

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

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November 10, 1986

## USSR Vs. USA in Regional Clashes



**ANCIENT TUJIA PEOPLE TRANSFORMED**





A tourist hotel run by farmers in suburban Wuxi.



Trying out a traditional waterwheel.



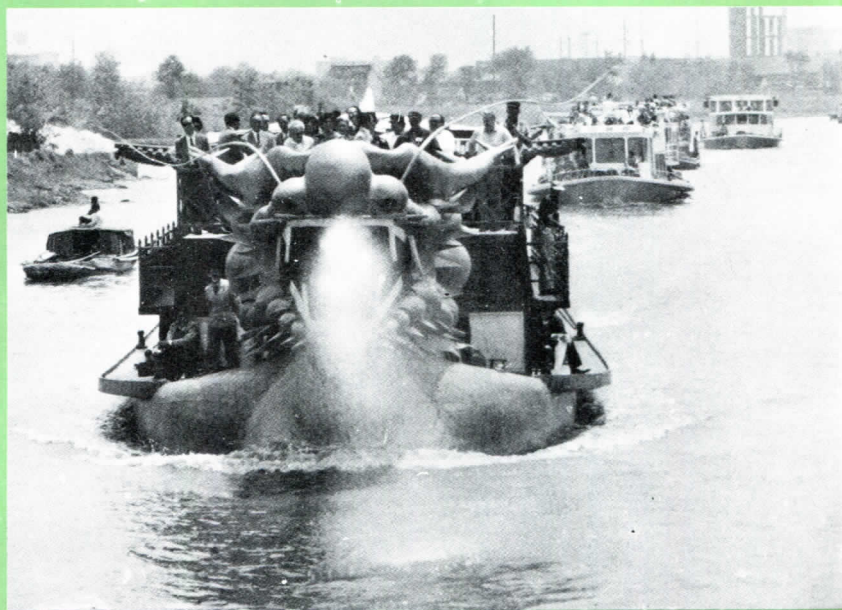
A bird's-eye view of Lake Taihu and the city can be had from the top of the pagoda on Luding Hill.

## SPOTLIGHT

### Tourist Boom in Wuxi

Wuxi, situated in the middle of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River Delta, used to be a trade and commercial centre in southern Jiangsu Province. But now it has become a flourishing tourist resort with exhilarating mountain scenery, lakes and numerous sites of historical interest.

*Photos by Jin Yaowen and Xu Xiangjun*



Overseas tourists get a taste of imperial life putting on clothes worn by emperors and empresses.

A trip by boat on the Grand Canal gives one a feel for the lifestyle and customs of local people.



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COVER: Two Tujia girls discuss  
brocade.

Gao Mingyi

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### See-saw in Regional Conflicts

■ The Reagan Administration is pursuing a policy of regional conflict in an attempt to push back Soviet advances made in the 1970s. The Kremlin is responding with flexible and cautious tactics to consolidate its gains. But the basic pattern of their relations—confrontation combined with negotiations—remains unchanged (p 14).

### Continued Dialogue After Reykjavik

■ An examination of US-Soviet relations since the Reykjavik summit: the causes of tension and the reasons for their continued dialogue (p 10).

### Sun Yat-sen Inspires His Successors

■ On the 120th anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth, NOTES FROM THE EDITORS looks at Sun's advocacy of reform through revolution, opening to the outside world, and preserving the country's unity. Inspired by Sun's spirit, Chinese Party and state leaders now propose a third CPC-KMT co-operation, advancing the formula "one country, two systems" for China's reunification (p 19).

### Contract System Fares Well in Anyang

■ Anyang, one of the industrial cities selected to test the contract labour system three years ago, has proved the system's worth. Breaking the "iron rice bowl," it has encouraged hard work and punished the lazy. It has introduced a healthy mobility of labour, and advanced the training of the city's industrial workers (p 23).

### Economic Reforms Reach the Tujias

■ Located in a remote region in Hubei Province, the Tujia national minority has long been neglected and is very backward. Nevertheless, the economic reforms have caught up with the Tujias, and amazing changes are now taking place (p 26).

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# Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Message for Today

by Our Special Commentator Wang Qi

November 12 this year is the 120th anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth. There is still inspiration to be drawn from this great patriot and pioneer of China's democratic revolution.

Dr. Sun lived at a time when China was being cruelly oppressed by feudal forces and covetously eyed by imperialist powers. In the hope of making China powerful and bringing peace and happiness to its people, young Sun submitted a written statement to Li Hongzhang, a Qing official in charge of diplomatic, military and economic affairs. In it he advocated the goals of full realization of people's talents, full utilization of land and material resources and an efficient system for the circulation of goods. Sun soon realized, however, how futile it was to expect a reform from the corrupt Qing Court. He thus turned to revolution.

Determined throughout to transform China, Sun experienced repeated failures that sapped his energies, but he never lost heart. He fought on till his last gasp.

