

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

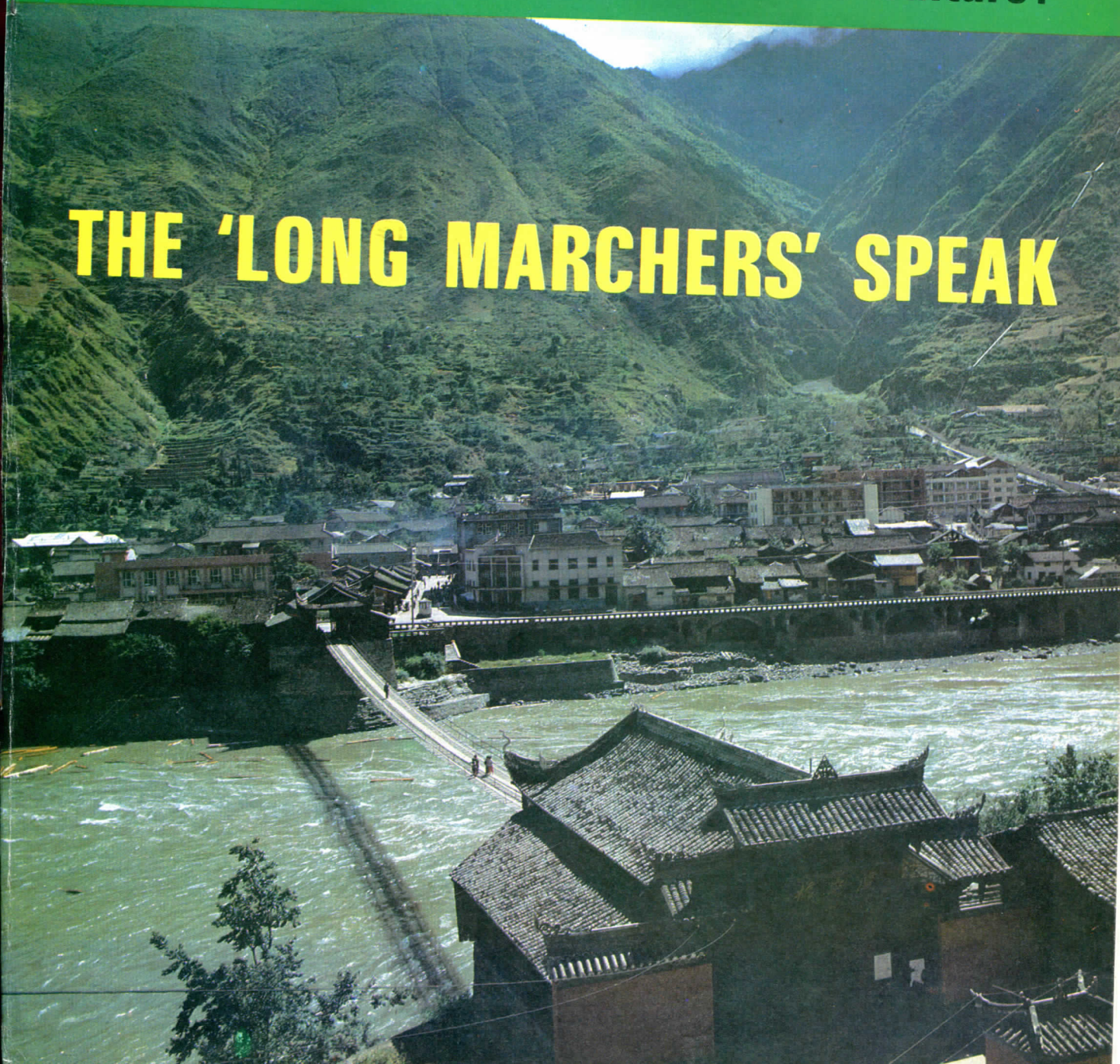
# Beijing Review

Vol.29, No.40

October 6, 1986

## CPC Plenum: How to Promote Ethic Culture?

# THE 'LONG MARCHERS' SPEAK





The Kuazizhuang township in Fengnan County, Hebei Province, has the largest cultural centre in the county. Among the facilities are a library, recreation room, sports room and a theatre. Here the members of a cultural troupe from the centre entertain residents of an old-people's home.



American visitors greet performers, saying, "Hope you will perform in the States some day."



## **SPOTLIGHT**

### **Rural Cultural Centre**

A game of chess in progress at the centre.

The reading room.





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**Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology (Centrefold)**

**COVER:** Chain bridge over the Dadu River: Fifty years ago, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Army crossed this bridge, overcoming a natural barrier the Kuomintang had hoped would block the army's Long March.  
**Wang Xinmin**

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Central Committee Passes Ideology Resolution

■ The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in a plenary session, adopts an important resolution on the guiding principles for building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology (for full text of the resolution see centrefold). It also decides to convene the 13th Party Congress in October, 1987 (p. 5).

### General Jaruzelski in Beijing

■ General Wojciech Jaruzelski makes a fruitful working visit to China, the first of its kind in more than 20 years (p. 8).

### Wu Explains China's Stand at the UN

■ Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian urged the United States and Soviet Union to take practical steps to drastically reduce their armaments, and Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea, in his speech at the UN General Assembly. He points out that the traditional friendship between China and Viet Nam will be restored, provided the latter effects a genuine withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea and gives up its anti-China policy (p. 14).

### Reminiscences about the Long March

■ On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the successful conclusion of Long March, General Wu Xiuquan talks to *Beijing Review*. He was there back when the CPC led the Chinese Red Army in the northward move—the Long March. Wu points to the relevance of the Long March of the 30s to today's new Long March—the modernization drive (p. 19).

Other revolutionary veterans who also completed the Long March recall what impressed them most (p. 26), and the women marchers' story tells of the terrible tribulations they had to endure during the march (p. 19).

### Competition, Friendship, Progress

■ Thrilling competition at the 10th Asian Games shows an enhanced level of Asian sports. Chinese athletes, while struggling to score new victories and break out of Asia to compete as a world sports power, also contribute to the overall improvement of Asian sports (p. 4).

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## The 10th Asian Games

by Guest Commentator Yang Xia

The 10th Asian Games now going on in Seoul, South Korea, is a milestone in Asian sports. More competitors are taking part in this "festival of sports" than the continent has seen for 35 years. When the first Asian Games was held in New Delhi in 1951, it was attended by some 500 athletes from 11 countries and regions. This year, 3,600 athletes representing 27 countries and regions are there.

The 10th Asian Games is being held at a time when sports have gained much ground in Asian countries.

Before the 1970s, Japan was the top sports power in Asia. At the 7th Asian Games held in Teheran in 1974, Japan won 74 gold medals, while China won 33 and South Korea 16. At the 8th Asian Games held in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1978, Japan won 70 gold medals, as against 51 and 18 gained by China and South Korea. But the 1980s have brought disappointment to Japan as China has risen to challenge it. At the 9th Asian Games held in New Delhi in 1982, China captured 61 gold medals, while Japan won 57 and South Korea 28.

Japan has not given up. The Japanese delegation vowed before the opening of the Games to win 80 to 100 of the 269 gold medals being handed out at the 10th Asian Games. South Korea has been winning an increasing number of gold medals over the previous three Asian Games. In fact, it was hoping to set the Asian

continent on fire by defeating both China and Japan, and the slogan "Bypass China and outdo Japan" was often repeated before the Games.

Confronted with the Japanese and South Korean challenges, the Chinese contingent surveyed the sporting punch the other countries could deliver, and was determined to outshine them in Seoul.

China won the first gold medal of the Games and nine of the 11 gold medals in the first day's contests. The following days featured boat racing, gymnastics and diving. China emerged as a powerful competitor and maintained its supremacy. It seized 10 gold medals in the swimming events, shaking Japan's predominance. In the women's tennis, the Chinese team beat South Korea to become champion for the first time at the Asian Games.

The Chinese sportsmen and women met with tough challenges from South Korean markspeople in the shooting events, and from Japanese athletes in the track and field events. Chinese sharp shooter Xu Haifeng, who seized the first gold medal at the 23th Olympic Games, shot his way to four gold medals during the Asian Games. The promising young swimmer Yan Ming and the 15-year-old gymnast Chen Cuiting are two women who are proving worthy heirs to the Chinese sporting tradition.

China's triumphs were mixed though. The defeat of the Chinese table tennis teams by the South Koreans caused a sensation at the Games. Furthermore, China did not compete at all in five events



which involved some 40 gold medals.

Out of the fierce contests in Seoul, a new Asian map of sporting powers has emerged. Doubtless future competition will change it again.

The 10th Asian Games were arranged in accordance with the Olympic watchwords: peace, friendship and unity and in the sporting spirit of "fair play." The Chinese athletes were further motivated by the slogan "break out of Asia to compete with world powers." Their aim was not merely gold medals. While struggling hard to win, the Chinese athletes were praised by competitors and spectators alike for their good sportsmanship.

The Chinese people are dedicated to contributing to the development of world sport, world culture and world peace. They recognize that Asian sport falls way behind world level. By strengthening mutual understanding and friendship with their Asian counterparts and by learning from each other, the Chinese athletes wish to promote common Asian progress and take Asian sports right up into the world arena.

China is looking forward to having sportsmen and women from the Asian countries here in Beijing in 1990, at the 11th Asian Games!

The author is honorary council member of the China Association for Sports Correspondents.

# CPC Session Passes Ideology Resolution

The Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee ended on September 28 with a resolution on the guiding principles for building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology (for full text of the document see the centrefold).

The session, preceded by a five-day preparatory meeting, was attended by 199 Central Committee members and 126 alternate members. Present were also members of the CPC Central Advisory Commission and Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Standing Committee Members Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun presided over the session.

The session was convinced that the resolution would produce a tremendous and far-reaching influence on China's efforts to speed up material and ideological development, promote the all-round reform, implement the open policy, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Taking economic development as the key link, the resolution says, China is to continue its economic and political reform and at the same time speed up cultural and

ideological progress, making sure that these are co-ordinated and mutually complementary. "Cultural and ideological progress provides a powerful guarantee for the correct orientation of material progress," it says.

the resolution says. At the same time they have placed higher demands on efforts to foster socialist culture and ideology.

The eight-chapter document describes the basic tasks of building a socialist society with an

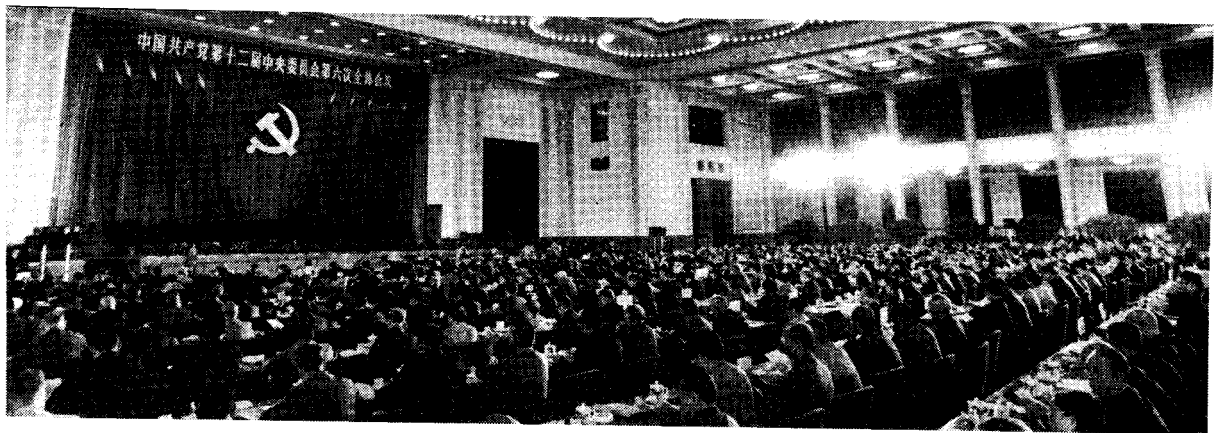


Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang at the Session.

LIU SHAOSHAN

The development of the socialist commodity economy and the improvements of socialist democracy have led to profound changes in people's ideology and outlook,

advanced culture and ideology as raising the whole nation's ideological and ethical standards as well as its educational and scientific levels, in the interests of socialist



modernization.

The resolution points out that the development of education, science and culture is a prerequisite not only for material development but also for ideological and ethical progress.

It stresses that it is imperative to foster socialist humanism, respect for people and concern for their welfare. In particular, one should protect children, respect women, honour the old, disabled servicemen, the families of soldiers on active service and family members of revolutionary martyrs, help the handicapped and others who cannot support themselves and have no close relatives.

With regard to the reform of the political structure, the resolution says, the Central Committee aims to reform and perfect the Party and state leadership systems and to take a step further in extending socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system. "It is wrong to regard Marxism as a rigid dogma. It is also wrong to negate its basic tenets, view it as an outmoded theory and blindly worship bourgeois philosophies and social doctrines."

The session also passed a resolution on convening the 13th national Party congress in October next year. ■

## More Freedom: Pros and Cons

**A**s the heat of summer fades away, so the hectic process of selecting students for schools of higher learning drew to a close. The final outcome was an occasion for joy or grief for countless families, for it would determine the rest of the life of so many middle school graduates.

A girl from the Luwan Middle School in Shanghai, of excellent character and ability, fell ill and had a temperature through-

out the three days of the national examination. Each day, she was carried by her own teacher on her back to the examination room. In the end, she was not admitted because her total marks were five points short of what was officially required for admission, although the admissions director of the college to which the girl had applied had appealed in her favour to higher authorities more than a dozen times.

Since its restoration in 1977, the present college entrance examination system has certainly played a positive role in encouraging young people to study harder, and has helped in improving the general mood of society. Nevertheless, many educators have observed that it places undue stress on memory skills to the neglect of practical aptitudes and the real quality and potential of a candidate. As a result, many outstanding school-leavers, though exceptionally talented in one or more subjects, have been turned down just because their results were a few marks below the official admission line. This happens each year.

To change the tradition of "one exam paper deciding one's fate," various experimental methods of admission have been introduced in the last couple of years, at the repeated requests of some big universities for greater freedom, arousing different reactions.

One new practice has been to allow some of China's universities—such as Beijing University, Qinghua University and Shanghai's Fudan and Jiaotong universities—to give admission to highly talented youngsters whom they had discovered themselves or whom middle schools had recommended, excusing them from the entrance examination. But the number of such students is limited.

Not long ago, one of two students recommended by the Shixi Middle School in Shanghai was turned down by the Jiaotong

University because his school record was a little below par, and the university had already used up its quota for admitting special students. He is a lively, thoughtful and creative student. His impressive performance on a physics training programme in the United States earned him the title "genius middle school student from mainland China." But despite the efforts of his school teacher, he was still refused entry because it was impossible to increase the special quota. In the end, he accepted a scholarship of US\$17,000 offered by Harvard University.

"This rigid policy is driving some of China's best students to study abroad," complained Weng Shilie, president of Jiaotong University. He appealed for greater freedom in selecting students, and expressed a strong wish for his university to be able to admit more gifted students regardless of their results in the national examination.

Fudan, another leading university in Shanghai, has also shown great enthusiasm for experimental admission procedures. Breaking the regulations, it has taken in talented pupils who had demonstrated their unusual abilities in local or national competitions in mathematics, physics and chemistry. This year it enrolled several dozen such students.

In striking contrast to the appeal for more freedom and fewer restrictions, top universities in Beijing, such as Qinghua University, are voicing concern about the present situation, believing the proportion of special admissions in the total enrolment should be fixed and the State Commission of Education should exercise overall control to ensure that the best students are able to enter China's leading universities, in which the state has invested heavily to give students the best education.

According to the admissions offices of Qinghua and Beijing

universities, there have been irregularities in this summer's special admissions. For example, some colleges have promised favourable terms to candidates and their schools, such as scholarships for the students and financial aid for the schools, in order to "capture" some of the best students who had actually wanted to go to one of the leading universities. So the best students, who should get the best education at the best colleges, have been "dispersed" among second- or even third-class colleges. This will adversely affect the country's education in the long run. What is even worse, some people argue, too much freedom breeds malpractice and favouritism, and therefore all existing regulations and limitations must be unconditionally adhered to, while allowing some leeway for special cases. Qinghua University claims to have issued as many special admissions as it is allowed.

Beijing University, which partly shares the view of Qinghua, has given special admissions to 45 students from 19 provinces and cities, the permitted number. But exceptions will be made for two girls. One is a well-known young diver and the other a school-leaver just back from the United States. The latter went to the United States with her family in 1983. This summer she won a prize as an outstanding high-school graduate and was offered a place by two major universities in the United States. Yet she decided to apply with Beijing University. The girl, who missed the national examination, is expected to be an informal student during her first year because the university wants to observe her for a while. "This is one of the measures we take to guarantee the quality of students," said the admissions director of Beijing University.

According to the State Commission of Education, 43 institutions of higher learning were granted the right to make special

admissions this summer. The proportion of special admissions, decided by the commission, is only 2 percent of the total enrolment, as an experiment.

The present national examination and enrolment system will continue for a long time to come as the chief means of selecting students, admitted officials of the State Commission of Education. But since it has evident disadvantages, further improvements must be sought. ■

by Dai Gang

## Qingdao Introduces Social Insurance System

China is to introduce a social security system to meet the needs of retired people and unemployed contract workers, according to regulations published recently on labour insurance for the unemployed.

