of the State of Chu could juggle eight balls at one time.

The Han Dynasty (206BC-220AD) saw both the state and acrobatics strong and flourish. Fu says acrobatics were performed at the request of the rulers of the Han Dynasty. Acrobatics were also popular then at the imperial court's banquets and gatherings. The imperial families also frequently used performances presented by musicians, dancers and actors to entertain their guests and foreign envoys.

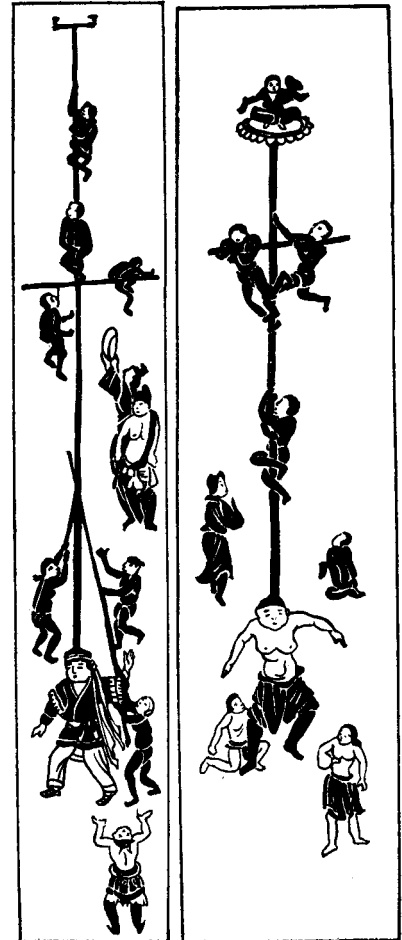
As the author points out, acrobatics experienced a second upsurge during the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD). During this period, one of the more famous acrobats was Aunt Wang, who was renowned for her skill in *Pole Balancing*. During this routine, a small finely carved wooden hill was placed on the tip of a long pole balanced on her forehead. A performer climbed up the pole and there performed various acrobatic moves. Circuses were also popular in the Tang Dynasty, and many included trained horse that performed to music.

During the Lantern Festivals (the 15th day of the first month of the Chinese lunar calendar) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127) acrobatic performances were shown in the capital Bianliang, present Kaifeng of Henan Province. During the festival special locations were often set aside for the performances, which helped promote acrobatics.

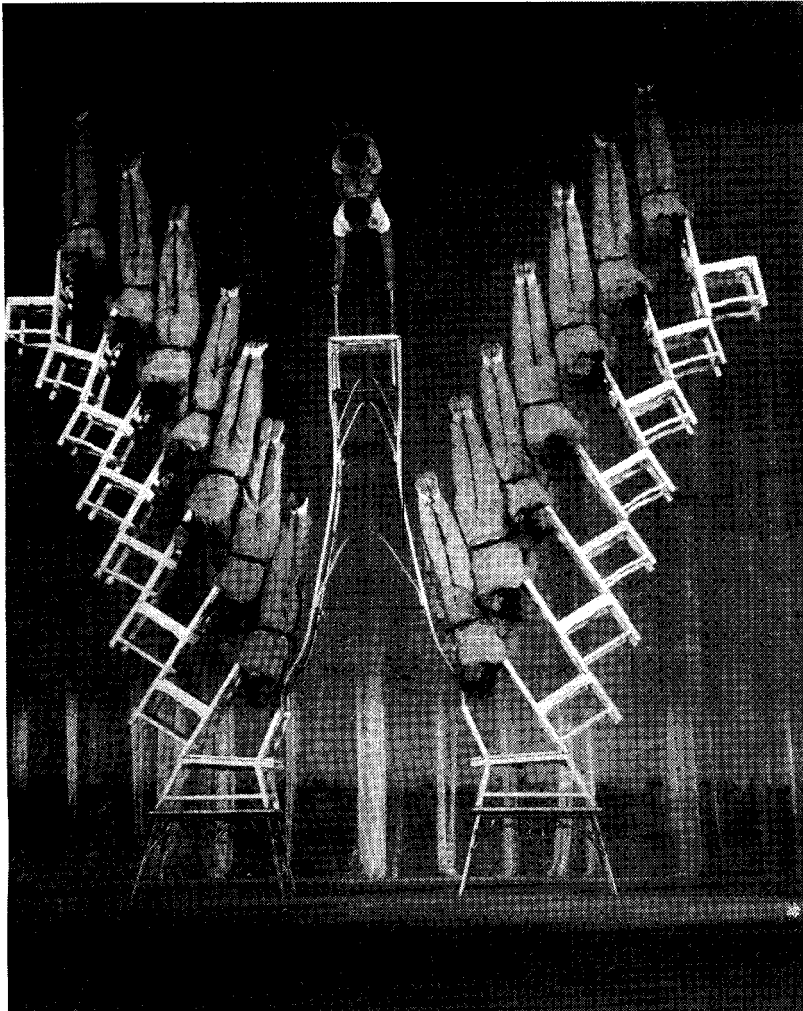
According to the book, vocal mimicry was the most popular stage performance in the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties. The performers imitated various sounds from behind a screen, making it difficult for the audience to distinguish what was an imitation and what was real.