After the Qing Court was overthrown by the 1911 Revolution, Dr. Sun became president of the provisional government in Nanjing. During his three-month term of office, he promulgated more than 30 decrees, including the abolition of interrogation by torture and of corporeal punishment, the protection of people's equality, a complete ban on officials' bending the law for the benefit of their relatives or friends, and the abolition of the feudal hierarchic forms of address. These decrees also discouraged foot-binding, encouraged the cutting of pigtails, and abolished the teach-

ing of Confucian classics to school children.

At Sun's insistence, the provisional constitution of the Republic of China included this significant article: The sovereignty of the Republic of China belongs to all citizens. This was the first time in China's long history that such an article was included in its constitution. These revolutionary and democratic decrees were not implemented however. The provisional constitution enacted under the guidance of Dr. Sun was overturned by northern warlord Yuan Shikai. But that progressive spirit and Sun's courage inspired his contemporaries and successive generations to continue the struggle for reform.

After China's defeat in the Opium War, progressive Chinese looked for truth from Western countries. Dr. Sun was one of the earliest. His footprints were found in Europe, America and Japan, whose social and political systems he studied and where he delved into the works of bourgeois enlightenment thinkers and early socialists. He saw both the superiority of capitalism over the feudal system and the social evils which capitalism itself entailed. Therefore, while calling for the establishment of a bourgeois republic, he built into his scheme measures to regulate capital and equalize land ownership. He considered communism "the best friend of 'the doctrine of people's livelihood.'"

Dr. Sun maintained that the world of today is open and no country can prosper by closing its doors to the outside world. So long as it keeps its sovereignty in its own hands, a country can use foreign capital, professionals, technology and equipment without fear.

As part of saving China, Dr. Sun consistently emphasized

safeguarding the country's unity. As early as 1906, he noted that imperialist powers are seeking to devour China. If revolutionary forces are divided and fight each other, he asked, how would they avoid causing subjugation of their own country. Noble-minded patriots have feared that China would be carved up by outsiders. But definitely they could not succeed; my fear, he said, is that the Chinese themselves become dis-united. It would then be impossible to save China.

Dr. Sun asserted that China had always been one nation since the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC). The Chinese nation did not tend to split because of the powerful centripetal force.

After the 1911 Revolution, Sun repudiated the separationist tendencies of the warlords, saying that it was utterly absurd. "Those who advocate splitting China are undoubtedly careerists."

Today, people on the mainland of China are striving for material modernization and an advanced culture and ideology. All Chinese who love their motherland hope that there will be early peaceful reunification between Taiwan and the mainland. The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state have repeatedly proposed a third CPC-KMT co-operation. They have put forward the concept of "one country, two systems." These have gained increasing support from Chinese at home and abroad. We hope that an early end will be put to the confrontation across the Taiwan Straits and that dialogue will begin to bring about friendly exchange of mails, trade and air and shipping services across the straits. At that point, we can boldly proclaim to the world as our common cause: "Reunify the motherland and rejuvenate China." ■

\* The author is chief editor of the *Tuanjie Bao*, organ of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.





China's top Party and government leaders—Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian—pay their last respects to Marshal Ye Jianying on October 29.

## Condolences on the Death of Marshal Ye

**A** memorial meeting for Ye Jianying, the great proletarian revolutionary, was held on October 29 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

More than 5,000 soldiers and civilians from across the country, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao gathered in Beijing to honour the memory of Marshal Ye Jianying and pay him their last respects.

Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party and chairman of the Central Military Commission, presided over the service. Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the memorial speech.

All of China's top Party and government leaders and senior

army officers attended the memorial service.

A memorial ceremony was also held on the same day in Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. Five thousand people from all walks of life went to the hall of the provincial government to tender their condolences on Ye's death. In Ye's native town in Meixian County, Guangdong Province, more than 25,000 people attended memorial meetings from October 22 to 29.

The offices of all Chinese organizations in Hong Kong flew flags at half-mast to pay tribute to Marshal Ye. More than 4,700 Hong Kong residents and visitors went to the Hong Kong branch of the Xinhua News Agency to present their condolences.

Government and party leaders of many foreign countries have also sent in messages expressing

their sorrow at Ye's death.

Articles in honour of Ye Jianying have been carried by the main Chinese newspapers. Some were written by government and army leaders, including Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian and Xi Zhongxun.

These articles recalled Ye's glorious life—his heroic deeds in war years and the important contributions he made to the Party, the state and the army, especially the great role he played in the Party's struggle against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "cultural revolution."

On October 31, Ye's ashes was carried to Guangzhou in line with the wishes of his relatives. It will be placed in the former Guangzhou Peasant Movement Institute for some time before being moved to the Honghuagang Cemetery of Revolutionary Martyrs. ■

## Peace — Keynote of Hermannsson's Visit

China prefers international dialogue to confrontation, veteran Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping told visiting Icelandic Prime Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson on October 28.

Deng said, "Talks are always better than no talks. Relaxation is better than tension. The overwhelming majority of the people in the world long for peace. Whoever launches a war would not win support, even from his allies. So peace can be expected."