The social labour insurance system is a new and important part of the reform in China's labour system. China has been implementing an enterprise labour insurance system since liberation. Workers have been paid by their units after they retired. As a result, long-established enterprises carry more retired workers than new ones little burdened by the retired.

In Qingdao, Shandong Province, for example, retired people make up almost 50 percent of the number of workers in the salt industry and their pensions account for 67.7 percent of the total wage bill. In the textile industry, retired workers equal 42.3 percent of the total workforce, and their pensions amount to 45.5 percent of total wage payment.

But the retired are only 8.6 percent of the workers in the electronics and instruments industries and 0.65 percent in ocean-going transport.

As the economic reform

## News in Brief

Founded last December, Shanghai's Inventors Association, the first local inventors' mass organization in China, has received more than 1,800 letters from inventors or their work places. Over 80 contracts or letters of intent for patent applications and technology transfers have been signed with its help. The volume of business has reached over 500,000 yuan.

The price of China's international telecommunications services will go up by 50 percent due to a sharp drop in the value of the Renminbi yuan against foreign currencies over the last two years.

Advanced Chinese weapons will be on display for the first time at the international defence technology exhibition to be held from November 4 to 11 at the China International Exhibition Centre in Beijing. The newly developed weapons on display will include the Long March II and III carrier rockets and various kinds of defensive tactical missiles. Some 200 well-known arms manufacturers from 14 countries and Hong Kong will also participate in the exhibition.

## Sino-Polish Relations Improve

General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish Republic, arrived in Beijing on September 28 for a working visit, during which he met Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Li Xiannian and Zhao Ziyang.

At his meeting with Jaruzelski on September 29, Deng Xiaoping said China's task at present is to get rid of its backwardness. China had had both positive and negative experiences in its socialist construction over the past 30-odd years.

He said, "China has worked out a strategic goal, that is, to catch up with the developed countries in 30-50 years' time of the next century. Only then shall we be able to say China has made a contribution to mankind."

Having listened to Jaruzelski's account of the situation in Poland, Deng said China and Poland share similar views on many questions. He said that conditions in China and Poland are different and they have adopted different measures of reform. "But," he added, "our goals are identical, that is, to consolidate the socialist system, develop the socialist productive forces and enhance the enthusiasm of the people. And the key to enhancing the people's enthusiasm lies in the expansion of the productive forces and raising their living standards."

Deng Xiaoping said everything China is doing at present is an experiment, a great experiment. "We must be bold at exploring and be ready to correct mistakes. Minor errors are unavoidable. But it is necessary to avoid major mistakes," he said.

On the international situation,

Deng said China believes war can be avoided, and China's foreign policy of independence is aimed at peace and preventing war.

Deng said China and Poland should further strengthen their co-operation. "China's open policy applies to all countries, including all socialist countries," he said.

Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang also met Jaruzelski on the same day. It was the first meeting between Chinese and Polish Party leaders for more than 20 years.

Hu first welcomed Jaruzelski to China, saying that his visit represents a big step forward in relations between China and Poland.

Jaruzelski told Hu Yaobang that his talks with Chinese leaders had been fruitful and had strengthened mutual understanding. He said Poland adopted a friendly attitude of support

develops, some enterprises will go bankrupt and a labour contract system will come into force. Then, how can the basic living standards of contract workers be guaranteed when their enterprises go bankrupt, when their contracts expire and when they retire or become unemployed? The social labour insurance system is designed to solve these problems.

The system has been tried out in Qingdao since 1984. The retirement insurance premium is paid partly by enterprises and partly by contract workers themselves. When workers move to a new place of work they can transfer their insurance contributions to a new insurance company.

If contract workers keep up their payments, they receive benefits during a period of

unemployment. When they retire, labour insurance companies will pay out pensions according to the number of years they have paid premiums. The maximum is 80 percent of a worker's basic wage, higher than that for permanent workers.

In addition, retired workers can have 90 percent of their medical expenses reimbursed when they receive medical treatment. A worker's family can also get help with funeral expenses when he dies, whether during retirement or a period of unemployment.

When the social labour insurance system was introduced in Qingdao, it brought three advantages. First, it removed the uneven pension burdens on different enterprises. Now they

can concentrate their energies and their money on production. Second, it has freed the minds of contract workers from worry about the future. Third, large sums of accumulated insurance contributions were deposited into banks, providing funds for developing the country's economy. Up to the end of June this year, the labour insurance companies in Qingdao had received over 12 million yuan in insurance premiums.

Workers who can receive unemployment benefits are those of a bankrupt enterprise, those who are made redundant by a enterprise on the verge of bankruptcy, those who's contracts expire, or who are dismissed by an enterprise for violating work rules. ■





Zhao Ziyang meets Jaruzelski.

LI SHENGNAN

towards China's reform and considers that every country should be free to choose its own economic model.

Hu told Jaruzelski that China shows concern for the situation in Poland and spoke highly of the measures the Polish government adopted to improve its internal economic and political situation.

At a banquet he gave in honour of the Polish leader, Premier Zhao Ziyang described Jaruzelski's visit as "a great event in the history of relations between China and Poland," saying that it shows relations have entered a new stage.

Zhao said China is willing to develop co-operation with Poland in all fields, and described the principles governing the development of relations between the two countries as those of mutual respect politically, and equality and mutual benefit economically. He said the visit has restored contacts between the two countries at the highest level and will prove significant in enhancing the mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples.

Jaruzelski said Poland attaches great importance to expanding relations with China and he agreed that the restoration of high-level contacts and the various agree-

ments signed between the two countries can play a significant role in advancing bilateral relations in various fields, and also in co-ordinating the two countries' efforts in the international arena.

Jaruzelski extended invitations to Hu Yaobang, Li Xiannian and Zhao Ziyang to visit Poland. The Chinese leaders gladly accepted the invitations.

Relations between China and Poland have made distinct progress in recent years with more visits by high ranking people. In 1985, the Chinese and Polish vice-premiers in charge of economic work exchanged visits, and Chinese NPC Standing Committee vice-chairman Wang Renzhong led a delegation to Poland. In June this year, the speaker of the Polish Sejm paid a return visit to China.

Over the last few years, the two countries have signed several agreements on economic, trade, scientific and technological co-operation, as well as cultural, educational and sporting exchanges. Particularly noticeable has been the growth in trade. The volume of trade between China and Poland is expected to reach 1.5 billion Swiss francs this year. (for press communique, see next issue)

## China & the World

■ **Nuclear Co-operation "for Peaceful Purpose Only."** The unjustified criticism by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy between China and Pakistan is regrettable, said a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman in Beijing. He said China does not advocate, encourage or engage in nuclear proliferation and does not assist other countries in developing nuclear weapons. The co-operation between China and other countries in the field of nuclear energy is exclusively for peaceful purposes.



■ **Sino-Japanese Friendship Committee Holds Session.** The Third Plenary Session of the 21st Century Committee for China-Japan Friendship was recently held in Japan to discuss matters concerning the further development of bilateral relations.



■ **More Foreign Students in China.** More than 20,000 students from 114 countries around the world have studied in China since 1973. China planned to enroll 2,400 foreign students this year, 400 more than last year.

## VIET NAM

**Real Obstacle to Asian Peace**

*The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea has endangered the peace not only of Southeast Asia but of the whole Asian-Pacific region.*

Since its invasion of Kampuchea eight years ago, Viet Nam has regularly launched a massive diplomatic offensive before each year's UN General Assembly session to promote its view of the Kampuchean issue, with frenzied activities by Viet Nam's senior officials and a propaganda campaign in the mass media.

However, like its military operations, Hanoi's diplomatic offensive is losing momentum this year. Fewer visits by Vietnamese diplomats were noted on the eve of the 41st UN General Assembly.

On September 16, an editorial in the Vietnamese official newspaper *Nhan Dan* claimed that the obstacle to peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia rests on China's support for Democratic Kampuchea in subverting the Viet Nam-installed Heng Samrin regime.

The Hanoi-keynoted communique of the 13th conference of foreign ministers of three Indochinese countries maintained that the exclusion of Democratic Kampuchea from the military and political arena was the precondition for Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, and the key to peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

But contrary to Hanoi's assertion, the world knows that it was Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea towards the end of 1978 that disturbed the peace and stability of the whole region which comprises the countries of Indochina and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The invasion plunged Kampuchea into the darkest, most miserable period in

its history. It has reduced Viet Nam itself to a poor, debtor nation.

Because of unrest next door, Thailand has had to withstand frequent violations of its borders by Vietnamese troops, and has had to take in large numbers of Kampuchean refugees. One way or another, the rest of the ASEAN nations—Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Brunei—have also felt the effects of Vietnamese aggression.

The result has been increasingly strong international condemnation of Hanoi's regional expansionism beginning with the 34th UN General Assembly in 1979. All UN resolutions on the Kampuchean issue have concluded that the solution lies in the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. At the eighth summit of non-aligned nations held in Zimbabwe from September 1 to 7, the number of countries demanding Vietnamese withdrawal increased to 19. All this proves that it is the

Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea that is the obstacle to peace in Southeast Asia.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) has made its contribution to safeguarding the stability and peace of Southeast Asia through the anti-Vietnamese struggle for national salvation. The CGDK has thus enjoyed worldwide recognition. But what are the intentions of Viet Nam in attempting to eliminate Democratic Kampuchea?

First, Viet Nam wishes, by political manoeuvre and military means, to remove Democratic Kampuchea and its national army, the main force in the anti-Vietnamese struggle, so that it can perpetuate its occupation of Kampuchea.

Secondly, by spreading lies about the patriotic actions of the Khmer Rouge and by sowing discord among the three factions of the CGDK, Viet Nam hopes to break up the coalition government.

Thirdly, by confusing the nature of the Kampuchean war Viet Nam wants to hoodwink the public and disguise its expansionist designs to enslave Kampuchea and control the whole of Indochina.

Fourthly, Viet Nam wants to see an end to the CGDK and to drive a wedge between China and the nations of Southeast Asia. ■

by Yang Mu

## GATT

**New Round of Negotiations Under Way**

*Common concern about international trade brought 74 GATT members and observers from 18 other countries together for a ministerial conference which has proved a success for GATT.*

In the face of increasing trade protectionism and growing

challenges to the existing trading system, a ministerial conference of



The opening ceremony of the ministerial conference of GATT.

the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was held recently in Punta Del Este, Uruguay in preparation for a new round of negotiations—the Uruguay Round, the eighth since the founding of GATT in 1947.

GATT, whose membership has grown from the original group of 23 to the present 92, representing over 80 percent of the world's trade, was established to achieve a substantial reduction in tariffs and other trade barriers, and to help settle disputes between trading partners. The previous seven rounds of negotiations played a vital role in the development of the world economy. The Tokyo Round, in particular, marked a watershed.

Despite this, trade protectionism, the principal target of GATT, has become widespread in recent years and now constitutes a serious obstacle to the world's economic development. The annual growth rate of world trade dropped from 9 percent during the decade up to 1973, to 2.5 percent in the decade after 1973. The trends in the 1980s are even less encouraging. The growth rate of trade involving third world countries decreased even more sharply. This, plus the big fall in prices of basic commodities on the world market, is making it very difficult for developing nations to repay their huge external debts, which in turn stunts the economic growth of the developed countries.

World attention is therefore focused on this new round of negotiations in the hope that GATT can play a greater role in strengthening and improving multilateral trade. It was this common wish that kept the ministerial conference going despite serious disagreements, especially about agriculture and the service industries. The European Community was in favour of continuing subsidies for farm products, while grain exporters like Australia and Argentina demanded their abolition. Both sides at least agreed to include this issue in the new round of talks.

On the question of service industries—which have grown rapidly in recent years, now accounting for one quarter of the world's total trade, or US\$500 billion annually—the United

States, the European Community and Japan, all of which have well-developed service industries, wanted them included in the Uruguay Round. But developing nations like India and Brazil were opposed to the idea, saying that the scope of GATT should not be extended to services, which are not commodities. In the end a compromise suggestion of Colombia's that trade in both commodities and services should be dealt with in the new round, but that the two should be discussed separately, was adopted.

The final declaration of the meeting gave the principal objectives of the new round as "reversing protectionism and removing distortions to trade" and "preserving the basic principles and furthering the objectives of GATT."

The spirit of compromise at the meeting augurs well for the forthcoming Uruguay Round, which, like the previous seven, is expected to stimulate the world economy and strengthen global co-operation. China, as a country with a population of one billion and a potentially enormous market, is hoping to resume her place as a member of GATT as soon as possible and to join her efforts to those of the international community for world prosperity. ■

by Guan Yanzhong

#### US-SOVIET UNION

### Date Fixed for a Second Summit

*A second Gorbachov-Reagan meeting was finally arranged for October in Iceland after many sessions and much give-and-take between Soviet and US foreign ministers.*

**S**oviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov and US President Ronald Reagan will meet on

October 11 and 12 in Reykjavik, Iceland.

The hurry-up top-level session

was suggested by Gorbachov and accepted by Reagan. The announcement of the Iceland meeting followed several meetings between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Reagan told reporters that the planned Iceland session was not a formal summit, but a "one-on-one" meeting intended to "make general preparations for a visit by Gorbachov to the United States." Shultz said that the meeting's agenda will include arms control, regional issues, human rights and bilateral issues.

The unexpected announcement came shortly after Shevardnadze and Shultz reached an agreement on the solution of the Daniloff and Zakhov incidents. Both were released and allowed to return home.

The second summit was agreed upon at the first Gorbachev-Reagan conference in Geneva last November. However, preparatory talks between the Soviet and US foreign ministers in April were cancelled by Moscow after the US air raid on Libya.

The foreign ministers' talks, announced in late July, were originally scheduled for May. Since then a series of events have strained relations between the two countries. The United States arrested a staff member of the Soviet UN mission, Gennady Zakharov, on espionage charges, while the Soviet Union detained Nicholas Daniloff, Moscow correspondent of *US News and World Report*, on similar charges. Then the United States demanded that 25 staff members of the Soviet UN mission leave the country immediately on the grounds that the mission was "overstaffed."

Prior to the foreign ministers' meeting, officials of the two countries held a series of expert-level discussions on all aspects of US-Soviet relations, including arms control and regional issues, but no progress was reported.

The fundamental factor in the

delay in fixing a date for a summit meeting lies in the stances of the two superpowers on the important issues of arms control and regional disputes, on which they remain far apart. The Soviet Union has made it clear from the beginning that the second summit is not going to follow the pattern of the first, which merely enabled the two leaders to shake hands and to know one another. Gorbachev is insisting that this time there must be concrete results, in particular, the signing of an agreement on arms control. Although the United States disagrees with the Soviet Union on this, it does say that the meeting should be "meaningful" and "fruitful."

The most important issue is that of disarmament, and here the big obstacle still appears to be Reagan's Star Wars programme. In a letter addressed to Reagan on June 23, Gorbachev said that both Soviet and US offensive nuclear weapons must be subject to large-scale cutbacks and that the United States could be allowed to conduct laboratory work on the Star Wars programme. But he insisted such research could only be permitted if the United States agreed to abide by the 1972 anti-ballistic treaty for another 15 to 20 years. As the treaty bans the actual "development, test and deployment" of a space-based defence system, the United States regards Gorbachev's proposal as merely an attempt to thwart the US Star Wars programme and win time for

the Soviet Union to develop its own space defence system.

In his answer to Gorbachev's letter on July 25 Reagan agreed to delay the deployment of the Star Wars system for seven and a half years. But according to some authoritative US sources, the United States will not actually be ready to deploy the system until the mid-1990s anyway. Thus Reagan's promise has not been treated by the Soviets as a concession.

Despite massive Soviet propaganda and a diplomatic offensive against the Star Wars programme, the United States insists on continuing nuclear tests to develop the components necessary for space weapons.

As for the various "flashpoints" in the world, such as Central America, the Middle East, Afghanistan, East Asia and South Africa, the United States and the Soviet Union have held a series of consultations, but have also failed to reach any agreements on these issues because of their conflicting global strategies and differing interests.

Because of national priorities, as well as domestic and foreign pressures, the two countries appear willing to maintain the momentum of their high-level contacts, despite difficulties and disagreements. Summit or not, Soviet-US relations will not develop smoothly, without twists and turns.

by Shi Lujia

## IRAN AND IRAQ

### Endless War?

*The Gulf War has been going on for 6 years and still there is no end in sight.*

While their athletes marched side by side in the Olympic

Stadium in South Korea, guided by the torch representing peace

and co-operation, Iran and Iraq brought the Gulf War to a new climax with Iran's surface-to-surface missiles raining down on Baghdad and Iraqi aeroplanes destroying Iran's oil bases. On the 6th anniversary of the war, Iraq said that its warplanes had carried out 5,125 air-raids deep inside Iran, attacking and wrecking vital Iranian economic and military targets, while Iran claimed recently that its forces had advanced up to 15 kilometers into Iraq in the central sector of the 1,180-kilometre front. The escalation of the war is causing anxiety to the rest of the world, as it is one of the longest local wars in history. By the end of 1985, the cost of the Gulf War totaled US\$465 billion, \$100 billion more than the combined oil revenues of Iran and Iraq.