Fu Qifeng was born in March 1941 in Chengdu, Sichuan Pro-

"Pole-Balancing"—copied from carving on a Tang Dynasty bow.







"Balancing on Chairs" performed by the Guangzhou Children's Acrobatic Group.

vince. For three generations her family have been magicians and acrobats. Her father, Fu Tianzheng, was a famous performer who combined the best in Chinese and foreign magic and acrobatics in a unique way. He also collected historical records, many of which became important reference materials for his daughter's research.

Influenced by her family, Fu Qifeng began to take a keen interest in the family profession when she was a small child. She published her first articles on magic and acrobatics at the age of 15. Since the 1960s, she has been with the China Acrobatics Troupe

of Beijing, working as a performer, coach and researcher. She took part in compiling the two pictorial books *The Art of Chinese Acrobatics* and *Chinese Acrobatics* both published by Foreign Languages Press in 1981 and 1982, and she collaborated with her brother Fu Tenglong in writing the book *Acrobatics in China*. She was elected a council member of the Beijing Branch of the Association of Chinese Acrobats. She is also one of the founders of the journal *Acrobatics and Magic* published by the Association of Chinese Acrobats.

The book is lavishly illustrated with 32 pages of colour photos. ■

by Qin Hua

## A Study of Beijing's Ancient Wall

*Beijing City Walls and Gates* written by Prof. Osvald Suren of Sweden more than 50 years ago has been translated into Chinese and will be published soon.

His book reveals a profound interest in the age-worn edifices that many sections has fallen into serious disrepair. The book also contains useful background information about the wall and its various gates.

Today, Beijing's surviving wall sections and its towers—the gate towers inside and outside Zhenyangmen Gate, the Deshengmen Wall Arrow Tower and the Corner Tower in the southeastern section of the city—have been renovated, reinforcing the capital's ancient charm. Many other sections of the city wall have been dismantled, however, because of the city's expansion and capital construction. The book, which contains a number of illustrations and photos of sections of the wall that are now only history, is all the more valuable. The book is also evidence of Suren's respect for China's cultural heritage and his efforts to develop Chinese-foreign cultural exchanges.



## Film Actress Wins 1985's Top Award

It seems there was nothing new on China's screens last year except the film *Wild Mountains*," said film critic Yu Tu.

Although people have different opinions about *Wild Mountains*, it won the 1985 Golden Rooster Award for best feature film, the top prize from the China Film Artists' Association.

Adapted from a novel by noted Chinese writer Jia Pingao, the film concerns two couples living in a village in the Qinling Mountains. Like many other peasants there, Huihui sticks to the old ways and lives contentedly as his forefathers did. Hehe, a young demobilized soldier who has seen some of the world beyond the mountains, however, yearns for change. He ignores the opposition of his wife, Qiurong, and seeks ways to further what he sees as his struggle forward. Huihui's wife Guilan, is Hehe's only supporter. In the end, the two couples divorce. Hehe marries Guilan, and Huihui marries Qiurong.

The film is said by some to reflect the challenges that rural reform presents in the face of

traditional concepts, while it also realistically depicts the changing lifestyles and values of China's farmers.

Yue Hong, 24, was awarded best actress for her portrayal of Guilan in the film.

A native of Chengdu, Sichuan Province, Yue is now is a member of Beijing's August First Film Studio.

"I have wanted to be an actress since my childhood. I couldn't manage to pass the enrolment examinations, however, until 1980, when I was recruited by the Performing Department of the Central Drama Institute," Yue said.

After her graduation from the institute, Yue played a role in a short TV play. In 1984, she played a character in the film *On Small Island*, but remained unnoticed until *Wild Mountains* director Yan Xueshu discovered her. When casting, Yan Xueshu said he tried to avoid faces already familiar to film audiences. He wanted an unknown actress. After testing, Yan chose Yue for the part.

"It was a great chance," Yue

said, "I've never been to the countryside, so I know nothing about the life of a farmer, but I knew I had to try."

To obtain a better understanding of the character, Yue went with other actors and actresses to a remote Shanxi village. She cut her hair short and borrowed clothes from a local woman. She learnt to speak the local dialect and to imitate the gestures of local women in eating, walking and working.

"I put my heart into searching for the character and getting close to her," Yue said. She said she learnt little by little what it meant to be like Guilan. Through her efforts, a kind hearted, open and vigorous wife who was full of hope and love for life appeared on the screen.

Not satisfied with her achievement and prize, Yue said, "I want to improve my acting."

This year Yue will star in a film about the lives of frontier soldiers, *Love Tree on the Battlefield*.

The ceremony for giving the awards will be held in mid-August. ■

Yue Hong (first left, front) as Guilan in "Wild Mountains."



Xin Ming (right) as Huihui.



## ART PAGE

An Old Man Riding  
a Donkey.



A Woman.