Hermannsson said he agreed with Deng's view, adding that dialogue was very important in handling state-to-state relations, and that Iceland, which hosted the recent Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting, regarded it as its responsibility and right to work with other peace-loving countries



Deng Xiaoping meets Steingrimur Hermannsson.

QI TIEYAN

to safeguard world peace. He said he was optimistic about the prospects for peace.

Deng replied that safeguarding peace was the core of China's foreign policy. But to preserve peace, it was necessary to oppose

hegemonism.

Hermannsson also told Deng that his country was interested in strengthening co-operation with China. To this, Deng replied that there was no obstacle to the growth of co-operation between

## Graxi's China Visit Stresses Friendship

The exchange of visits by the leaders of China and Italy not only demonstrates the sound political relations between the two countries, but also promotes the development of their bilateral economic and technical co-operation, remarked Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang in a speech he made on October 31 at a banquet in honour of Bettino Graxi, the first Italian government head ever to visit China.

Bettino Graxi arrived in Beijing on October 30 for an official visit.

In his speech, Zhao noted that China and Italy have witnessed the rapid development of friendly relations in various fields since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1970, especially in recent

years. He paid tribute to Italy for its open attitude towards technological transfers to China, and its positive policy of providing loans on favourable terms and donations to China.

In his toast, Graxi said Italy-China relations are based on a profound friendship; both countries are willing to make full use of their potential on the basis of mutual benefit. "Contacts between the leaders and people in the economic, scientific and cultural circles of the two countries in recent years have widened the common ground in their efforts and goals," Graxi added.

In their toasts, both Zhao and Graxi touched on world peace. Having praised Italy for its positive contributions to the promotion of European unity, relaxation of tension, disarmament and the maintenance of

peace and stability in the Mediterranean area and the world as a whole, Zhao said that although international tension has been eased to a certain extent, the arms race between the two superpowers is still going on and regional conflicts still exist, threatening world peace.

He urged the Soviet Union and the United States, which have special responsibilities for disarmament as they have the largest nuclear and conventional arsenals, to stop their arms race and take the lead in drastically reducing their arsenals.

He expressed regret that the Soviet and US leaders failed to reach any agreement during their recent summit in Iceland. "We hope they will continue their dialogue to reach an agreement on disarmament, without prejudice to the interests of other countries



China and Iceland and that it was his hope it would continue to develop.

Meeting Hermannsson on the same day, Chinese President Li Xiannian urged the United States and the Soviet Union to achieve something positive through serious negotiation so that the people of the world could "breathe easily." He said the Chinese people and people everywhere desired peace and development above all else.

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang met Hermannsson on October 27. The two prime ministers expressed satisfaction with the development of Sino-Icelandic relations and noted that there is still great potential for co-operation between the two countries in many fields, and pledged to further their trade, economic and technical co-operation.

Hermannsson told Zhao that Iceland is concerned about world peace and fully supports efforts to preserve it through disarmament, including nuclear disarmament.

and conducive to world peace," he added.

Graxi said that it is comforting that Italy and China are working towards a common goal—the strengthening of peace and

"On the issue of peace, all countries, big or small, have their rights and responsibilities," the Icelandic prime minister said.

Zhao Ziyang said China needs a peaceful international environment whereby to work towards modernization, and that China's pursuit of an independent and peaceful foreign policy will not only help in its relations with other countries, but will contribute to world peace and stability.

China's basic goals are the prevention of war and the safeguarding of world peace. It therefore stands for the easing of East-West relations and for disarmament so that the people of the world may benefit, Zhao added.

"China supports all proposals and actions that help maintain world peace, prevent war and promote the relaxation of tension and disarmament," he said.

Hermannsson arrived in Beijing on October 27 after visiting Shenzhen, Guilin, Hangzhou and Xian.

international co-operation—in a world full of conflict and tension.

He was cited as saying to Zhao during their talks on the morning of the same day, "If world peace depended on China and Italy

## News in Brief

**C**hina has decided to establish a "National Social Sciences Fund" to subsidize studies in important, new and frontier subjects.

The fund is mainly supported by the state. It also receives donations from individuals and organizations at home and abroad. The first state allocation will be 5 million yuan.

**T**he number of China's cities will reach 400 by 1990 from the present 324, according to the ministry in charge of urban and rural construction. Residential space in urban areas will increase by a margin of 650 million square metres.