Iran's economic losses in the six years amount to \$350 billion, equal to its GNP for the last 12 years. It has sustained 230,000 casualties and 50,000 captured.

Iraq, a once wealthy nation, has become a debtor nation owing \$50 billion. During the war it has had military budgets of \$12 billion annually and has suffered 640,000 casualties and 10,000 captured.

Since the beginning of this year, plummeting oil prices have dealt further blows to the economies of the two countries. Iraq's oil earnings last year were below \$10 billion, less than the previous year. Iran's earnings were only \$6 billion. Meanwhile, their creditors are getting more and more impatient with the two countries' failure to repay their debts, knowing that neither Teheran nor Baghdad has an Aladdin's lamp to support such a prolonged and extravagant war.

Given their serious economic situations, will these two belligerents seek peace? The answer is no. Defying the appeals for peace from the international community, Iranian leader Khomeini has declared that Iran will bring the war of attrition to final victory

soon. He also demanded the toppling of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (Iraq) from power as a condition for peace. In reply Iraq adopted a series of measures, including expanding its army by enlisting college students, and exploiting its superiority in the air to attack Iranian installations such as ports, bridges, army camps, factories and "sea targets."

Both sides can afford this drain on manpower and material resources for some time to come, but neither of them has the strategy or tactics to make good

use of the advanced weapons in their possession. Neither can the superpowers influence the situation as both Iran and Iraq have taken care not to bind themselves too closely to them.

According to observers, the next few months will be crucial in the Iran-Iraq war. It is hard to believe that either can deliver a blow that would bring the war to an end. It is hoped that, after suffering from this catastrophe for six years, both Iran and Iraq will see reason and seek a road to peace for their people. ■

by Jiang Wandu

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## Wu Xueqian's Speech at the UN General Assembly

At the 41st session of the United Nations General Assembly, State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian spoke on China's positions on disarmament, world peace and other international issues. Following is his speech. Subheads are Beijing Review's.

**A** year ago, we were meeting here to commemorate the grand occasion of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. We expressed our ardent desire for the maintenance of world peace and promotion of international co-operation, put forward quite a few proposals and voiced concerns and anxieties over the turbulent international situation.

### Disarmament and Peace

The year 1986 is the International Year of Peace. The people of the world have made various efforts for peace, and the forces against war and for peace have grown further. In November last year, the United States and the Soviet Union held a summit meeting, indicating in their joint statement that "nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" and acknowledging that the two countries bear special responsibilities for halting the arms race and carrying out nuclear disarmament. During their talks and dialogues on the question of arms control and disarmament, each side indicated that it would reduce its strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent. Since then, there has been a certain degree of relaxation of international tension. We welcome this development.

Nevertheless, people cannot fail to see that the United States and the Soviet Union are still far apart in their views and positions on the question of disarmament. At present, the arms race is still going on, and various proposals and ideas for disarmament remain only on paper. No substantive

progress has been achieved on disarmament, and no solutions have been found to regional conflicts. The root cause of international tension still exists. Therefore, people have no reason to feel relieved about the present world situation. To create tension and confrontation goes against the wishes of the people of all countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union. The popular will for peace is an irresistible trend in the world today. But the people of all countries must persist in their arduous efforts towards relaxation of international tension and maintenance of world peace.

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***The Chinese government will submit to the current session of the UN General Assembly draft resolutions on nuclear and conventional disarmament.***

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We hold that the key to disarmament lies in true sincerity for disarmament. And the greatest test of the sincerity of the two major nuclear powers is whether or not they will take practical steps to be the first to drastically reduce their armaments. We hope that they will reach an effective agreement through serious negotiations, take real actions for disarmament and not indulge in rhetoric, still less use disarmament talks as a cover for arms race.

Under the present circumstances, it is necessary for them to be the first to jointly undertake not to launch a nuclear war or to resort to the use or threat of force against other countries, so that favourable conditions may be created for disarmament and relaxation of international tension.

China has all along opposed the arms race and its extension to outer space. We stand for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and for substantial reduction of conventional weapons. We are in favour of the peaceful use of outer space. In his statement on March 21, 1986, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang gave a comprehensive and systematic elaboration of the Chinese government's position of principle on the question of disarmament, including such issues as nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament, intermediate missiles, space weapons, chemical weapons and the relationship between disarmament and security. At the same time, China has taken actual steps for disarmament in many areas. By the end of this year, it will complete the reduction of the size of its troops by 1 million. China has been cutting its military expenditures year by year, and a considerable portion of its military industry has been shifted to civilian production. Some military airports and naval ports have been turned to civilian purposes. The Chinese government has officially declared that it will no longer conduct atmospheric nuclear tests.

The basic views of the Chinese

government on disarmament are as follows:

—The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess by far the largest nuclear and conventional arsenals in the world, shoulder special and unshirkable responsibilities for disarmament and should take the lead in a drastic arms reduction.

—Nuclear disarmament should be carried out simultaneously with conventional arms reduction, and the two should promote each other.

—As the question of disarmament affects the security interests of all countries in the world, every country should have a say on this question. The United Nations should play a greater role on disarmament. The two major nuclear powers should heed, respect and accept the reasonable demands and propositions of various countries, especially the small and medium-sized countries. No disarmament negotiations or agreements between the major nuclear powers should jeopardize the interests of other countries.

—Disarmament and international security are closely related. Efforts for disarmament should be combined with those for the maintenance of world peace and security. In order to ease international tension and maintain world peace, it is necessary not only to achieve effective arms reduction but also to oppose hegemonism and power politics, check aggression and expansion and resolve regional conflicts.

In keeping with the consistent stand of our government on disarmament the Chinese delegation will submit to the current session of the General Assembly draft resolutions on the question of nuclear disarmament and conventional disarmament.

## Regional Conflicts

Peace is indivisible. Tensions or

conflicts in any region will inevitably affect the peace and stability of the world as a whole. As an Asian country, China is, first of all, deeply concerned about the security in Asia.

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***China seeks no selfish interests in Kampuchea. We are ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee that Kampuchea will enjoy the status of a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned country.***

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The war of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has been going on for eight years. Although Viet Nam has dispatched large numbers of troops and employed every means available, it has never succeeded in subduing Kampuchea. The so-called "irreversible" situation in Kampuchea as claimed by Viet Nam is nothing but a myth. Facts have demonstrated that Viet Nam cannot possibly succeed in its attempt to annex Kampuchea by force of arms. The only way to a settlement of the Kampuchean question is the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. The earlier Viet Nam extricates itself from the quagmire of the war in Kampuchea, the better it will serve the Vietnamese people and their national interests. The traditional friendship between China and Viet Nam will be restored provided Viet Nam effects a genuine withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea and gives up its anti-China policy.

Last March the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by President Samdech Norodom Sihanouk put

forward an eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the Kampuchean question. This proposal is fair and reasonable and conforms with the principles in the relevant resolutions adopted at successive sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. It has offered a reasonable basis for a political settlement of the Kampuchean question and thus won support from many countries. It is the consistent position of the Chinese government that the Kampuchean question should be settled on the basis of the relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea. China firmly supports the eight-point proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and all the proposals and suggestions conducive to a just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question put forward by the ASEAN and other countries.

We stand for a political settlement of the Kampuchean question. After the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, just and reasonable solutions to Kampuchea's internal problems should be worked out by the Kampuchean people and by the various political forces in Kampuchea through consultations on an equal footing, free from external interference. China hopes that Kampuchea will be a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned country and would not like to see any single group monopolize power. China seeks no selfish interests in Kampuchea. We are ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee that Kampuchea will enjoy the status of a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned country. This is China's basic position on the question of Kampuchea.

The occupation of Afghanistan by foreign troops is an encroachment upon its independence and sovereignty and

poses a grave threat to the security of the adjacent countries and peace in Asia. The international community has all along strongly demanded a just and reasonable settlement of the Afghan question at an early date in line with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The eight rounds of indirect talks in Geneva held under the auspices of the United Nations have failed to achieve substantive progress on the crucial question of the withdrawal of foreign troops. If the Soviet Union has the sincerity for a political settlement of the Afghan question, it should implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and present a time-table acceptable to the international community for an early withdrawal of all its troops from Afghanistan.

It is the desire of the people to see relaxation of tension on the Korean Peninsula. We support the positive efforts made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and its reasonable proposals and demands for dialogue between the North and the South, tripartite talks and the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea. We hope that the parties concerned will work together to ease the tension on the Korean Peninsula so as to promote the peaceful reunification of Korea.

It is disturbing that the situation in the Middle East remains tense and turbulent. We have consistently supported the just struggle of the Arab countries and Palestinian people. For them to sink differences, strengthen unity and act in concert is a basic guarantee for victory in the Arab and Palestinian national causes. We hope that the parties concerned in the Middle East will seek a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question through political negotiations so as to bring peace to the region. To this end, the national rights of the

Palestinian people must be restored, and Israel must abandon its policy of aggression and expansion and withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. At the same time, the right to existence of all countries in the Middle East should be recognized and they should live in amity on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The widening and escalation of the Iran-Iraq war has posed a grave threat to peace and stability in the Gulf region and brought enormous sufferings to the people of the two countries. Both Iran and Iraq are China's friends. We hope that the two neighbouring countries will exercise restraint and refrain from intensifying the war so as to create an atmosphere necessary for conducting peace talks and bringing about a ceasefire. We sincerely hope that in accordance with the norms of international law, they will settle their disputes on mutually acceptable terms through peaceful negotiations and bring an early end to the war.

Owing to external intervention, the situation in Central America is becoming more complicated. In order to put an end to the prolonged turmoil and bring about a just peace in Central America, it is imperative to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all countries in the region and do away with all external interferences and power politics so that the people of these countries will be able to solve their own problems. Foreign military threat against and intervention in Nicaragua in violation of the norms governing international relations have aggravated the situation in this region and naturally met the opposition of the international community. We support the just and reasonable principles put forward by the Contadora Group for solving the problems in Central America and hope that the Group will succeed in its efforts.

The situation in southern Africa

is deteriorating and becoming even more volatile, as the South African authorities perpetrate racist atrocities, cling to their illegal occupation of Namibia and make grave provocations against the neighbouring countries. The Pretoria regime's sanguinary suppression of the black people in South Africa is a challenge to human dignity and international justice, which has aroused the great indignation and strong protest of the international community. The World Conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa held by the United Nations and the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Namibia have played an important role in mobilizing the international community for intensified struggle against South African racism. We firmly endorse effective sanctions against the South African authorities and support the South African people in their heroic struggle against racism and for racial equality. We support the just struggle of the Namibian people for national independence and the efforts of the independent states in southern Africa to safeguard national security and bring peace and stability to the region.

### Human Rights

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These two instruments are of positive significance to the realization of the purpose and principle of the United Nations Charter concerning the respect of human rights. The Chinese government has consistently supported this principle of the Charter. Just as in all other countries which were victims of imperialist and colonialist oppression, there were no human rights to speak of in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China. It is only after the founding



of the People's Republic of China that Chinese citizens are able to enjoy extensive democratic rights. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of China, the Chinese government has adopted various measures to ensure the citizens all kinds of fundamental rights. With the progress made in the economic development and structural reform in the past few years, there has been steady improvement in socialist democracy and legal system in China. Never before have the Chinese people enjoyed such a high degree of democracy and freedom as they do now.

We have noted with concern that although the United Nations has formulated and adopted a number of international instruments on human rights, gross and massive violations of human rights continue to occur in many parts of the world as a result of colonialism, racism, foreign aggression and occupation. Moreover, interference in other countries' internal affairs in the name of protecting human rights is also a common occurrence. We call on the international community to make joint efforts to check these violations of the principles of the Charter.

In discussing the current international situation, we must pay close attention to the question of development in the world. Over the past year, the developed countries have maintained a low economic growth rate, and many developing countries are still in grave economic difficulties. The international economic relations are becoming increasingly imbalanced and irrational. The prices of most raw materials and primary products for export by the developing countries have kept falling and the export of their manufactured products has run into numerous obstacles due to trade protectionism in the developed countries. The external debts are weighing more and more

heavily on the debtor countries. The developing countries are in desperate need of development funds, but, while capital inflow keeps dwindling, an abnormal phenomenon of reverse flow of funds has occurred. Such developments serve to widen the gap between the developed and the developing countries, which will not only do great harm to the developing countries but also cause grave consequences to the developed countries in the long run. The developed countries account for only one quarter of the world population of nearly 5

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***World economy cannot grow steadily without the economic growth of the developed countries, but at the same time its steady growth also depends to a great extent on whether the developing countries can overcome their difficulties and revitalize their economies.***

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billion while the remaining three quarters are in the developing countries. World economy cannot grow steadily without the economic growth of the developed countries, but at the same time, its steady growth also depends to a great extent on whether the developing countries can overcome their difficulties and revitalize their economies. Therefore, to help boost the economic growth of the developing countries will contribute both to the common prosperity of the world economy and to world peace and stability.

Following political independence, the developing countries

are all committed to their domestic economic development. In the process they have made headway in a search for development strategies, economic structures and economic policies suited to their respective national conditions. Many of them have made readjustments and introduced reforms in their economies with gratifying results. In addition to their own efforts and promotion of South-South co-operation, it is of great importance to the economic growth of the developing countries to improve North-South relations. As the developing countries are still fettered and harmed by the inequitable international economic relations, it would be difficult for them to attain the goal of economic development smoothly by merely relying on their own efforts. We hope that the developed countries will, in the overall interest of the world economy, help create an international environment favourable to the developing countries. The international community should take practical measures in trade, finance, development and other international economic fields to facilitate the flow of capital and transfer of technology to the developing countries, further increase their access to markets and reduce their debt burden, thus contributing to the common growth of the world economy.

The Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa held last May gave expression to the concern of the international community for Africa's economic recovery and development. We hope that the parties concerned, particularly the developed countries, will fully honour their commitments so as to ensure the full implementation of the United Nations' Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 approved unanimously by the session.

The international relations are now undergoing a great change. The newly independent countries which emerged in the post-war period, the numerous non-aligned and other small and medium-sized countries, regardless of their different situation, all treasure independence and oppose power politics. They desire peace and stability and oppose war and tension, and they all want to get actively involved in international affairs and play their part in maintaining peace and promoting international co-operation. It is no longer realistic simply to take ideology and social system as a criterion for differentiating countries and international political groupings. The time is gone forever when a big power or power centre could manipulate international relations according to its wishes. The recently concluded Eight Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries has proved once again that the non-aligned movement is playing an important role in international affairs of the day. The trend towards multipolarity in international relations and the growing aspiration of the peoples to take their destiny into their own hands are an inevitable historical development and constitute a positive factor making for peace.

We are of the view that all countries, regardless of their ideologies and social systems, should establish and develop relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

We are in favour of dialogue, which is the correct way for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Facts show that only through peaceful negotiations and consultations on an equal footing is it possible to remove

contradictions and differences between states, forestall international conflicts and ensure international security.

Obviously, in order that dialogue can be conducted and yield positive results, the use or threat of force must be abandoned, the sovereignty and security of all states respected, and

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***The trend towards multipolarity in international relations and the growing aspiration of the peoples to take their destiny into their own hands are an inevitable historical development and constitute a positive factor for peace.***

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all acts of aggression and expansion stopped. In no circumstances should a country be allowed to impose its will on others.

The Chinese people are now going all out in the drive for China's material, cultural and ethical advancement, determined to turn China into a modernized socialist country with Chinese characteristics through efforts of several generations. China firmly pursues an independent foreign policy of peace, whose fundamental aim is to preserve world peace and secure an enduring peaceful international environment for its socialist modernization. Peace and development are indivisible. To have peace and development, we need friendship, co-operation and strengthened relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

This year, we in China have started to implement the Seventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development. In the coming five years, we shall basically complete the

overall restructuring of our economy. Meanwhile, we shall adhere to the policy of opening to the outside world, improve the environment for investment and expand our external economic relations. We are promoting the sustained and steady growth of China's economy by carrying out reform and the policy of opening to the outside world, and we want to ensure the successful and uninterrupted economic development by pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace. China's current domestic and foreign policies have been proved sound and effective and in the interests of the people. We shall adhere to these policies with unshakable determination.

The United Nations has entered its fifth decade since its founding. It has tremendous successes to its credit, but it also faces problems and difficulties. Since the restoration of its lawful seat in the United Nations, China has always abided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, actively participated in the activities of the Organization and endeavoured to perform its duty as one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The financial crisis confronting the United Nations at the present time has caused widespread concern. We are of the view that the United Nations should undergo rational structural reforms, but such reforms must be aimed at strengthening, not weakening, the role of the organization; must observe, not violate, the principle of sovereign equality of all the member states as provided for in the Charter. It is our sincere hope that the United Nations will, with the joint support of all member states and through consultation on an equal footing, take necessary measures to overcome the difficulties it faces, improve its efficiency so as to achieve even greater success in its endeavour to safeguard world peace and promote international co-operation. ■

# Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology

(Adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on September 28, 1986)

In accordance with the strategic decision of the 12th National Congress of the Party on promoting the cultural and ideological progress of our socialist society as well as its material progress, and in light of the guidelines set by the Party's National Conference in 1985 and of the requirements of China's all-round reform, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has reviewed the achievements made in the past few years in the building of a society that is advanced culturally and ideologically and has studied the problems that have arisen in the process. The Central Committee believes that to ensure the smooth progress of the drive for socialist modernization, it is of great immediate and long-range importance to clarify, in the new situation, the guiding principles for China's cultural and ideological development and to improve our work in that area.