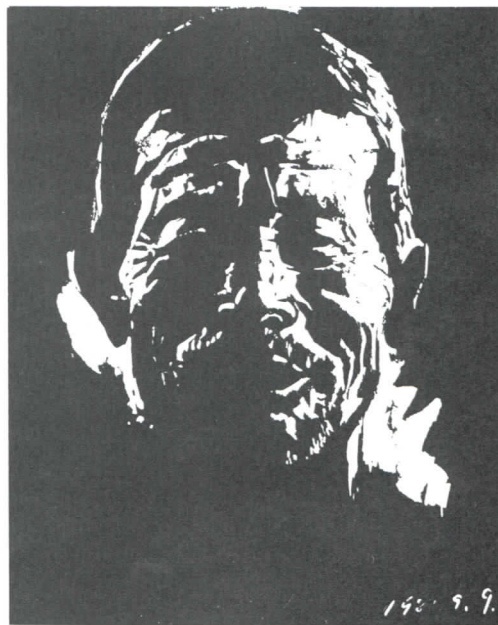


## Woodcuts by Zhao Yannian

Grandfather and  
Grandson.



An Old Farmer.



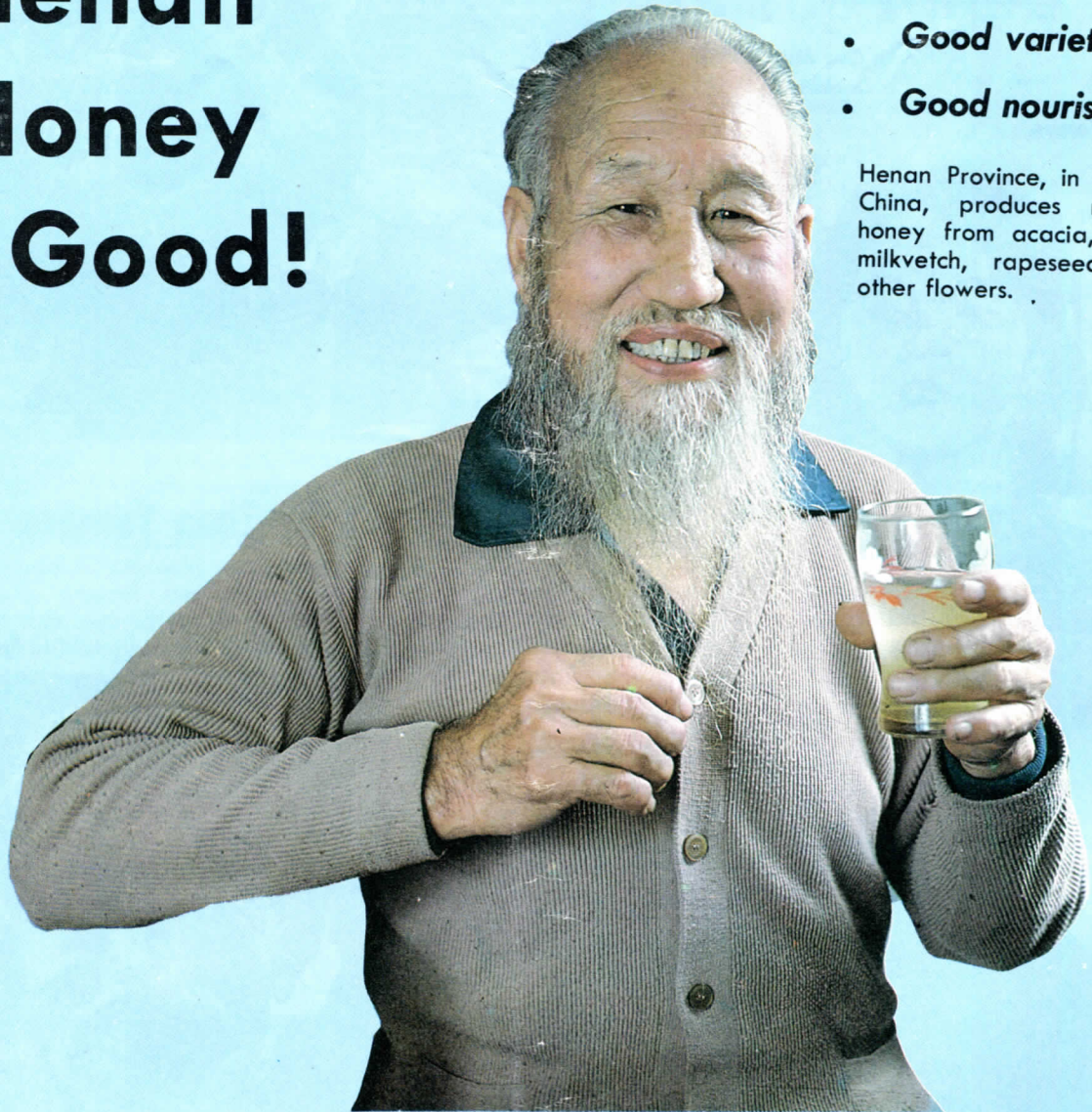
1980.5.

1980.9.9.

Zhao Yannian, born in 1924 in Zhejiang Province, now teaches at the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts. His engravings are bold and lively, and show striking contrasts between black and white.



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