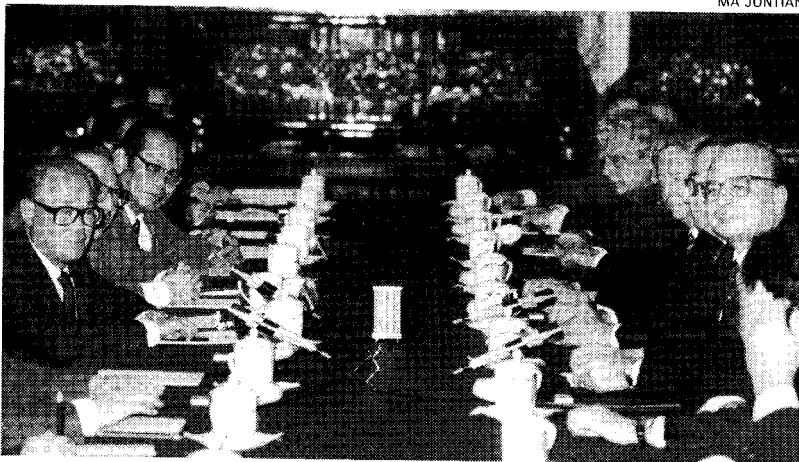
And the state will invest 45 billion yuan on urban construction in the next five years.

**L**ang Ping, ex-spiker of the Chinese women's volleyball team, gave a wedding party on October 30 to about 100 guests in the Beijing Hotel.

Lang, 26, will enter the Beijing Normal University to study English after the wedding. The 27-year-old groom Bai Fan now works for the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission.

Premier Zhao Ziyang holds talks with visiting Italian Prime Minister Bettino Graxi.

MA JUNTIAN



## China & the World

**Li Meets New Ambassadors to China.** On October 30 Chinese President Li Xiannian met new ambassadors to China from 14 countries—Lesotho, Mongolia, Burma, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Kenya, Bolivia, Argentina, Iraq, Algeria, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland and Brazil.

Also present at the meeting was the newly-appointed ambassador of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beijing.

**Notes on Sino-Japanese Youth Exchange Centre Exchanged.** Chinese Assistant Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Shen Jueren and Japanese Ambassador to China Yosuke Nakae exchanged notes in Beijing on October 30 on a projected Sino-Japanese youth exchange centre, which will provide facilities for the education and training of young people, and for scientific, technological and cultural activities.

**Xinjiang Concludes Trade Contracts With Soviet Union.** Northwest China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous region has signed trade contracts with the Soviet Union worth US\$4 million this year.

Xinjiang is to export thermosflasks, dresses, flashlights and brushes to the Soviet Union. The two sides have also agreed to hold export commodity exhibitions in 1987.

alone, their would be no problem.”

Graxi also expressed the belief that peace should be sought not only by easing existing conflicts and striving for balanced arms reduction, but also in down-to-earth and frank international co-operation, more co-ordinated development of international relations, and more respect for human rights and the interests of ordinary people.

The Italian prime minister also

met CPC Central Advisory Committee Chariman Deng Xiaoping, Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Chinese President Li Xiannian.

During their respective talks with Graxi, Deng explained to his guest the basic goals of China's political reform as bringing full vitality to government bodies, overcoming bureaucracy and enhancing the enthusiasm of grass-roots units and the broad masses, while Hu told Graxi that China is willing to co-operate with

## Vice-Premier Tian Visits ASEAN

**C**hinese Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun was delighted to find that China and the ASEAN countries hold similar or identical views on many major international issues, especially issues concerning peace and stability in the Southeastern Asian region, during a two-week tour of Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand.

The Kampuchean issue and bilateral trade and economic co-operation figured prominently in his talks with the leaders of the four nations, all of whom agreed to continue to support the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. This support will be maintained until the Kampuchean people are victorious in their patriotic struggle against Vietnamese aggression.

**Singapore.** During his October 11-14 visit, Tian held talks with Singapore Acting Minister for Trade and Industry Brigadier-General Lee Hsien Loong on new ways to broaden economic co-operation between the two countries. They studied the possibility of China raising loans on the Singapore capital market, and of constructing a power plant in China with financial help from Singapore. They also discussed payment by China in the form of coal or other commodities.

Economic co-operation between China and Singapore has gathered momentum in the last few years. Trade figures for the first half of 1986 indicate that last year's figure of US\$2.7 billion for the total two-way trade is likely to be equalled or surpassed this year.

Goh Chok Tong, first deputy prime minister of Singapore told his Chinese guest at a dinner hosted by him that other areas where co-operation can bring benefits to both are engineering, consultancy and construction services, development and management of sea ports, airports, aircraft maintenance and tourism.

“As an international financial centre,” he said, “Singapore also welcomes China's participation in its financial and banking services.”

The Chinese vice-premier also met Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and they had talks on regional and international issues of mutual concern.

**Kuala Lumpur.** Malaysia hopes China to play a positive and constructive role in world affairs, particularly in Southeast Asia. At a dinner in honour of Tian, who arrived on October 14, Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba said: “Malaysia wants to broaden trade with China and to strengthen co-operation in joint ventures.”

While studying new avenues for bilateral co-operation, the Chinese vice-premier said China



other countries to tap China's resources.