## I. The Strategic Importance of Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology

The overall scheme of China's socialist modernization is as follows: Taking economic development as the key link, we are to continue to reform our economic and political structures and at the same time speed up the country's cultural and ideological progress, making sure that these aspects of our work are co-ordinated and promote each other. From this perspective all our Party comrades should understand the strategic importance of promoting socialist culture and ideology.

Socialist culture and ideology guided by Marxism are important characteristics of a socialist society. During the socialist period, material progress lays the groundwork and furnishes practical experience for cultural and ideological progress, which, in turn, gives intellectual impetus and support to the former and provides a powerful guarantee for its correct orientation. Our success in building socialism depends on our effort to build a society with a socialist culture and ideology.

Thanks to our success in restoring order in all fields, launching all-round reform and achieving material progress since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee in December 1978, we have accomplished much in building such a society. Encouraging the emancipation of people's minds, adhering to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and bringing into full play the scientific spirit and creative vigour of Marxism, our Party has abandoned a series of ossified concepts and raised its understanding of socialism to a new height. Political stability and unity have prevailed throughout the country, democracy and the legal system are being gradually perfected and the initiative of the cadres and masses has increased. Mass activities for promoting cultural and ideological progress are becoming more and more widespread and are yielding much fresh experience. A social climate of respect for knowledge and talents is being fostered, and our educational, scientific and cultural endeavours are thriving. The Party's fine tradition is developing and the work style of its members and general standard of social conduct is improving. These are the main trends. We must recognize, however, that in many ways our work to promote socialist culture and ideology has not been adapted to the needs of socialist modernization, reform and the opening of the country to the outside world. We must acknowledge that we lack adequate understanding of the importance of our work in this area, that we still have some problems to solve regarding the principles guiding it and that both in the Party and in society at large there remain some grievously negative phenomena that will take redoubled effort on our part to eliminate. Unless we have an overall view of how things stand in our work to promote socialist culture and ideology, and unless we fully understand that it is urgent and will be of long duration, we shall not be able to keep up our efforts, and the general interest will suffer.

Reform means the development and perfection of the socialist system. The progress of the reform in all areas reflects the tremendous changes that have taken place in China in the past few years. Our policies of launching all-round reform and opening

to the rest of the world have infused our socialist cause with great vitality and have significantly promoted socialist culture and ideology. Development of the socialist commodity economy and improvement of socialist democracy have led to profound changes in people's ideology and outlook. At the same time they have placed higher demands on us in our effort to foster socialist culture and ideology. This is a great historic test for us: Will we be able to meet these demands by shaping public opinion, values and the cultural and social environment so as to facilitate socialist modernization and reform? Will we be able to resist the decadent bourgeois and feudal ideologies and avoid the danger of deviating from the right direction? Will we be able to arouse the boundless enthusiasm and initiative of the people of all our nationalities, so that through the efforts of several generations we can build a modern, powerful socialist country? We should be confident that with the Party's correct leadership, with the guidance of Marxism, with our basic socialist economic system and policies, with the people's democratic state power and socialist legality and, in particular, with the people's firm support for socialist construction and reform, we shall achieve socialist modernization, so long as we do our best to promote the cultural and ideological progress of our socialist society along with its material progress.

In short, because our work in promoting socialist culture and ideology is of strategic importance, we must ensure that it is capable of pushing forward China's socialist modernization, promoting the all-round reform and the opening to the outside world and embodying the four cardinal principles.\* That is a basic guiding principle for our work in this area.

## **II. The Basic Task in Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology**

In building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology, the basic task is to help people to become well educated and self-disciplined socialist citizens with lofty ideals and moral integrity, and to raise the ideological and ethical standards of the whole nation as well as its educational and scientific levels—all in the interest of socialist modernization.

The qualities of a people are a historical product that in turn exerts a great influence on history. There is no doubt that under socialism the improvement of the qualities of all citizens will lead to a steady rise in labour productivity, to a constant

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\* Keeping to the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

development of interpersonal relations of a new type (relations based on public ownership) and to profound changes in the physiognomy of the whole society. All this is an indispensable condition for the success of our drive for socialist modernization.

The endeavour to promote an advanced culture and ideology has two aspects: raising the people's ideological and ethical standards; and developing education, science and culture. It permeates the whole process of material advance and manifests itself in the economic, political, cultural and other aspects of social life. This constructive endeavour is the task not only of departments in charge of ideological, cultural and educational work but also other units and professions. It is the common long-term task of the whole Party, of the whole army and of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people and patriots of China's various nationalities.

A serious miscalculation our Party made for many years after the basic completion of socialist transformation of private ownership was that it failed to shift the focus of its work to economic construction. Instead, the Party continued to adhere to the principle of taking class struggle as the key link, belittled educational, scientific and cultural undertakings, magnified to the extreme class struggle in the ideological sphere and eventually launched the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), a decade of domestic turmoil. Summing up the historical experience, the Party has explicitly pointed out that the principal contradiction in Chinese society at the present stage is the one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the country's backward production. It has stated that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time but that it does not constitute the principal contradiction, and that most contradictions in our society do not have the nature of class struggle. In building a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology, we should bear in mind the historical lessons, handle the various contradictions in society correctly and always employ the methods of discussion, reasoning and criticism and self-criticism in addressing ideological problems—that is, the methods of persuasion and education. We should always keep national construction in the forefront of our thoughts. We should do everything possible to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet their cultural and intellectual needs, to raise their ideological and ethical standards and to develop education, science and culture. In short, we should do everything possible to facilitate the growth of the productive forces.

The modern history of China and of the world shows that no country can progress if it refuses to accept elements of advanced science and culture from abroad. Closing one's country to external contact results only in stagnation and backwardness. We resolutely reject the capitalist ideological

and social systems that defend oppression and exploitation, and we reject all the ugly and decadent aspects of capitalism. Nevertheless, we should do our utmost to learn from all countries (including the developed capitalist countries), to acquire advanced science and technology, universally applicable expertise in economic management and administrative work and other useful knowledge and to verify and develop in practice what we have learnt. Otherwise, we shall remain ignorant and be unable to modernize our own country. As a basic, unalterable state policy, opening to the outside world applies to our efforts to achieve cultural and ideological progress as well as to our work for material progress.

For a long period in the history of ancient civilizations, the great Chinese nation with its long history and cultural tradition stood in the front ranks. But in modern times it has lagged behind, because of a decadent feudal system coupled with imperialist aggression. The Revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement of 1919 and the great people's revolution led by the Communist Party of China brought about tremendous changes, and the birth of New China ushered in the rejuvenation of the great Chinese civilization on the basis of socialism. The latest period of our historical development, whose beginning was marked by the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee, has injected a new, powerful vitality into that rejuvenation. The outcome will be a socialist society that has not only a high material level but also an advanced culture and ideology, a culture and ideology that take Marxism as their guide, that incorporate the best from historical tradition yet fully embody the spirit of our times, and that base themselves on China's actual conditions yet keep the whole world in view.

### **III. Mobilize and Unite the People of All China's Nationalities Through a Common Ideal**

To build socialism with Chinese characteristics and make China a modern socialist country having a high degree of democracy and an advanced culture and ideology — such is the common ideal of the people of all our nationalities at the present stage. We shall try to make our country comparatively prosperous by the end of this century and to approach the economic level of the developed countries by the middle of the next. This common ideal embodies the interests and aspirations of all our workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people and patriots. It is a powerful force that unites the whole people politically, ideologically and morally in the struggle to overcome all difficulties and make our work a success. To realize this ideal we must cherish those ideas and attitudes that promote modernization, national regeneration and the reunification of the

motherland, that enhance the unity of our various nationalities, foster social progress and the people's well-being and help to create a happy life through honest labour. Only thus can we do away with narrow-minded views on the question of uniting with all possible forces to build socialism — views that for so long have seriously harmed our cause. Then it will be possible for Party members and non-Party people, Marxists and non-Marxists, atheists and believers, citizens at home and those living abroad — in short, for all our working people and patriots — to rally together and do what they can to make our common ideal a reality.

The ultimate ideal of our Party is to build a communist society that applies the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." For Communists and other advanced people, this ideal has been, and will always be, a source of strength and moral support. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is an indispensable stage in the transition to such a society. As far as Communists are concerned, to work for socialism of the Chinese style is to work for the Party's ultimate ideal. Any Communist who lacks faith and dedication in this practical struggle has deviated, wittingly or unwittingly, from our ideal and has ceased to be a politically conscious communist fighter. Party members, Communist Youth League members and other advanced people should therefore join in the efforts of other workers, peasants and intellectuals and relate the common ideal to the current tasks and objectives of their respective trades and professions, localities and collectives, and to their own job responsibilities and life goals. All should work devotedly at their posts and advance the reform, helping to build our country through thrift and diligence. In our time, honour belongs to those who overcome all difficulties and do exemplary work, contributing to the construction and defence of the motherland.

The more we achieve in socialist modernization, the firmer will be the people's conviction that their common ideal will be realized. We should find effective ways to educate people, making use of the accomplishments in construction and reform and of the immediate experience of the masses to encourage high ideals. At the same time, we should in various ways help the cadres and masses, especially young people, to gain an ever-deeper understanding of the Marxist world outlook and the laws of social development, of the glorious history and revolutionary tradition of our nation, and of its great suffering and heroic struggle against imperialism and feudalism in the century before the birth of the People's Republic. We should help them to understand the contemporary world, with its progress and its contradictions, and also the future of mankind. Thus we will be able to inspire a sense of national pride, self-respect and self-confidence and to place our ideals on a scientific basis.

Our patriotism is closely related to internationalism, and the progress of our country is

part of the world's progress. In our contacts with others, we Chinese people adhere to the principles of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, mutual support and learning from each other. China's success in its socialist modernization contributes to the struggle against hegemonism, for the preservation of world peace and for human progress.

#### **IV. Cultivate and Enrich Socialist Ethics**

Socialist ethics means essentially love of the motherland, the people, labour, science and socialism. We should enable this love to find expression in all aspects of our social life. We should see to it that relations of a new type—socialist relations characterized by equality, solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance—are established and strengthened among all our nationalities, among workers, peasants and intellectuals, between the army and the people, between cadres and the masses and among family members and neighbours, in short, among all our people.

Ethics are a reflection of the economic base of a society, not an abstract concept divorced from history. Since our country is still in the initial stage of socialism, we must apply the principle of distribution according to work and develop the socialist commodity economy and competition. Also, for a long time to come, we shall develop varied sectors of the economy, always ensuring the dominant position of the public sector, and we shall encourage some of the people to become prosperous first, before the objective of common prosperity is achieved. Therefore, when educating the people in ethics we should not condemn the justifiable differences in income that result from these historical conditions. At the same time, we should encourage people to develop socialist collectivism, which combines the interests of the state, collectives and individuals, and to cherish the general interest, be honest and trustworthy, help each other in the spirit of fraternity and care for the needy and those who are in difficulty. Socialist morality rejects both the idea and the practice of pursuing personal interests at the expense of others or pursuing the interests of one's own group at the expense of the larger collective, putting money above all else, abusing power for personal gain, cheating and extortion. In our effort to cultivate socialist morality, we do not mean to reject the principle of distribution according to work or to negate the commodity economy. We shall on no account regard egalitarianism [equal pay for unequal work] as an ethical principle in our society. But we must reiterate that socialism is a historical movement towards the higher phase of communism. Imbued with a pioneering spirit, the advanced members of our society are ready to blaze new trails and devote themselves entirely to the interests and happiness of the people, to the communist ideal. We should encourage such a high standard of communist

ethics throughout our society. Party members, and leading cadres in particular, should unfailingly live up to that standard. In brief, in our effort to achieve ethical progress, we should proceed from reality and encourage the advanced elements while never neglecting the majority; we should spread education in ethics as widely as possible and try to raise the general standard. This will enable us to draw in people with varying degrees of political consciousness and to induce them to aim higher, so that there will be a powerful moral force uniting hundreds of millions of people.

We should raise the standard of professional ethics in all types of work. First of all, cadres in Party and government organizations should be honest and enthusiastic, and they should serve the people wholeheartedly. They should oppose bureaucratism, cheating and abuse of power for selfish purposes. Greater attention must be paid to improving ethical standards in those trades and professions that directly serve the everyday needs of the people and to eradicating the bad practices particular to such lines of work. In our society everyone serves and is served. A good attitude on the part of those who serve and the good service they offer are an expression of society's concern for its members, and they add to social tranquillity and harmonious interpersonal relations.

In our public life we should foster socialist humanism, respect for people and concern for their welfare. In particular, we should protect children, respect women, honour old people, disabled servicemen, family members of soldiers on active service and of revolutionary martyrs, and help the handicapped and persons who have no close relatives and cannot support themselves. We should encourage people to observe public order, behave civilly, respect public property, protect the environment and the country's resources and fulfil their duties to the state and the community. When national security is threatened or social peace is endangered, every citizen should step forward unhesitatingly in their defence.

We should work actively to change those undesirable customs that still prevail in cities and the countryside, to advocate cultured, healthful ways of living that are in keeping with scientific principles and to eliminate ignorance and backwardness. Bad wedding and funeral customs have to be changed, and superstitious, feudal beliefs and practices must be eradicated. On condition that sound folkways are respected, these reforms should be carried out voluntarily by the masses themselves. Members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League should take the lead in this endeavour.

As a higher stage in human moral progress, socialist ethics naturally incorporate all the best elements in the various ethical systems and traditions developed throughout history and reject all decadent ideology and ethics. Feudal ideology is deep-rooted in our country. The concept of

patriarchal clannishness, autocratic ways, the tendency to seek privileges and to form factions for selfish purposes, the view that men are superior to women—all these things that die hard in our social relations today are in essence manifestations of the evil influence of feudalism. Corrupt bourgeois ideology and the slavish mentality stemming from the historical conditions of a semi-colonial society are also strongly present in China and often merge with feudal ideology. It is therefore a formidable, long-term task to eradicate all these pernicious influences.

## **V. Intensify Education in Socialist Democracy, Legality and Discipline**

A high degree of democracy is one of the great goals of socialism and also an essential manifestation of socialist culture and ideology in the life of the state and of society as a whole. Historically, the concepts of democracy, liberty, equality and brotherhood took shape in the struggle of the rising bourgeoisie and the working people against feudal autocracy, marking a great mental emancipation of mankind. Although Marxism incorporated what was best in these bourgeois concepts, it is different from them in principle. In essence, bourgeois democracy serves to protect the capitalist system. By eliminating class oppression and exploitation, socialism has paved the way for the people to become masters of their own destiny and for democracy to advance to a new level in history. The major historical lessons to be drawn from China's socialist development are, first, that we should have mustered all our resources to develop the economy and, second, that we should have substantially extended democracy. Since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee, the Party has stressed that there can be no socialist modernization without democracy, that democracy must be institutionalized and codified in law and that the Party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and the laws of the state. The Party has taken effective measures to further democratize its political life, the political life of the state, economic management and the life of the entire society. In urging reform of the political structure, as it has done of late, the Central Committee aims—always while upholding the leadership of the Party and the people's democratic dictatorship—to reform and perfect the Party and state leadership systems and to take a step further in extending socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system, all for the purpose of facilitating socialist modernization. This will be a very complex task. After exhaustive investigation and study, the Central Committee will work out plans for accomplishing it, so that political reform may proceed step by step and with proper guidance.

Democracy cannot be separated from legality and discipline. Socialist legality, embodying the will of the people, safeguards their legitimate rights and

interests, regulates their relations and sets norms to keep their activities within proper bounds, at the same time punishing all unlawful activities that endanger society. Legality dissociated from socialist democracy can in no sense be socialist legality, nor can democracy dissociated from socialist legality be socialist democracy. Unless we strengthen our socialist legal system based on the Constitution and strengthen work discipline while combating all practices that repress and undermine democracy, we shall not be able to ensure smooth economic development and the unimpeded progress of all-round reform; furthermore, we shall not be able to maintain long-term political stability in our country. Bourgeois liberalization, which means negating the socialist system in favour of capitalism, is in total contradiction to the people's interests and to the historical trend, and it is therefore firmly opposed by the masses.

Among the measures to perfect socialist democracy and legality, the most important is education. Starting with primary school pupils, we should carry out education among the people in democracy, legality and discipline, at the same time urging them to acquire high ideals, raise their ethical standards and always to behave honourably. We should steadily disseminate general knowledge of the law among all our people. This will make them aware of the way they are expected to conduct themselves as socialist citizens and help them to understand their fundamental rights and duties. It will also acquaint them with the laws and regulations directly related to their respective jobs and other aspects of their lives, so that they can cultivate the fine habit of observing those laws and regulations. All citizens should abide by the Constitution of the state, and Party members should, in addition, abide by the Constitution of the Party. It should be an unshakable principle in our political and social life that everyone is equal before the law and everyone is equally bound to follow regulations. On no account shall anyone be allowed the privilege of flouting laws and regulations with impunity.

The people's democratic dictatorship is a powerful weapon for protecting the people and defending the cause of modernization. In accordance with the law, we should prosecute all hostile persons who sabotage our socialist system, punish all criminals including those guilty of economic crimes, and stamp out all unlawful activities detrimental to the people's interests, such as prostitution, drug addiction, gambling, and the dissemination of pornographic videotapes and publications.

## **VI. Universalize Education, Disseminate General and Scientific Knowledge and Raise the People's Cultural Level**

The development of education, science and culture is a prerequisite not only for material

progress but also for ideological and ethical progress. In today's world, science is increasingly becoming a revolutionary driving force of history. In fact, it has become a main indicator of the level of progress a nation has attained. Thus, in our modernization drive it is especially important for us to pursue knowledge and to respect and utilize science. We should work hard to universalize education and to spread general and scientific knowledge throughout the country and to raise the people's cultural level.

Cultural activities and institutions—education, scientific research, literature and art, the press and publication, radio, cinema and television, health services, physical culture, management of cultural relics, libraries, museums and so on—all have an important role to play. We should work to greatly expand them in light of the conditions of our country, a vast territory with uneven economic and cultural development. It is particularly important to expand education and scientific research, which are among the strategic priorities in our overall scheme for socialist modernization, because without them, not only can there be no socialist culture and ideology, but there can be no sustained economic growth. The state should ensure their expansion through proper policies and adequate funding, at the same time encouraging all sectors of society to give support. All localities should map out specific plans for their cultural development and make sure that they fulfil the tasks in this field, just as they are required to reach their economic targets.

Because our cultural undertakings are socialist in character, the ultimate criterion for evaluating their success must be their social effect. In order to satisfy the varied demands of the masses, we must try to improve the quality of our intellectual products. We must also restructure our system of management of cultural affairs and improve the related administrative work, so as to promote China's cultural development.

Educational, scientific and cultural workers, who share the honourable but arduous task of fostering socialist culture and ideology, should understand what our people demand of them in this historical period and try to raise their own ideological and ethical standards as well as their professional competence. Leading bodies at all levels should do organizational work and help intellectuals in different ways to familiarize themselves with the many varied activities of the masses who are creating a new life. In construction and reform they should enlist as many intellectuals as possible as consultants and ask them to contribute their share to policy decisions. As for key programmes and highly trained people who have made outstanding contributions, the leading bodies should give them vigorous support by helping to create the conditions necessary for their success. They should give moral encouragement and material rewards to creators of excellent intellectual

products and to other educational, scientific and cultural workers who have distinguished themselves. In particular, the leading organizations should introduce awards to be given, as a high honour, to intellectual products that represent the highest scientific and cultural attainments of our nation. In every aspect of our work, we must make further effort to ensure respect for knowledge and for highly trained people. Improvement in the status of intellectuals, the tapping of their potential and the solidarity and common endeavour of workers, peasants and intellectuals will be our best guarantee of success in modernizing the country.

## **VII. The Guiding Role of Marxism in Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology**

To modernize China and build a socialist society that is culturally and ideologically advanced, it is essential for us to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as our guiding theory. As the scientific world outlook of the working class and one of the great achievements in the history of civilization, Marxism is the theoretical basis of socialism and of the leadership given by the Party. It is the most important component of socialist ideology and will serve as a guide in all our work to build a socialist culture and ideology. In all our efforts to encourage high ideals and standards of conduct, to raise our cultural level and to publicize democratic principles and the importance of legality, we have to depend on Marxism as our guiding theory and make new progress in Marxist research.

Marxism is a science that constantly enriches and develops itself in keeping with historical and scientific advance. Far from exhausting truth, it constantly opens up new avenues to truth in practice. The tremendous changes that have taken place and are taking place in China and the rest of the world bear witness to the immense vitality of Marxism and, at the same time, demonstrate that we must apply its basic principles and methods to the creative solution of new problems. The task of China's Marxist theoretical workers in the new era is to study the new circumstances and new problems that have arisen in the economic, political, cultural and social fields and the new experience we have gained in the course of socialist modernization and reform, and to explore the laws that govern the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. At the same time, they should investigate new developments and trends of thought in the contemporary world, assimilate those latest achievements of science that are useful to China and make a summation of them. Instead of using fossilized concepts to interpret life, we must proceed from reality, make practice the sole criterion for verifying truth and jettison all those judgments and



conclusions that have proved wrong in actual practice or out of keeping with changing realities. That is the only way to ensure that Marxism will keep abreast of social change and serve to guide it. And that is the way both to uphold Marxism and to develop it, the two being integrated in our practice of revolution and construction. It would be impossible to uphold Marxism if we rejected the overriding importance of practice and the need to observe reality from a developmental perspective and to bring forth new ideas. It is wrong to regard Marxism as a rigid dogma. It is also wrong to negate its basic tenets, view it as an outmoded theory and blindly worship bourgeois philosophies and social doctrines.

Socialism is still in the process of being realized, and our modernization and reform are complex tasks that call for innovative thinking. There are not—and cannot be—any ready-made formulas, and it is only natural that differences of opinion should often arise in both theoretical and practical work. We should therefore carry out the policy of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend.” We should encourage and support all bold explorative efforts and free debates that are based on scientific research, in order to stimulate research on Marxist theory, democratize our policy-making process and give our decisions a more scientific basis. In making policy decisions and formulating plans, we should observe the principle of democratic centralism. But when it comes to academic issues and issues relating to the arts, we must abide by the principles of the Constitution and ensure academic freedom, freedom of creative writing, freedom of discussion, and freedom of criticism and counter-criticism. Those freedoms are essential if Marxism is to serve as a guide in academic work and the arts. They are likewise essential if we are to create an environment of political stability and unity and a democratic, harmonious atmosphere in which science and culture can thrive to serve the people and socialism.

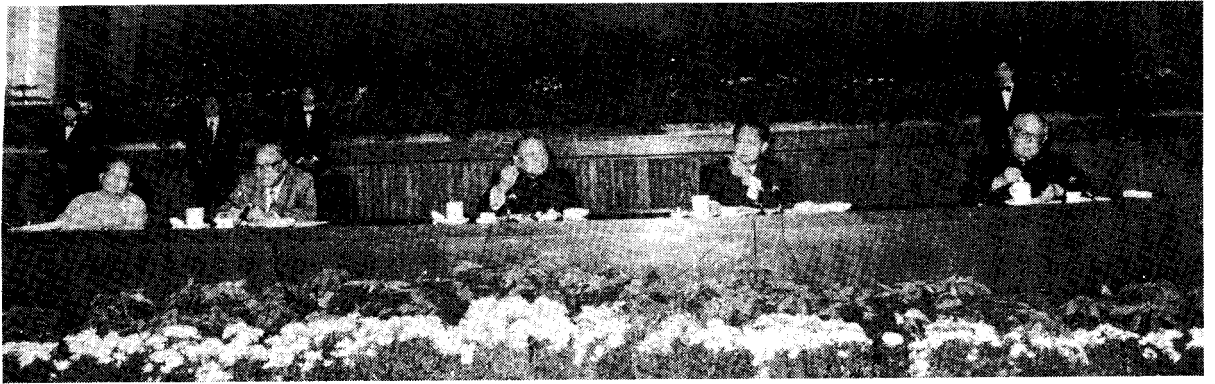
Party cadres, especially those who are in leading positions or in charge of ideological work, should take the lead in studying Marxism. It is impossible to uphold and develop Marxism if we do not study it seriously. The masses, and particularly young people, should also be encouraged to study it. Education in basic Marxist tenets should be conducted in conjunction with education in the Party's line, principles and policies, and with education concerning the current situation and our revolutionary traditions. It should also be combined with the study of history and the teaching of general and scientific knowledge, and be related to the current thinking of the masses. We must overcome the tendency to neglect Marxist studies. We should see to it that their content is not divorced from reality and that the methods of instruction are not dull and monotonous.

## **VIII. Responsibilities of Party Organizations and Party Members in the Building of a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology**

The working class is the leading class in our country. As its vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party is the force at the core leading the effort to modernize China. In the building of a socialist society that is culturally and ideologically advanced, Party organizations at all levels and their members are duty-bound first, to try to raise their own ideological level and, in particular, to improve the work style of the Party; and second, to work hard and set a good example, thus helping to mobilize the people and advance the society-wide effort to build socialist culture and ideology.

Improvement of the work style of the Party is crucial to its very survival. Now that the Party is in power, the question of paramount importance is whether its members will wholeheartedly serve the people or behave like bureaucrats and overlords, riding roughshod over the people and abusing power for personal gain. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, we have brought order to all fields and begun Party-wide consolidation. We have achieved a great deal in restoring and developing the Party's fine traditions of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close contact with the people and conducting self-criticism. However, we must recognize that throughout the long process of reform, opening to the rest of the world and modernization, we shall have to continue resolutely the struggle to stamp out malpractices. Ideological education and efficient systems and institutions are very important for the cultivation of a desirable work style in the Party. We must therefore take vigorous measures to reform the Party's organizational and work systems, strictly enforce its rules and institute effective systems of internal and popular supervision to monitor the work of leading cadres at all levels.

Party members, particularly those in leading positions, should always set an example for the masses by working diligently and being eager to learn and make progress, by renouncing empty talk in favour of practical work, by devoting themselves to the reform programme and daring to innovate, by safeguarding the people's interests and leading them towards prosperity through honest labour, by observing the law and discipline, opposing malpractices of any kind and fighting against crime. In a word, they should make themselves models in the nation's effort to build a socialist society that is advanced both materially and culturally and ideologically. Party organizations should meet regularly to evaluate their members' performance in these respects and discuss ways to improve it. They should commend the advanced members and encourage those who lag behind.



Party leaders at the Sixth Session of the CPC Central Committee.

A new problem facing the whole Party under the new circumstances is how to ensure that efforts are made to build a society that is advanced both materially and culturally and ideologically. All Party organizations, from the central level to the grass roots, must devote more time and energy to leading the work of building socialist culture and ideology. They should explore effective methods, study policies and organize and co-ordinate the efforts of all quarters. It won't do just to go through the motions: what is needed is solid work.

Ideological and political work is a guarantee of success in our economic and other undertakings. Now we must adapt such work to the requirements of the new period by exploring new possibilities. All cadres, whatever their trade or profession, should help solve problems directly related to the people. Leading cadres should regularly go among the workers, peasants and intellectuals and ask their views on how to straighten out the ideological and practical questions that are of most concern to them. We must build a contingent of well-trained ideological and political workers. We should care for them and help solve the problems they encounter in their work, while urging them to constantly enhance their political consciousness and their skills. We should encourage them to serve the people enthusiastically through efficient work so as to win popular trust and be able to play their role to the full.

The present resolution is designed to clarify certain questions and to formulate the guiding

principles for building, in new historical conditions, a socialist society with an advanced culture and ideology. Party organizations in all departments, localities and institutions should apply these principles in light of their own specific conditions and work out concrete measures to be taken accordingly. For its part, the Central Committee will strengthen its guidance of the whole work.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, an invulnerable Great Wall in the defence of our motherland and a major force in construction, is an army with a high degree of political awareness, fine ethics and a strict sense of organization and discipline. It exerts a great moral influence on the whole nation. The army should continue to raise its ideological level and take an active part in the nationwide endeavour to build a socialist society that is culturally and ideologically advanced. For this purpose, the Military Commission of the Central Committee should draw up specific plans in accordance with the principles set forth in this resolution and with the conditions obtaining in the army.

The Central Committee calls on all Party organizations and all Party comrades to study and discuss the present resolution, so that they will have a better understanding of it and reach agreement in their thinking. By so doing, we will be able to work more effectively in our great undertakings: The building of a socialist society that is advanced culturally and ideologically as well as materially, and the carrying out of all-round reform.

LONG MARCH 50TH ANNIVERSARY

# A General Looks Back

by Our Correspondent Zhou Zheng

*General Wu Xiuquan, Standing Committee Member of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, was interpreter to Li De (Otto Braun, 1900-74), military advisor to the Red Army, before and during the Long March. He recalls the events of those years and appeals for world peace in his capacity as president of the Beijing Society for International Strategy.*

In October 1936, the 1st Front Army (the Central Red Army), the 2nd Front Army and the 4th Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army joined forces in Huining, Gansu Province and started to head for northern Shaanxi. This followed two years' march, known as the Long March. The march took its toll of the Red Army forces, but their presence in northern Shaanxi gave the local revolutionary forces a tremendous boost, turning Yanan, the site of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China between 1937 and 1947, into the staunchest revolutionary base area of the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese aggressors during the Second World War.

All the Red Army men and women who were involved in the Long March still pride themselves on having done so. Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and other Party and state leaders were marchers then and, like their fellow marchers, they crossed the snow mountains and marshlands.

In October this year China will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the success of the Long March, but the Chinese media has already started to review the history and interview Long March survivors.

It was against this background that one early autumn morning, I interviewed General Wu Xiuquan, a native of Hubei, now 78 and a Standing Committee Member of the Central Advisory Commis-

sion. We met at his tree-shaded residence in the eastern part of Beijing. Having been interpreter to Li De, military advisor to the Red Army stationed in China by the Communist International (1919-43) in the

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***The march took its toll of the Red Army forces, but their presence in northern Shaanxi gave the local revolutionary forces a tremendous boost, turning Yanan, into the staunchest revolutionary base area of the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese aggressors during the Second World War.***

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early 1930s. Wu is a mine of inside information on the policy-making organs of the CPC Central Committee of the time.

The event of the Long March which impressed Wu most was without doubt the Zunyi Meeting held in Zunyi, Guizhou in January 1935. "It established Chairman

Mao's leadership in the Party and thus saved the Chinese revolution. The person who struck me the most was Li De for whom I worked as an interpreter for one and a half years, since he was a rare teacher—by negative example."

Recalling the origins of the Long March, General Wu reckons the Red Army embarked on the Long March as a result of military failures. In 1927 the Kuomintang headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei went against Dr Sun Yat-sen's policy of working in co-operation with the Communist Party of China in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Instead it collaborated with imperialist forces, and slaughtered Communists and revolutionary people. The Communist Party of China headed by Chen Duxiu, a Right capitulationist, suffered a severe blow at that time. "The Party had 60,000 members before the calamity," said General Wu. "But many were killed and many others went over to the enemy, deserted or dropped out, and only some 10,000 were left in the end."

The 10,000-plus Communists who survived the massacre were the elite, the staunchest, said General Wu. They worked very hard to develop the revolutionary armed forces and organized armed uprisings. With their redoubled efforts, many revolutionary base areas came into being in remote places out of the reach of the enemy forces, the largest of these being the Central Soviet Area in Jiangxi with Ruijin as its capital. Directed by Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and others, the Red Army succeeded in smashing four "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Kuomintang. Those Kuomintang attacks did not weaken the Red Army. On the contrary, the Red Army grew in strength and safeguarded, recovered or expanded many revolutionary bases. Unfortunately, the Red Army lost the battle in the Kuomintang's



fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and had to give up the base areas and set out on a northward march in 1934.

The Red Army's defeat was in fact traceable back to the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee held in January 1931. That session was controlled by the deputy director of the Oriental Department of the Communist International, and it brought dogmatists and sectarianists represented by Wang Ming and Bo Gu to the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership also

included Zhang Wentian and Wang Jiaxiang. Thereafter "left" dogmatists had dominance over the Party. The provisional Central Committee of the Party was located in Shanghai and later moved to the central Soviet area in Jiangxi because of the Communists could not hold up in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.

Li De arrived in Shanghai in 1932 and went to the central Soviet area in October 1933, working as the Communist International military advisor to the Red Army. It was at this time

that Wu Xiuquan, who had studied in the Soviet Union for five and a half years, served as his interpreter.