While Graxi was in Beijing, China and Italy signed an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of income tax evasion, as well as three protocols on establishing an emergency department in a Beijing hospital, a children's nutrition centre in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, and an Italian language training centre at the University of International Business and Economics in Beijing. ■

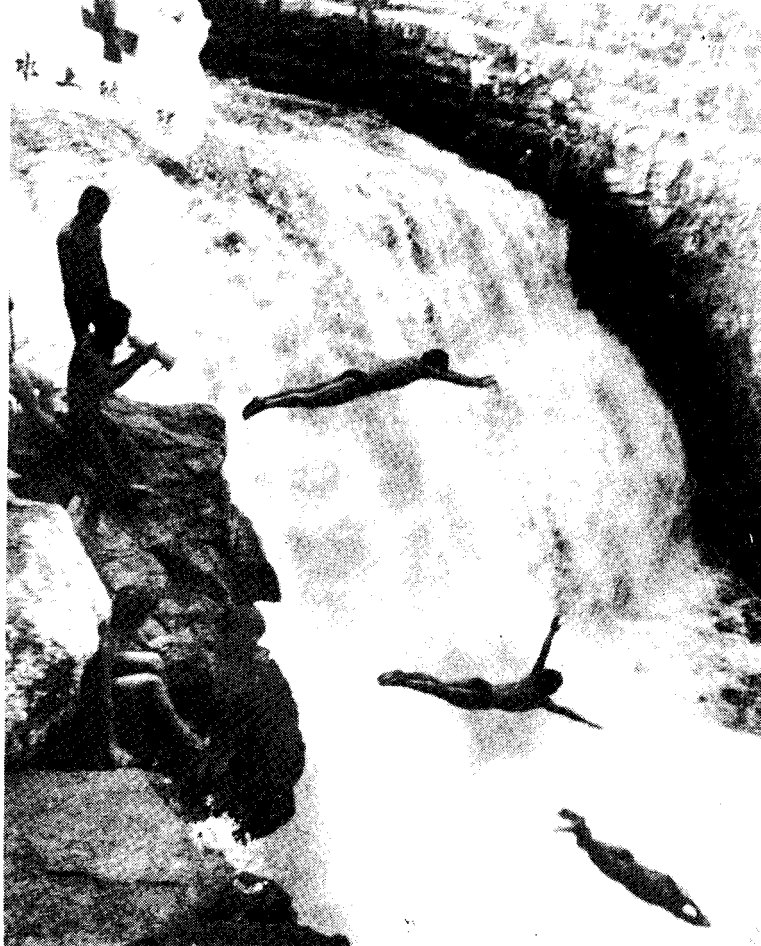
and Malaysia are friendly neighbours. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Malaysia 14 years ago has further increased the time-honoured friendship between our two countries. He told the prime minister of Malaysia that the main purpose of his visit was to try to find new ways to increase economic co-operation between the two countries.

During the visit the Chinese vice-premier heard introduction from the Malaysian side on establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and a nuclear-free zone in Southeastern Asia.

**Manila.** On October 21, Tian told reporters from the local newspapers *Malaya* and *Chronicle* that his visit had been completely successful and had helped enhance Sino-Philippine friendship. "What makes me particularly happy is that President Corazon Aquino has accepted an invitation from Chinese President Li Xiannian to visit China," he said.

Talking about China's position on the military bases of the superpowers in the ASEAN region, Tian said it was up to the governments and peoples of the countries concerned to make judgements on this question.

So far as the US military bases in the Philippines are concerned, this question should be solved through consultations between the governments of the Philippines and the United States, he



ZHANG YAXIN

## Amateur Lifeguards in Training

By the Mudan River and Lake Jingbo in northeast China, there is an amateur lifeguard team made up of swimming enthusiasts from government offices, factories and schools. They have saved more than 200 people in the last decade or more. The picture shows some of the team members in training by a waterfall near Lake Jingbo.

said. "It is my belief that the Philippine government and people can make a wise decision and appropriate arrangements to deal with this question."

Tian also urged the 1 million overseas Chinese and Filipinos of Chinese descent there to help expand economic co-operation between the two countries.

**Bangkok.** Bangkok was the last stop of Tian's four-nation tour. Meetings between Tian and Thai leaders also focused on bilateral economic co-operation. In the same friendly tone, the Chinese vice-premier said that he welcomes Thai entrepreneurs to invest in China, while Chinese enterprises are encouraged to do so in

Thailand.

Pong Sarasin, deputy prime minister of Thailand, said he appreciated China's achievements in developing its agriculture and industry. "This is a result of the open policy and the economic reforms now going on in China," he said.

He noted that Thailand and China are both developing countries and could help each other. He hoped China would purchase more products made in Thailand.

In his reply, Tian Jiyun said China wishes to have closer political consultations with Thailand, and to raise its economic co-operation with Thailand to a new level. ■

## US-SOVIET RELATIONS

**Twists and Turns After the Summit**

*US-Soviet relations since the Reykjavik summit are still characterized by both dialogue and confrontation, a situation that is likely to continue for a long time to come.*

The past three months have seen many surprising, often dramatic, turns in US-Soviet relations.