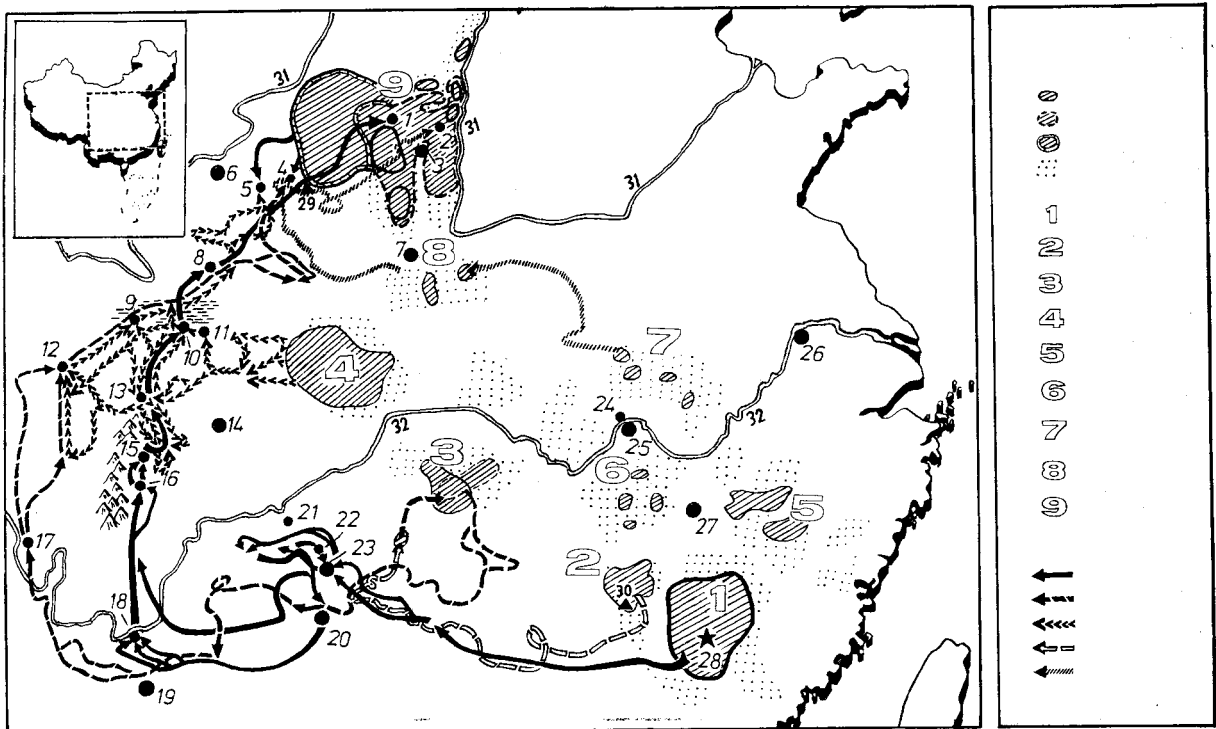
Wang Ming was appointed representative of the Communist Party of China in the Communist International and Bo Gu was elected General Secretary of the Provisional Party Central Committee. As Bo Gu knew almost nothing about military affairs, he yielded the military direction to Li De. Li De, who knew nothing of the real situation in China, directed the Red Army's battles

## Long March Routes of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army August 1934-October 1936

Revolutionary base areas: 1934 1935 1936 guerrilla zones 1 Central Soviet Area 2 Hunan-Jiangxi 3 Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou 4 Sichuan-Shaanxi 5 Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi 6 Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi 7 Hubei-Henan-Anhui 8 Hubei-Henan-Shaanxi 9 Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia

Long March routes: First Front Army Second Front Army Fourth Front Army Sixth Army Group 25th Army Corps

1. Wuqizhen 2. Yongpingzhen 3. Yanan 4. Jiangtaobao 5. Huining 6. Lanzhou 7. Xian 8. Lazikou 9. Aba 10. Maoergai 11. Songpan 12. Garze 13. Maogong 14. Chengdu 15. Luding 16. Anshunchang 17. Zhongdian 18. Jiaochedu 19. Kunming 20. Guiyang 21. Chishui 22. Loushanguan 23. Zunyi 24. Hankou 25. Wuchang 26. Nanjing 27. Nanchang 28. Ruijin 29. Liupanshan 30. Jinggang Mt. 31. Huanghe R. 32. Changjiang R.



against the Kuomintang according to the book, without making any serious analysis of the local situation. General Wu recalled that at the first military meeting Li De attended after reaching the central Soviet area, Li took the floor before all the others: "The 'golden time' of guerrilla warfare has passed and now is the time for the Red Army to fight a conventional war." Recalling those events, General Wu could not suppress his indignation. After the meeting, Li shut himself in his office to direct the war according to military maps and rulers. As most of the military maps were sketch maps, they were full of errors.

General Wu went on to say that Mao Zedong, who led the Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927 and the



Jinggang Mountain struggles, was deprived of the power to direct the military. Li De was stubborn and ignored the views of other Red Army leaders.

Zhou Enlai, who became premier of the State Council after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 and died in 1976, once confronted Li De; Wu served as their interpreter. Zhou's efforts to sway Li De were of no avail.

General Wu described how once Peng Dehuai, who became defence minister of the People's Republic of China, pointed his finger at Li and shouted, "The son doesn't regret selling his father's fields!" implying that Li De did not care about losing the base areas of the revolutionary forces.

"At that time, the comrade had many different views about military matters," said Wu. "But because during war you expect more centralism and less democracy, and out of respect for the Communist International, they followed Li's directions during the struggle against the Kuomintang's fifth 'encirclement and suppression' campaign. So they 'fought at close quarters', 'fought with two fists', 'kept enemy troops out of the gate' and 'organized

## A Brief History

In October 1934, the Central Red Army (the 1st Front Army) withdrew from the central Soviet area and set out on the Long March. Red Army troops elsewhere (except the northern Shaanxi base area) also withdrew from their base areas.

In January 1935, during the Long March the Chinese Communist Party held an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in Zunyi. That ended the rule of "left" adventurism and established Mao Zedong's leadership of the Party Central Committee.

After the meeting, the Central Red Army commanded by Mao Zedong adopted a flexible strategy in fighting the enemy. It flanked and penetrated Kuomintang's massive forces and wiped out many of them.

In June 1935, the Central Red Army joined forces with the 4th

Front Army at Maogong (present-day Xiaojin) at the foot of the snowy Jiabin Mountain. The two armies decided to march north together. Advancing by two routes, right and left, they crossed a number of snow-capped mountains and the trackless marshland to arrive at Aba (Ngawa), Sichuan Province. Although Zhang Guotao, actual leader of the 4th Front Army, opposed advancing further north, the Central Red Army went ahead and arrived in northern Shaanxi in October 1935, where it joined forces with the local Red Army. In that year, the Central Red Army trekked 12,500 km, crossed 11 provinces, 18 mountain ranges and 24 rivers.

The 4th Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army withdrew from the Sichuan-Shaanxi base area in March 1935 to begin the Long March. After arriving in Aba, Zhang Guotao, in defiance of the Party Central Committee's decision to march northwards, carried

out splittist activities by leading the 4th Front Army southwards. After six months fighting, the 4th retreated to Garze, Sichuan Province.

The 6th Army Group of the Red Army left the Hunan-Jiangxi base area in August 1934 and joined forces with the 2nd Army Group in October the same year at the eastern Guizhou base area. The two army groups launched attacks on Kuomintang troops stationed in western Hunan Province as a support for the Central Red Army's northward march. In November 1935, they left the Hunan-Anhui-Sichuan-Guizhou base area and joined forces with the 4th Front Army in Garze in 1936. There, the 2nd and 6th Army Groups and the 32nd Army Corps formed the 2nd Front Army. The 4th Front Army decided to advance northwards with the 2nd Front Army and they arrived in Huining, Gansu Province, in October 1936, where they joined forces with the 1st Front Army, thus concluding the Long March.



regular troops to fight positional warfare.' Facts proved that Li's military line was absolutely wrong and impractical."

For these reasons, Wu said, the Red Army lost its battles against the Kuomintang's fifth 'encirclement and suppression' campaign and had no alternative but to embark on the Long March.

Under the misguidance of the Party Central Committee, the marchers were made to carry along with them an incredible amount of stuff, including some 3,000 loads of weapon-making and printing machines. But with repeated interceptions by enemy troops, the bulk of these items were lost and over half of the marchers died. They did fight through four enemy blockade lines.

When the 1st Front Army reached western Hunan, it was reported that its intention of joining forces with the 2nd and 6th Army Groups in western Hunan had been discovered by the enemy, which had deployed troops to

intercept it in three places. Faced with this Li De insisted on carrying on along the original route.

"At this critical moment, Mao Zedong warned the Political Bureau that if the Red Army did not change its plan, it would be surrounded and wiped out completely," said General Wu. "Mao also suggested that the Red Army move into Guizhou where the enemy forces were considered the weakest. The Party Central Committee accepted Mao's suggestion and the enemy's plan to wipe out the Red Army in western Hunan was foiled."

### Zunyi Meeting—The Turning Point

The repeated military failures had raised in the army and the Party feelings of discontent. People began to ask why, after the Red Army smashed four enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaigns, it lost the fifth and

continued to lose battles one after the other. The Red Army leaders began to suspect Bo Gu and Li De's ability to direct the war.

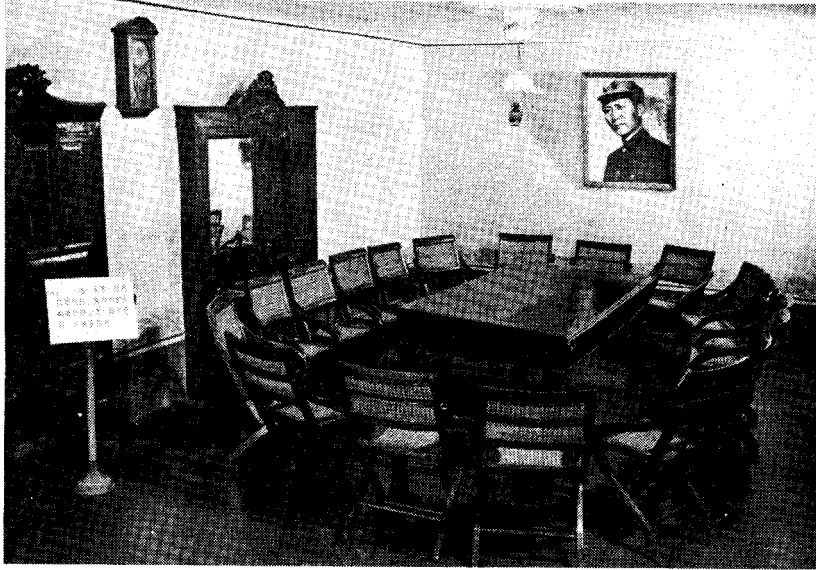
General Wu said that one day Zhang Wentian approached him and said, "How can Li De direct battles like this? How can we win battles this way?" Zhang vowed to bring Li De down. During the march, Mao Zedong got a chance to exchange views with Wang Jiaxiang, who was at the time vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission. Wang was also convinced that Li De's military direction would not work at all.

As the ability of Li De came into doubt, Mao Zedong's prestige rose. He had the respect of Zhou Enlai, then vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission, and Zhu De, then commander-in-chief of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Zhu became chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

It was at this point that the

Red Army soldiers in the early 1930s.





The Zunyi Meeting room.

Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in Zunyi in January 1935 after the Red Army captured the city. The participants unanimously agreed to exclude Li De from the preparation for and presidency of the meeting.

According to historical records, participants at the Zunyi Meeting included Bo Gu, Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong, Wang Jiaxiang, Zhang Wentian, Chen Yun and Zhu De, all of them members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee; Liu Shaoqi, Deng Fa and Kai Feng, alternative members of the Political Bureau; Liu Bochong, chief of the General Staff of the Red Army; and Li Fuchun acting director of the General Political Department of the Red Army. The other participants were leaders of Red Army Groups, including Lin Biao, Nie Rongzhen, Peng Dehuai, Yang Shangkun and Li Zhuoran. Deng Xiaoping attended the meeting in his capacity as chief editor of the *Red Star Paper*, a non-voting delegate (until he was elected secretary-general of the Party Central Committee). Li De also attended the meeting as a non-voting delegate.

The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee reviewed the consequences of the defeat in the

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***The spirit of the Long March encourages people to make contributions to China's modernization, We surmounted the difficulties we encountered during the Long March, so we should be able to overcome any difficulty we may encounter today.***

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struggle against the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and the causes behind the subsequent failures of the Red Army during the Long March. It also discussed possible future

actions. During the meeting, the participants repudiated the military line characterized by "left" deviationist adventurism, conservatism in military defence and flightism in retreat.

The meeting decided to remove the supreme military power from Bo Gu and Li De and, while confirming the correctness of the basic principles Mao Zedong espoused for the military actions of the Red Army, elected Mao a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. Following the Zunyi Meeting, a triumvirate of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang directed the military, and this established Mao's leadership over the Party and the army.

"When the Zunyi Meeting was in session, Li De sat in the corner by the door as if in the dock," said General Wu. "I sat by him and interpreted for him. In low spirits, Li De smoked one cigar after another and defended himself, saying he was merely an advisor." He nursed a deep hatred for the Zunyi Meeting, said Wu, and wrote many articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party after the 1960s.

The Communist Party of China valued the Zunyi Meeting highly, holding that it was a turning point of life-and-death importance in the Party's history. In one of his articles on the Zunyi Meeting, General Wu reaffirms that the Zunyi Meeting was the first during which the Communist Party used the fundamental principles of Marxism and Leninism to solve its problems of line, principles and policies; if a Party cannot apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary practice of its own country but depends on foreigners or books without learning from successful domestic experience, the Party is hopeless; in the history of the Chinese Party, Mao Zedong was the first to understand this truth and apply it in practice.



## It Significance Today

The Long March was crowned with success but only after paying a heavy price. When the three major forces of the Red Army effected a junction, there were only some 30,000 men left. When the Central Red Army left Ruijin it numbered 80,000 people; by the time it reached northern Shaanxi, only 6,000 were left. It is little wonder that Red Army veterans call themselves survivors of the Long March and respect and feel grateful to Mao Zedong, who turned the tide and saved the revolution.

However, many of these survivors suffered during the "cultural revolution," which was initiated by Mao Zedong in 1966, 30 years after the success of the Long March. During that unprecedented "cultural revolution," they were first criticized and then chastised for their failure to understand and take it seriously. Later, some of them were

detained, put under house-arrest or hounded to death by Lin Biao and the gang of four on trumped up charges.

One wonders how this affected their feelings about Mao Zedong. "During the 'cultural revolution' I was charged with the crime of working as a Soviet spy and detained for eight years," said General Wu. "To be frank, I simply could not understand it. I joined the revolution and worked under Mao my whole life. How could I have been a counter-revolutionary? I did speak out against him after I was released in 1974."

General Wu combed his greyhair with his hand and went on, "When Chairman Mao died in 1976, I pondered a lot and began to gain a fresh understanding." Picking up a copy of the *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*, General Wu said, "This resolution embodies the common

understanding we have reached after repeated discussions. Now I just want to make one point clear, Mao made serious mistakes during the 'cultural revolution,' but taking his life as a whole he did more good things for the Chinese revolution than bad. His merits outweigh his mistakes."

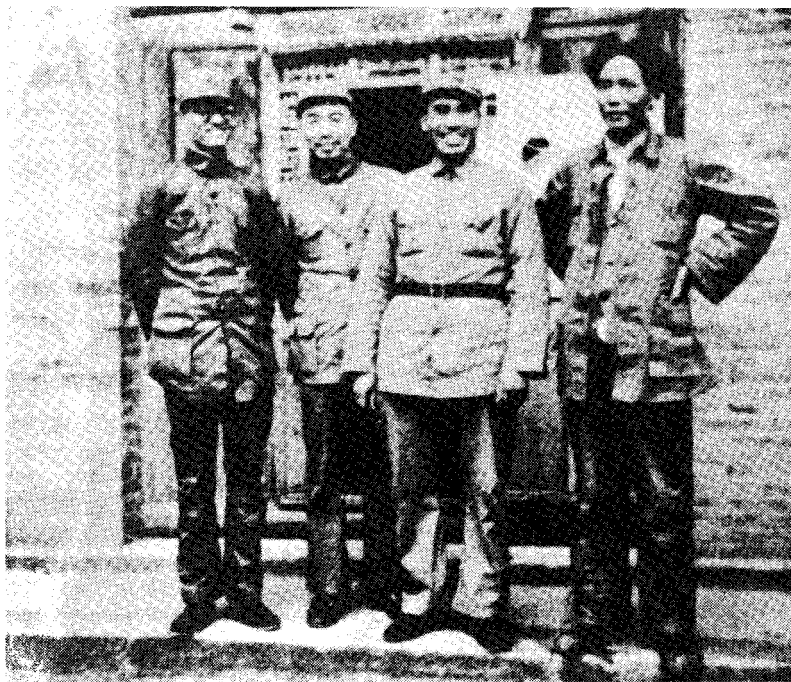
Talking about the significance of the Long March for the four modernizations sometimes referred to as the new Long March, General Wu said that its significance lies in its educational role. "The spirit of the Long March encourages people to make contributions to China's modernization," he said.

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***If a Party cannot apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary practice of its own country but depends on foreigners or books without learning from successful domestic experience, the Party is hopeless***

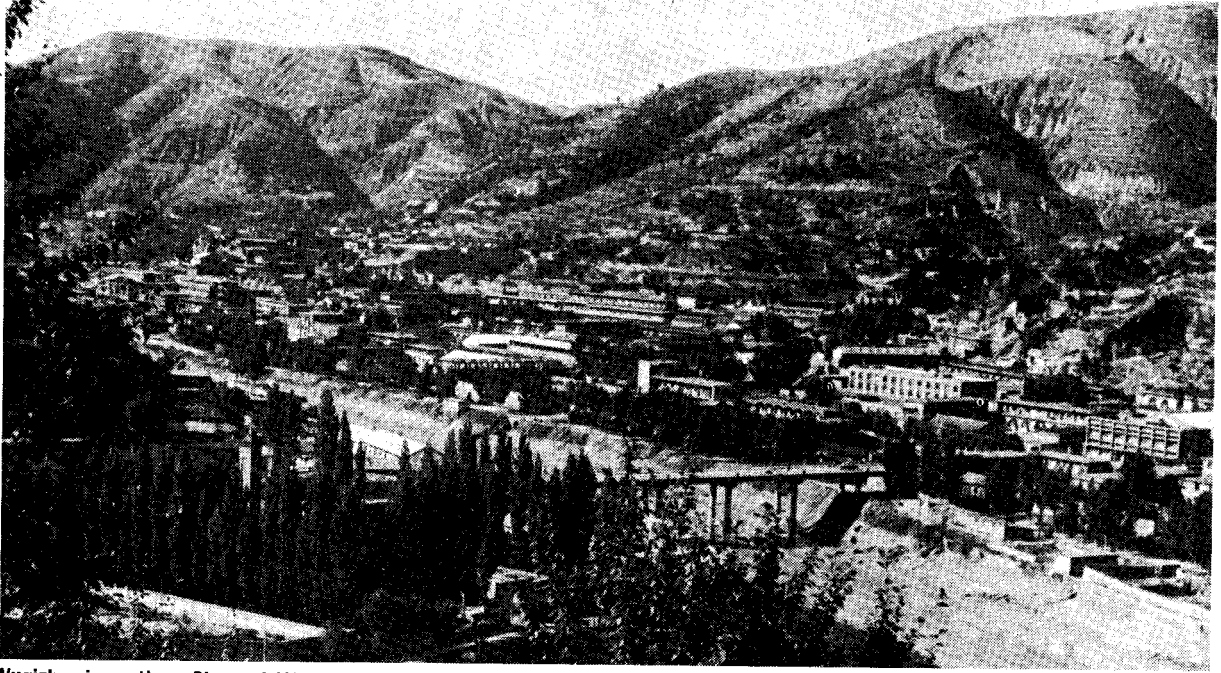
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From right to left: Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Bo Gu in northern Shaanxi.



"Ideal and belief are supreme," General Wu said. "Take me for example. I had better working conditions and a better life in the Soviet Union when I was there. But in pursuit of the Communist ideal and for the liberation of the country and the Chinese people, I returned to China in 1931 and joined in the Long March. It's the old Chinese saying, 'go deep into the mountains, knowing well that there are tigers there.' All the others who made sacrifices for the realization of their ideals were the





Wuzhizhen in northern Shaanxi. When the Central Red Army reached here in October 1935 after Long March, there were about eight dwelling-caves here. Today, it is the area's political, cultural and commercial centre. Bustling with dwellings and stores, it extends over 70,000 square metres.

same. At that time, we didn't know when the victory would come. But we worked very hard and were prepared to give all we had for the revolution."

"We surmounted the difficulties we encountered during the Long March, so we should be able to overcome any difficulty we may encounter today. Our four modernization drive progresses smoothly now, but it holds many problems and difficulties. I sincerely wish the younger generations of the Chinese population could emulate the heroic struggling spirit of the older generation."

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Wu engaged in diplomacy and in November 1950 spoke at the United Nations as the first representative of New China. As president of Beijing Society for International Strategy, he wished

to make the following statement: "Compared with fifty years ago, the world situation is unrecognizable. Formerly war-torn China has grown into prosperous New China. China needs a peaceful environment for its national construction and to have peace China stands firmly in opposition to hegemonism. The world's turmoil today finds its roots in the US-Soviet contention for world supremacy. The whole world is concerned about the progress of talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on reduction of weapons (including nuclear weapons, conventional weapons and chemical weapons), and watches to see whether the talks can yield positive results and scale down or even eliminate the threat of a new world war.

"The international situation is very complicated and each region has its own special problems. China believes that all controversial questions should be

solved through negotiations and not by resorting to force.

"All the people who have experienced the turmoil of wars value peace dearly. For the last three decades China has maintained friendly relations with many countries in the world and developed co-operation with them, in the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. We have friends the world over, and the Chinese set great store by this."

Recalling the second round of co-operation between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang soon after the Long March, which led to the victory of the Chinese people's struggle against the Japanese aggression, General Wu said he hoped to see reunification of the motherland. He said that both sides should forget their old grudges and get together to build China.



## The Veterans Interviewed

To mark the 50th anniversary of the successful conclusion of the Red Army's Long March, *Beijing Review* has sought out some of the soldiers who experienced the great event and have continued to make their mark. Nie Rongzhen, 87, was political commissar of the 1st Army Group of the 1st Front Army (the Central Red Army) and is now vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission. He Changgong, 86, was political commissar of the 9th Army Group of the 1st Front Army. He went on to become vice-chairman of the National People's Political Consultative Conference and a member of the Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party. He is now retired. Zhang Pinghua, 79, was propaganda minister of the Political Department of the 2nd Front Army and is now a member of the Central Advisory Commission. Yang Chengwu, 72, was then political commissar of the 4th Regiment of the 2nd Division of the 1st Army Group of the 1st Front Army and is now vice-chairman of the National People's Political Consultative Conference.

The motivations that led these men to endure the Long March were manifold:

**Nie:** I took part in the Long March because I was outraged at the disasters Wang Ming caused to the revolution with his "left" mistakes. Also my deep love for the people and the comrades-in-arms we left at the central Soviet area and my complete confidence in the future of the long journey drove me on.

**He:** Shortly before the Long March started, a comrade and I were sent on a united front mission by Zhou Enlai. We went to Guangdong Province and negotiated with warlord Chen Jitang.

We talked three days and nights before we reached an agreement that we the Red Army could pass through his province. Then I returned and participated in the Long March.

**Zhang:** I thought the strategic move northwards was necessary and correct. There was a strong team spirit. To carry out that move, the Red Army united from the top to the rank and file. Everyone obeyed orders and was determined to forge ahead.

**Yang:** On the one hand, we participated in the revolution and the Long March in order to enable the poor to rise up out of their misery, no longer to be bullied by local tyrants and evil gentry but to have enough to eat and enough to wear and also in order to overthrow the oppression of imperialists and feudalists and to bring about mankind's great ideal, communism. On the other hand, as a revolutionary soldier, I had to do what I was ordered to. At the same time, I believed that the Party's leadership was correct.

**BR:** What most impressed you during the Long March?

**Nie:** The way the Chinese revolution was steered in the right

direction at the Zunyi Meeting, the outstanding command of Comrade Mao Zedong and the "fear-nothing" revolutionary heroism of the officers and men.

**He:** At the Zunyi Meeting, the military line advocated by "left" adventurists was repudiated. The meeting played a decisive role in bringing success to the Long March. After that the Red Army won many battles under the command of Mao Zedong. In a battle soon after the meeting, for example, we, the 9th Army Group, held the enemy forces to the north of the Wujiang River so that the main forces of the Red Army

He Changgong



Nie Rongzhen.



could manoeuvre freely to the south of the river. However, later when the 1st and 4th front Armies joined forces, we were incorporated into the Left Route Army commanded by Zhang Guotao. Indulging in his own separatist activities, Zhang wanted to set up his own central committee and refused to go northwards to continue the Long March. As a result, the 9th Army Group, suffered a great deal that we need not have.

**Zhang:** Two kinds of people impressed me most. One kind was the outstanding leaders of our Party and army, such as Ren Bishi, He Long and Wang Zhen in the 2nd Front Army. The merits they had in common were that they all were good at observation and study, good at probing and analysing the enemy's situation, good at keeping in close touch with the masses and learning what they had in their mind and what difficulties they had. This explains why they could win battles. The other kind was those conspirators and careerists like Zhang Guotao. On the Long March, he stuck to



Zhang Pinghua

separatist activities, and tried to take over the 1st Front Army by attacking it. It was only when Zhu De, Liu Bocheng, Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Ren Bishi, He Long and Wang Zhen, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission, led the officers and men of the 2nd and 4th Front Armies in a resolute struggle against Zhang Guotao that the 2nd and 4th Front Armies could march northward together and join up with the rest of the Red Army.

**Yang:** There are many big battles I will never forget. Soon after we embarked on the Long March, the enemy lay "the fourth blockade line," with troops that

outnumbered ours several times over. They launched pincer attacks with the support of dozens of airplanes in an attempt to eliminate us. The Red Army suffered great casualties. I myself was seriously wounded in the leg and was saved by Company Commander Huang Lin and Political Instructor Chen Fangren.

In order to shake off the enemy, the Military Commission ordered my regiment to seize the Luding Bridge so the main forces could pass. We marched 120 kilometres in one day and night, annihilated one enemy regiment and ate only one meal of porridge before we reached the bridge in time in harsh stormy weather. Then we started a general attack at the bridge. A task force of 22 warriors including Commander Liao Dazhu marched across the 13-iron-chain bridge, which was stripped of its



Yang Chengwu.

woodboard, to the opposite side under the cover of our regiment's fire. We seized the bridge and the city of Luding on the opposite side after two hours of fierce fighting. Three days later, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other leaders arrived and the Red Army crossed the river in victory. The Military Commission later conferred medals on the 22 warriors and the regiment's commander and

political commissar. Many soul-stirring battles like this still remain fresh in my mind.

**BR: Do you often talk with young people about the Long March? What do they think of it?**

**Nie:** Yes, the spirit of the Long March is of extreme importance to the Chinese people, especially the younger generation. As far as I know, the entire Chinese people hold the Long March in high esteem.

**He:** I learnt a lot from the Long March. I know French and English since I studied and worked in France when I was young. After Liberation some young people thought I looked like a foreign language teacher and asked what university I graduated from. I told them I graduated from the guerrilla warfare university, from the battle university and from the strategy university of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. I told them I had to study for more than 20 years before I received the diploma together with others in 1949 when the five-star red national flag was flown in Tian An Men Square. I have written my experiences into a book, which is expected to come out next year. I hope the younger generation will understand and bear in mind the older generation's hard-won achievements.

**Zhang:** Many young people have asked me about the Long March. I answer them in detail. They listen attentively and understand most of what I say. When they don't I elaborate further.

**Yang:** I wrote a memoir called *In Memory of the Long March*, with the title calligraphy by Marshal Ye Jianying and preface by Marshal Nie Rongzhen. I often talk with young people about the Long March in order to let them know that New China was founded upon the sacrifice of the lives of many revolutionary martyrs. Forgetting the past means betrayal to the revolution. I hope they study hard and work hard.



**BR: What do you think the Long March holds for the current modernization programme?**

**Nie:** China's current socialist modernization construction is a new Long March of the entire Chinese people. During the new Long March, carrying forward the spirit of the Long March and building a cultural civilization ensures that the Chinese revolution will forge ahead.

**He:** The Long March teaches that the Chinese revolution must base itself on China's reality. The principle of seeking truth from

facts advocated by Mao Zedong will continue to light the Chinese people's march towards new goals.

**Zhang:** First, the Red Army's revolutionary spirit of fearing neither death nor hardship in the Long March—if we apply it creatively during the new Long March—will bring about good new economic and social results. Second, younger comrades during the Long March have now become the backbone of the modernization. They are both politically sound and professionally competent having been trained in

economic management and scientific and technical know-how. Third, the Red Army travelled over numerous mountains and rivers, vast stretches of barren land, dense forests and fertile grassland. All these are a wealth yet to be tapped for the modernization.

**Yang:** Compared with the old Long March, the new one is different in conditions, in content and in form, but its general goals are the same and its tasks are equally arduous. Therefore, the spirit of the old Long March should be carried on in the new.

## The Women's Story

by Our Correspondent Wei Liming

**Y**ou can tell Liu Ying is a unique person just by looking at her. At 81 she sits erect and attentive as you talk with her, her hair is jet black and she still insists on fresh flowers to scent her living room



Liu Ying.

when she is entertaining.

She keeps a large portrait of her husband (with whom she married after the Long March) and comrade-in-arms on her wall. With him she went through the Long March, liberation and later the ordeal of the "cultural revolution." He—Zhang Wentian—joined the Communist Party in 1925 and was elected Secretary of the CPC Central Committee at the Zunyi Meeting in 1935 on the Long March.

Zhang played a key role at that meeting, when Mao's fate hung in the balance. The meeting set Mao Zedong firmly at the head of the Party and Zhang spoke up for him there.

But Zhang's story cannot overshadow that of his wife and her 29 women comrades who joined the 1st Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army on the Long March. It

took 12 months and 12,500 kilometres, but all 30 women made it to Shaanxi.

Liu Ying was 26 when the march started, and was working with Hu Yaobang—now Party General Secretary—as propaganda chief of the Central Committee of the Young Communist International.

She had joined the Party nine years earlier, in 1925, in her hometown, Changsha, and had had to flee for her life to Shanghai, when Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution in 1927. She did not rest though, and later made her way to the Jiangxi Central Soviet Area.

There she was among the 30 women hand-picked for their ability to withstand hardship and carry out political work. These women were to join the 1st Army on its Long March, ten to travel with their units, and 20 made up into a special company. But they all shared the tribulations of the March.

The memory of crossing the marshes still brings tears to Liu Ying's eyes. "My heart broke many times as I saw my comrades screaming and struggling as they

sank in the mire," she recalls.

Xie Fei was only 14 when she joined the revolution, and it was three short months after arriving at the Central Soviet Area that she was picked by the First Front Army.

"We had no idea what we were heading for," she says. "We put on our straw sandals and set off. For us city people the March was an unbelievable struggle."

The women involved were by no means pampered city butterflies. Many came from the lowest social strata, about half were childbrides who had been mistreated by their in-laws and endured feudal customs on their flesh.

Others suffered at the hands of the Kuomintang forces right after the Great Revolution (1925-27). Liu Ying's first husband was killed by Chiang Kai-shek's troops and Xie Fei's three brothers, all Communists, were also slaughtered.

These women joined the Red Army with a palpable hatred of the reactionary forces and a deep commitment to their cause. This as much as anything equipped them to come through the trial of those months.

"I'll never forget the awful experience of crossing those marshes," says Xie. "We spent seven days and seven nights there in the drizzling rain. We saw not another soul the whole time. We had almost nothing to eat and only dirty water from the marshes to drink." Troops who had crossed before the First had lived on the wild vegetation and had stripped the place clean of edible matter.

Her voice cracking with emotion, Xie remembers that He Zizhen, Mao's wife, lost her food just as they entered the marshlands and had to live on others' handouts. "At night we had to sleep sitting," says Xie. "It'll never leave me."

By the time the First reached the Dadu River, Xie who had lost her

belongings in a bombing raid, was so ill she literally crawled across the chain bridge over the Dadu.

The women did not have to fight as the men did; their duties were to propagandize, give the masses "explanations" as they passed and to do the nursing. But their suffering was no less than the fighting men's.



Xie Fei (left) and Liao Siguang in 1948.

Of the 30 women in the First, five gave birth during the March. He Zizhen, Mao's wife, was one of these. The shortage of horses meant that even pregnant women walked. Liao Siguang who marched with Xie was allowed a horse only for the last month of her pregnancy, and another, Zeng Yu, plodded on until the very day of her birthing.

All the newborn babies were given away to local people at the time. "I doubt a single one, including Mao and He's daughter, survived those terrible days" says Liu.

Four or five of the women completed the March entirely on foot. Yang Houzhen marched on her bound feet! Practically none of the women menstruated normally for months after the end of the March.

Having survived the Long March many of the 30 women lost their lives in the ensuing upheavals. Two women, Wu Fulian and Wang Quanyuan were set to lead the 1,300—strong women's Pioneer Regiment of the Fourth Front Army. In a battle with KMT cavalry Wu was killed. Wang was wounded and captured, but she managed to escape, and begged her way back to Jiangxi, her

hometown. She is now a farmer and in 1982 came to Beijing for a reunion of fellow revolutionaries.

Jin Weiyong, who was married to Deng Xiaoping, and Liu Qunxian, who was head of the women's department of the CPC Central Committee, were sent to the Soviet Union for medical treatment after the Long March. Contact with them was lost during the Second World War and they were never heard of again.

Xie Fei was married to Liu Shaoqi (who later became Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and a target of the "cultural revolution") for six years before their divorce. But, during the "cultural revolution," she was put under house arrest for six years for being Liu's ex-wife.

Of the original 30 only 14 are still alive. The elements that kept them going through the Long March have kept them going ever since. At the time their unshakable confidence in the ultimate victory of their cause, and the support they gave each other gave them courage, it still does. "We always believed the darkness was only temporary" says Liu Ying. ■



## Audio and Video Companies Mushroom

"RENMIN RIBAO"

(People's Daily)

Before 1982 there were just two companies in China publishing stereophonic tape recordings and tape cassettes. There were no video recordings. But over the past few years the number of audio and video undertakings has increased rapidly to 72, which have been approved by the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television. In addition, 54 publishers have been allowed by the State Publications Administration to produce audio and video recordings as well as books.

In total, 1,824 different cassette recordings in 72 million copies went into circulation in 1985, up from about 5 million in 1982. Now China-made labels have a prominent presence in a market formerly swamped by products made overseas.

In 1985, China published more than 400 educational tape recordings in English, French, Russian, German, Japanese, Esperanto, Arabic and Greek. Some English-language recordings were made for personnel in specific fields, some for children in schools and kindergartens. In general, recordings for teaching purposes are in great demand. For example, the Shanghai Audio and Video Foreign Languages Publishing House produced an English cassette recording for middle school students last year, its circulation reaching about 500,000.

Music makes up most of the cassette recording business, popular songs and light music comprising about 50 percent of sales though only one-third of the number of recordings. There are another 1,200 cassettes of Chinese and overseas classical music, national and folk music and musical arts, drama and opera,

and educational cassettes. Recordings of popular songs and music meet the tastes of young people, though their contents are not always as good as they might be.

The demand for cassette recordings of classical music and of folk music with new ideas is growing all the time. Recordings of inferior or outdated popular music and songs are unmarketable, indicating changes in people's interests that the industry must keep up with.