On August 23, Gennady Zakharov, a Soviet employee at the United Nations, was arrested by the US on espionage charges;

On August 30, Nicholas Daniloff, an American journalist for the *US News and World Report*, was arrested in Moscow and charged with espionage;

On September 12 the two were released into the custody of their respective embassies and later allowed to go home;

On September 17 the US expelled 25 Soviet diplomats working for the United Nations;

During the weekend of October 11-12, President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev held a summit meeting in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, with "disappointing" results;

On October 15, the first meeting since the Reykjavik summit between the US and the Soviet Union on disarmament began in Geneva;

On October 19, five American diplomats were expelled by the Soviet Union;

On October 21, the US expelled 55 Soviet diplomats in retaliation;

On October 22, the Soviet Union announced the expulsion of another five American diplomats, along with the withdrawal of 260 Soviet employees from the US embassy in Moscow and the US consulate in Leningrad;

Finally, on October 23, the US called a truce in the diplomat expulsion war.

It is clear that so far reason has prevailed in US-Soviet relations whenever there was a risk of

dangerous collision. What is it, then, that makes their relations so turbulent and, yet, at the same time, prevents them from coming to blows?

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) advanced by President Reagan in 1983 seems to be the main obstacle that stands in the way of reaching substantial agreements on nuclear disarmament between the US and the Soviet Union. During the Reykjavik summit, after mutual concessions, agreements were reached in principle on intermediate-range missiles and strategic offensive weapons, and on a nuclear test ban. The finalization of these agreements was, however, prevented by a fatal dispute over SDI. The precondition for the Soviet concessions on nuclear arms reduction was that the SDI programme must be confined to the laboratory for the next ten years. This proposal was rejected by the US, which views the SDI as a powerful bargaining chip and a defensive shield.

Following the summit came a propaganda war. Each accused the other of undermining the summit. Words like "disappointment" and "failure" filled the newspapers. But soon the tone changed. Both sides shifted the emphasis onto the brighter side of the summit. Reagan indicated that the invitation to Gorbachev to visit the US was still valid and the door to negotiation was still open. Gorbachev described the summit as "useful" and "hopeful." But then came the expulsion war.

The strong pressure for peace from the people of the world, including those in the United

States and the Soviet Union, plays a big role in keeping the two superpowers working together for a world free of nuclear weapons. The negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union are of world concern because its security is in fact in the hands of these two countries. Any achievements towards nuclear disarmament are welcome, while setbacks or deterioration in US-Soviet relations always meet with the strong opposition of world opinion. Both leaders must take into account the people's desire for peace. This is one factor containing confrontation within certain limits and keeping the negotiations going.

Another important factor is that both have domestic economic problems. The Soviet Union has long been bedevilled by the heavy burden of its huge military expenditures in the arms race with the United States, which has seriously delayed national economic development and the improvement of the living standards of the people. It cannot afford a new and more costly round of the arms race, especially one in space. According to *Baltimore Sun*, the US also has problems: its huge budget deficit and mounting debts. Therefore both sides feel a need to control the arms race. Hence the importance they attach to removing any obstacle to negotiations.

On the whole, the basic pattern of the relations between the US and the Soviet Union remains unchanged. Both suspect the other of trying to gain military superiority—this is the reason their relations sometimes go sour. Yet they do share something in common—a wish to find rules to restrain the endless arms race, which neither of them can afford.

The year 1986 has been declared a year of peace by the United Nations. The United States and the Soviet Union have the main responsibility for safeguarding world peace. At least they are now talking to each other. ■

by She Duanzhi



## JAPAN

### **New Trends in Its Relations With USSR**

*The temperature of the long-frosty relations between the Soviet Union and Japan has been rising steadily over the past year.*

October 19 was the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Japanese joint declaration and the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. They exchanged congratulatory letters and the Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister Mikhail Nikolaevich Kapitsa began a visit to Japan.

Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said on September 30 that he was eager to improve relations between his country and the Soviet Union. On the same day, the *Tokyo Shimbun* published the preface to Soviet leader Gorbachev's collected works translated into Japanese. Gorbachev said in his preface that Soviet-Japanese relations are now at a turning point, pledging to expand co-operation with Tokyo in all fields.

In July, the Soviet Union approved, after 11 years of opposition, an agreement with Japan allowing Japanese to go to the northern islands to attend the graves of soldiers killed in the last war. In his Vladivostok speech, Gorbachev put forward the idea of establishing Soviet-Japanese joint ventures. In September, negotiations were resumed on the joint exploration of Sakhalin oil and natural gas fields by the two countries. On October 15, a Japanese industrial exhibition was held in Moscow, in which more than 460 Japanese companies took part. Since last autumn, many leading figures from Japan's business and cultural circles have gone to Moscow, something that has not been seen for years.

It is well-known that the

question of the northern islands is the principal barrier to the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations. Japanese policy towards the Soviet Union aims to resolve this territorial dispute first and only then to sign a peace treaty. Japan does not intend to ignore the territorial dispute while improving economic co-operation with the Soviet Union. It insists that the return of the northern islands is of top priority. It refuses to yield an inch on the question. On the Soviet side, when the Japanese foreign minister visited the Soviet Union in May this year, Gorbachev reiterated that the northern territory dispute had already been resolved and Japan should not raise the matter again.

But recently the Soviet position has changed subtly. On September 24, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told his Japanese counterpart when they met in New York that any question could be discussed after a date for Gorbachev's visit to

Japan had been fixed. Apparently the Soviet Union no longer excludes the possibility of discussing the territorial dispute. On September 29, the Soviet ambassador to Japan said that the issue would have a positive outcome after the summit between Gorbachev and Nakasone. Then the chairman of the Council of the Soviet Press Agency said in an interview in Iceland with a reporter from *Yomiuri Shimbun* that any issues of interest to the two countries could be subjects for discussion, and any issue put forward by one side should not be ignored by the other.

Japan will only learn the real intentions of the Soviet Union when Gorbachev visits the country. Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister Kapitsa said on October 29 that the Kremlin is preparing for Gorbachev's visit to Japan, but he gave no exact date for it. The Soviet ambassador to Tokyo will return to Moscow on November 11, just two days before a Japan-Soviet working meeting in Moscow on November 13 and 14 to finalize arrangements for the pending Gorbachev's visit.

Japan hopes Gorbachev's visit will materialize before the end of next January, but the possibility of a Reagan-Gorbachev summit makes it difficult for the Soviets to decide when their leader should go to Tokyo.

by Yu Qing

## MOZAMBIQUE

### **Defending Legacy of Late President**

*The People of Mozambique are deeply mourning the tragic death of President Samora Machel, who contributed to winning and consolidating the independence of his country.*

Thousands of Mozambicans, many of them weeping, lined the streets of Maputo on the route to the Square of Heroes of

Mozambique for the funeral of President Samora Machel. About 400 foreign guests attended. Among them were Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso; Oliver Tambo, head of the African National Congress; Sam Nujoma, leader of the South West Africa People's Organization; and representatives from China, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Mozambican leaders at the funeral spoke highly of the contributions made by President Samora. A leader close to Machel in the ruling Frelimo Political Bureau, Dos Santos, described Machel's life as "merging completely with the history of the Mozambican people." Defence Minister Alberto Chipande said his troops "will always need the voice" of the political leaders who worked with and will now succeed Machel. "We will continue to make war against bandits and their masters," he said, referring to the rebels of the South Africa-backed Mozambique National Resistance Movement.

People in various African countries also expressed their sorrow on October 28, the day of the funeral. Leaders of the front-line states pledged their support for efforts to defend the legacy of Samora, and Mozambican sovereignty and territorial integrity. They said President Samora "fell victim to apartheid" and "died on a mission of struggle against apartheid and died for peace in southern Africa, for the freedom of the peoples, for the co-operation and progress of the entire region." They praised the late president as "an illustrious, selfless revolutionary fighter in the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), in the Organization of African Unity and in the non-aligned movement."

President Samora died in a plane crash near Komati-Poort in



Senior officials of Frelimo carrying Samora's coffin.

the eastern Transvaal Province of South Africa en route from the north Zambian town of Mbala to Maputo on October 19, which also killed 33 other people. Among them were Mozambican Transport and Communications Minister Alcantara Santos and Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Carlos Lopo. The cause of the accident is under investigation, but some African leaders expressed the strong suspicion that the South African regime had a hand in the "crime."

Fifty-three-year-old Samora had achieved great successes in safeguarding national independence and sovereignty, and developing the national economy of Mozambique. In foreign affairs he pursued a non-aligned policy and was one of the most active opponents of the white racist regime of South Africa. He was also an old friend of China. He visited China five times and made a big contribution to cementing

the traditional friendship between the two countries.

He enjoyed high prestige at home and abroad. His death was a great loss to the Mozambican people and the African people as a whole. At present Mozambique is still in the grip of a severe drought and hunger. The life of the Mozambican people is also made difficult by the fact that the prices of basic commodities on the world market are depressed, and the country's income from the export of cashew nuts, cotton and sugar has decreased. The anti-government Mozambique National Resistance Movement said on the day after Samora's death that it would launch a military offensive against Maputo. However, the international community has condemned their conspiratorial activities and expressed confidence that the Mozambican people can overcome their present difficulties and defend the legacy of the late president. ■

by Chang Qing



IAEA

## 'We Must Have Nuclear Energy'

*Most member countries of the International Atomic Energy Agency have now built up popular confidence in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.*

A three-day special conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) ended on September 26 after adopting two conventions to strengthen international co-operation in combating nuclear accidents. The conference was the first of its kind in the history of the IAEA, and followed in the wake of the Chernobyl accident. The two conventions, one on the early notification of nuclear accidents and the other on mutual assistance in the event of a nuclear or radiological emergency, were signed by more than 50 countries, including the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Britain and China.

All the signatories, who either have their own nuclear power stations or are considering having them, have taken a new look at nuclear energy following Chernobyl. They have thought deeply about whether nuclear energy is really safe to use, and whether the harm to the biosphere in the event of a nuclear accident can be contained. The final opinion of the conference was "yes, we must go on developing nuclear energy, given the world energy shortage."