Copyright trade and the import of fine musical recordings from abroad are now commonplace. Nearly 2 million cassettes and discs were imported in 1985, involving more than 1,000 different labels.

The production of video tapes is still weak due to problems in stage art and inadequate resources. At one time China had about 40,000 video tape projection teams with more than 10 million viewers daily. Now more and more closed circuit televisions have appeared and some households have begun to purchase video projectors of their own. So the prospects for videos are good.

Video tapes can also be used to record lessons and lectures given by good teachers. Chinese experts in education have come to the

conclusion that the use of video tapes for teaching is superior to traditional methods and students learn better. Therefore, the full utilization of video tapes is an ideal way to speed up education and raise teaching standards in the course of the four modernizations.

The use of video recordings to spread advanced techniques also can produce quick results. Within the next two years, the State Scientific and Technological Commission plans to develop 100 categories of complete sets of equipment and to establish 500 model enterprises, and train 200,000 technicians for the rural areas, under the so-called "Spark Programme." Audio and video products will become the "sparkplug," so to speak.

Apart from young people, audio and video tapes must also meet the needs of people of different ages and from different walks of life. China has tens of millions of retired people and 800 million rural dwellers. They are also eager to have a rich cultural life.

There is no denying the fact that some unhealthy trends have emerged in the industry, such as putting economic return before social need, poor quality, vulgar themes and copyright disputes. But provided departments concerned can learn from their experiences and overcome shortcomings, the recording industry should develop healthily.

## Big Changes for Woman Workers

"ZHONGGUO FUNU BAO"

(Chinese Women News)

Since the economic reform began, a number of changes have taken place in the status and mental outlook of women, especially middle-aged and younger women. This conclusion emerged from a sample survey of more than 230,000 women. The

first such survey since the founding of New China, it was carried out by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in 12 municipalities and provinces.

Woman workers have become a decisive force in all trades and professions. They number 43 million, making up about 36 percent of the total workforce, and 72 times the number of women

working in the immediate post-liberation period. Women formerly worked mainly in the textile and light industries, in the service trades, and in cultural, educational and medical establishments. They are now found in every field of work. The survey indicated that the number of female workers in textiles, tailoring, services trades and the medical profession accounted for 50 percent of the total. Eighty-one percent of them attended senior or junior middle school, 8 percent more than among male workers.

According to the survey, women workers are participating in the economic reform with immense enthusiasm. In Gansu and Jiangxi provinces, more than 10,000 suggestions for improvements to enterprises were put forward by about 7,000 female workers. So far, more than 2,000 of these suggestions have been adopted.

Large numbers of women with intelligence and wisdom have found ways of putting their abilities to good use. For instance, 20 percent of the directors and managers elected democratically in Wuhan city, the capital of Hubei Province, are women; and over the past three years 42 women in Guangzhou have been promoted to directors and managers. In the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone they number several hundred.

In the wake of the economic reform, more and more female workers are studying with great keenness. This is because they feel that if they don't raise their cultural levels as quickly as possible they will lose out in the future.

To the question "what's your idea of a happy family," most women surveyed answered they thought the contributions of family members to society should also be taken into consideration in judging whether a family is happy or not. This demonstrates that modern Chinese women are not satisfied to be only virtuous wives

and mothers but seek self-perfection and self-emancipation. On the issue of choosing a spouse, they have different views than before. Most women stress the importance of a man's ability at work. Most also felt the ideal husband should be caring and considerate towards others.

In answering the question "what kind of wife do you hope to become," more than 60 percent said they wished to be competent

wives both in the family and at work.

The survey also indicated that with the improvement of living standards and with the wives and husbands sharing household chores, more than 50 percent of the women no longer carry alone the heavy burden of cooking, washing and nursing. In their leisure time they read, go dancing or take part in various recreational and sports activities.

## 'Cultural Revolution': The Lighter Side

**"BEIJING WANBAO"**  
(Beijing Evening News)

Twenty years is a short time. I still recall an incident at the start of the "cultural revolution" in 1966. One day the "red guards" decided to call a meeting to criticize the "persons in power" at my school. I was the headmaster, so as one of the targets of criticism. I was obliged to attend at the appointed time. Unfortunately I was one minute late. As a punishment for being late, the leader of the rebels ordered me to shout out a revolutionary slogan immediately, or else show that I was against the "cultural revolution."

But what should I do? confused, I cried, "Smash my dog's head!" the words slipped out from

my tongue. Liking this idea, the "Red Guards" repeated after me over and over again, "Smash my dog's head! Smash my dog's head!" The shouting died away when they realized what they were saying. Their leader, embarrassed, promptly changed the slogan to "we won't smash our dog's heads!"

Following this, I was censured for "spreading poisonous ideas" and for plotting against them. I was told to admit that I was trying to stab them in the back. However, before I could open my mouth, they began shouting: "Don't let the person in power plot against us! Don't let the person in power shoot us in the back!" and "If the person in power won't surrender, we will wipe him out!"

And so it went on. After 20 years the sounds of those slogans still ring in my ears. ■



Attitudes to New Things.

# The Beauty of Sichuan Batik

Compared with other batik made in other parts of China, batik from Zigong in southwest China's Sichuan Province stands out for its old-fashioned, graceful and folkloric patterns.

Zigong batik with traditional patterns that stand for good fortune are used as bed-sheets, quilt covers, curtains, tapestries, aprons, cushion covers, bags and handkerchiefs. One pattern has three kinds of fruit—peach, which stands for longevity, pomegranate for fertility and fingered citron good luck. Fish is a common theme because the word "fish" (*yu*) has the same pronunciation as "surplus." Carp among lotus symbolizes new progress every year, for carps that can jump the Dragon Gate, which spans the Yellow River, will according to legend become dragons. Thus the carp became a symbol for progress. Phoenix and peonies mean good luck. Magpies and plum blossoms stand for happiness, and melons a symbol for prosperity.

During the 5th and the 6th

centuries (the Southern and Northern dynasties) batik clothing was popular among both the rich and the poor. During the 6th and 7th centuries (the Sui Dynasty), however, batik was used to make imperial clothing with quality material and improved patterns. During the Tang Dynasty (7th to 10th centuries) thanks to the developed culture, batik techniques became very sophisticated. It is said the purple belt with white spots on the present-day Japanese kimono originated in Sichuan Province during the 8th century.

Some of the ancient printing and dyeing methods are still used today. Zigong's Dyeing Art Factory produces batik with three different techniques—tying, picking and guarding. All handmade by skilled workers, the batik has retained its distinct style.

In the tying group, the workers thread patterns on white cotton cloth or raw silk fabric with white thread. They then tighten the thread, making loose or tight knots on the material. This work

requires much patience and manual dexterity. Because each batik worker modifies the original design, no two pieces are the same. Some complicated batiks such as the tapestry Panda and Bamboo (See picture 1) take six days to tie the knots, while a handkerchief with a simple design can take only 10 minutes.

The knotted material is then heated in a dyeing vat with blue dye for some time. After it is removed from the vat, the material is dried and ironed. The tied part, which was not touched by the dye, remains white or pale blue. The remainder part is a deep blue. The tied batik resembles traditional Chinese painting, distinguishing it from other types of batik.

Another technique, known as picking, involves starched dyes that are painted on a piece of blue or red cloth. After being baked and steamed dry, the colour on the starched parts comes off, leaving those parts white (See picture 2).

Picture 1.



Picture 2.



Guard dyeing involves a traditional technique using starch made from lime and vegetable dyes. The patterns are drawn on a white cloth with the starch, then soaked in a cold dyeing vat. The starched part stays the original colour of the cloth (See picture 3).

Today ancient batik has taken

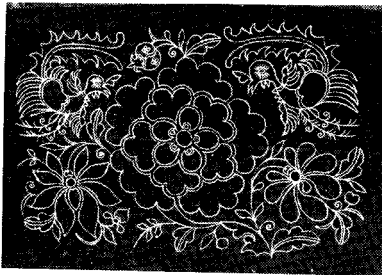




Picture 3.

on a fresh look, for new techniques have been introduced. For instance, instead of charcoal, steam is used for heating, and the enamel dyeing vat has been replaced with a stainless steel vat. Also, in addition to the traditional indigo blue, purple, light purple, rose, crimson, pink, yellow and brown are now used. Sometimes different shades of one colour are used for a batik. Besides vegetable dyes, chemical dyes are used for making the colours even richer. And, batik is also now made with silk and corduroy. The hand-painting method that had been out of use for several hundred years has also been restored. In this technique, a sharpened bamboo pen is used to draw patterns with lime before guard dyeing. (See picture 4).

Picture 4.



The 63-year-old chief designer of the Zigong factory, Zhang Yuzhong, is the most renowned batik artist in the city. He became interested in batik when as an art student. Ever since, he has been collecting material on the various techniques. After seeing the 5th or 6th century red printed and dyed spun silk batiks excavated in

Xinjiang in 1959, and the Tang Dynasty brown printed and dyed spun silk unearthed from an ancient tomb in Turpan in Xinjiang in 1969 and other materials, Zhang fused the traditional Zigong techniques with the others. Later he authored several essays and in July 1985 published *Sichuan Printing and Dyeing* with many illustrations. The batik he designed have been exhibited in Philadelphia and Hong Kong. ■

## Progress in Quakes Studies

China has achieved remarkable progress in its seismological studies since the 1976 Tangshan earthquake, which took 240,000 lives, said Chen Yong, deputy director of the State Seismological Bureau last July.

China suffers from frequent continental earthquakes. It was the first country to make a successful prediction of a major tremor when it predicted a 7.3-magnitude Richter scale quake that occurred in Haicheng, Liaoning Province, in early February of 1975, Chen said.

However, he said the Chinese seismic workers failed to forecast the 7.8-magnitude 1976 Tangshan quake.

"The quake gave us an unforgettable lesson. It also inspired us to work harder," Chen said.

Over the decade, he said, China has set up a large number of earthquake observation and monitoring stations to carry out studies on a variety of topics including seismic geology and crust exploration.

These stations have accumulated rich data, compiled a map of the country's earthquake zones and successfully predicted a number of quakes above the intermediate level, he said."

At the same time, Chen added,

these stations have made or are making earthquake forecasts for large and medium-sized cities as well as zones opened to foreign investment. Remarkable social and economic results have been achieved in urban and economic construction by providing short-term predictions and other data.

So far, China has established 460 quake observation stations, employing more than 15,000 professional workers. Stations have also been set up in 446 prefectures, cities and counties manned by more than 3,100 people. In addition, there are more than 10,000 amateur observers throughout the country.

By the end of 1985, Chen said, China had invested more than 40 million yuan for the building of six large telemetric seismological networks. The Beijing network, made up of more than 40 observation stations, covers an area of about 30,000 square kilometres, he added.

At the same time, 12 smaller networks have also been set up in the country to monitor seismic activities in areas where quakes are most frequent.

Chen said nine advanced numerical observation stations will be put into trial operation within this year, and the Beijing-Tianjin-Tangshan network, funded by the United Nations development programme, will go into operation next year.

Over the past three years, he said, his bureau has carried out 145 research programmes for large and medium-sized construction projects including the Qinshan Nuclear Power Plant in Zhejiang Province and the Ertan Power Station in Sichuan Province. ■



# Yan Breaks the Silence of the Pool

The swimming pool at the 10th Asian Games, which started on September 20 in Seoul, saw a Chinese "blonde" girl splash home with three golds in the women's 400-metre medley individual event, the 400-metre free style and the 800-metre free style, leading the Chinese squad to break a silence they have kept for years. China only got three golds in swimming at the last Asiad in New Delhi.

Yan Ming is a competition athlete, often bettering her own time in a fierce competition. In last April's swimming tournament at Chengdu, Sichuan Province, though Yan got only a silver, behind the GDR's world butterfly champion, by a narrow margin of 0.79 seconds in the 400-metre

medley, she took seven seconds off China's national record in this event at 4'55"76. In the Asiad, she improved her 400-metre medley with 4'52"43. Her time in the 800-metre free style is now better than the sixth world best.

Coach Yan Jinling puts much of her success down to her purity. She is devoid of any so-called "oriental jealousy" and does not envy those better than herself. The coach said he was surprised and very moved when he saw Yan Ming congratulating her teammate Li Wenhua on breaking Yan's national record last April in the 200-metre free style.

Seventeen-year-old Yan Ming, from China's northeastern city of Qiqihar in Heilongjiang Province, told reporters she started to swim

ten years ago at the age of seven. Within three years she had mastered the four styles of butterfly, breast stroke, back stroke and free style. For the next seven years she was taught by her present coach Yan Jinling. Yan commented, "For an amateur, swimming is a form of entertainment, but for an athlete, swimming is a daily battle against monotony, fatigue, boredom and lack of oxygen in the body.

"Yan is shy and reserved, but goes all out to fulfil her training schedules," Coach Yan said, "I can't punish her as I do others. She is still a child."

Yan Ming was not born into a well-off family. Her mother was the only bread-winner in her five-member family. Her father was confined to bed for many years before he died two years ago. When she returned from her father's funeral, 15-year-old Yan was even more quiet and determined, said Yan Jinling.

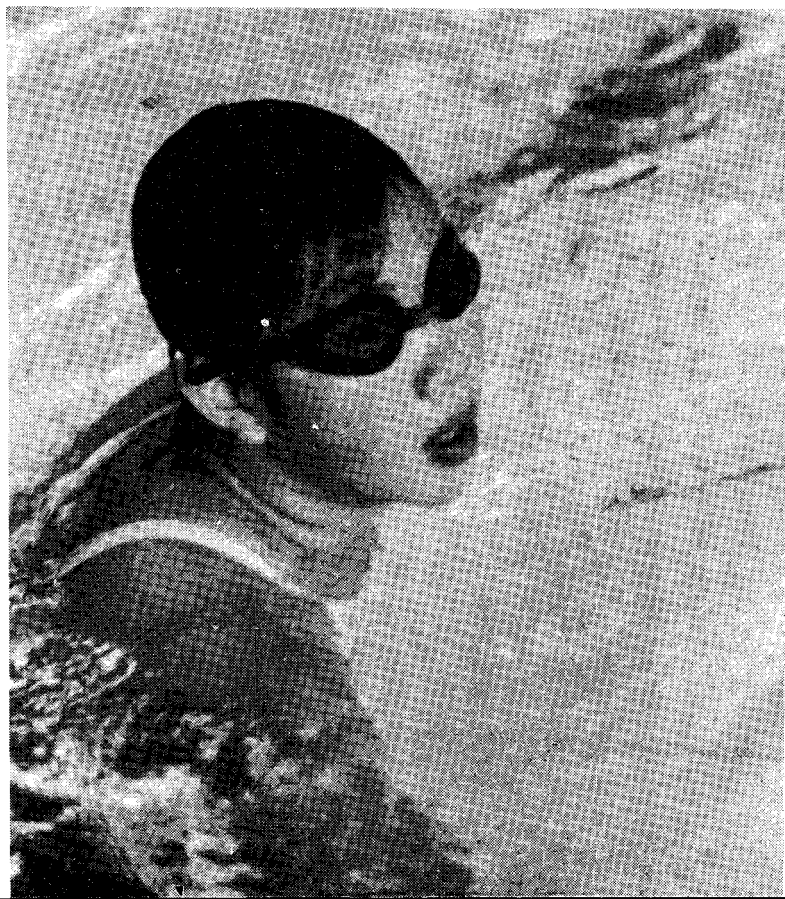
In April last year, she reaped her first big reward when she broke two national records in the 400-metre and 800-metre free styles in Wuhan, Hubei Province. Four months later she broke her own 400-metre free style record and also the 200-metre free style national record. It was not until she had put her name to all the national free style records—200, 400, 800, and 1500 metres that she gained a place on the national swimming team.

When people mention her "blonde" hair, few know that her hair was once pitch black but turned to light brown from being so long in the water.

Usually she swims 100,000 metres a week. During training last winter, she covered a distance of 1,730 kilometres, about the same as the direct distance between Beijing and Guangzhou.

Yang Ming.

LI XIAO GUO





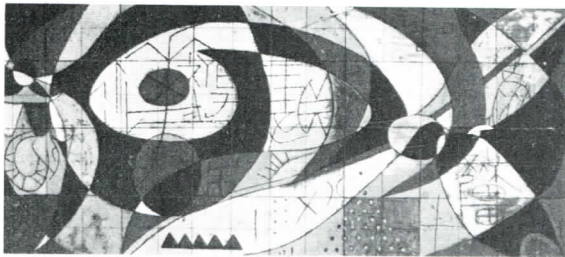
Daughter of Sun God From Ancient Fairy Tale.

## Frescoes by Li Huaji and Quan Zhenghuan

Li Huaji, 55, and his wife Quan Zhenghuan, 54, were both born in Beijing. Li teaches at the Central Academy of Fine Arts and Quan at the Central Academy of Arts and Crafts.

The two artists try to use both Chinese and foreign artistic techniques to create distinctive work of their own. Their frescoes mostly depict scenes from Chinese history, fairy tales and legends.

### ART PAGE



Design Based on Glazed Pottery of Ancient China.



The Cowboy and the Maiden Weaver. (part of fresco only.)



Dance in Praise of China, a traditional Chinese dance. (part only.)

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