Shocked by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, the whole world has concentrated on the 31 people who died, overlooking the important fact that none of the local residents died or was even sent to hospital. All those who died worked at the reactor or were fire fighters. Estimates that 5,000-20,000 people may die of cancer as a result of the accident over the next 70 years should be set against the fact that 15 million will die of cancers from other causes during the same period. The fumes from

fossil-fuelled power plants also kill people by seriously polluting the atmosphere, not to mention the heavy toll taken by the process of mining and transportation.

There have only been two major nuclear accidents, but neither of them developed into a catastrophe such as that of a nuclear bomb as some people had imagined. The radioactivity given off by the Three-Mile Island nuclear accident in Pennsylvania, USA in the 1970s was so slight that it was barely detected. Now the No.1 reactor at Chernobyl has resumed operations after five months, with no new victims added to those who originally died in the accident.

With 4,000 reactor years' experience in managing nuclear power plants behind it, mankind realizes more clearly than ever before that nuclear power stations are superior to fossil-fuelled plants in both reliability and cost, given the plentiful supply of materials

for nuclear fission and the absence of pollution. There were 374 nuclear power stations operating in 1985, producing 14 percent of the world's electricity. The IAEA predicts that this figure will rise to 20 percent by the year 2000.

The development of the peaceful use of atomic energy has always taken place against a background of fear and opposition from protesters. Far from holding the opposition in contempt, nuclear scientists have spared no effort to improve the safety of nuclear power plants. But broad international co-operation is needed to guarantee the safety of nuclear energy. At this IAEA conference, Director-General Hans Blix proposed that, in addition to the two conventions, norms and standards of nuclear safety binding on all countries must be formulated, and regular visit made by experts to one another's countries to see that nuclear power stations are kept in good working order. These received a favourable response from member countries because the effects of a nuclear accident can spread across national boundaries.

It is now clear that nuclear energy has come to stay. ■

by Hu Houfa

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## Regional Conflicts Between Two Superpowers

by Wang Hexing

**In an attempt to "roll back" the advances made by the Soviet Union into certain parts of the world in the 1970s, the Reagan administration has been pursuing a policy of regional conflicts. The Soviet Union has responded with a flexible and cautious policy, focusing its attention on consolidating its established gains, while at the same time losing no opportunity to advance further whenever possible. But the basic pattern of US-Soviet relations remains unchanged.**

US-Soviet rivalry for world dominance remains stalemated. However, some remarkable changes have occurred since Ronald Reagan began his second term as president and Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. On the one hand, they have returned to the negotiating table in the hope of establishing "rules for competition" to control the level of the arms race. On the other hand, their conflicts in the third world are tending to intensify. Negotiation coexists with confrontation.

The United States has gone on the offensive, while the Soviet Union is now essentially passive. "Reaganism" makes no effort to conceal its attempts to aid guerrillas or anti-government troops in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola. It has modified its traditional policy of supporting pro-American and anti-communist totalitarian regimes; instead it emphasizes "democratization" in those countries and, in some areas, promotes a rival party. It has also allocated US\$1.7 billion for "low intensity wars," a strategy designed to win quick victories when necessary in regional conflicts while avoiding direct military confrontation with the Soviet Union.

To meet the US challenge, the Soviet Union has adopted a flexible and cautious policy. While giving most of its attention to those countries that are of strategic interest to it, it is at the same time improving its relations with many moderate developing countries.

The Soviet Union has been trying hard to form a united front to isolate the US. The United States, in turn, takes advantage of the economic dilemmas of third world countries, in particular their need for capital and technology, to promote its interests. While seeking to consolidate its established gains, the US does its best to undermine the Soviet Union's positions, with the aim of combining short-term conflict with the long-term strategy of containing communism. In most cases, the actual confrontation between the two in the world's flashpoints is carried on by their respective "agents."

Both superpowers exert a strong influence upon some neighbouring countries, treating them as "forbidden territory" not to be interfered in by the other. In those areas where one side's influence is comparatively stronger, the other side will try to check it by political means. The Asia-Pacific area draws increasing attention from both the US and the Soviet Union and has become a zone of rivalry between them.

The uneven development of today's world makes some areas, such as the Asian-Pacific region, seem increasingly important. The Reagan administration believes that the new leadership in the Soviet Union has got itself entangled in resolving domestic economic problems and can give little attention to outside affairs, and that American strength has revived a little as a result. Therefore it has resolved to take

advantage of this favourable situation in an attempt to "push back" the Soviet advances of the 1970s. Another reason for the US emphasis on regional conflicts is that Washington wants to counterbalance the strong Soviet peace and nuclear disarmament campaigns launched this year, and win more bargaining chips to use at future US-Soviet summit talks. The Soviet leadership, for its part, needs to accelerate economic development so that it may continue to compete with the US for a long time to come.

### The Asian-Pacific Region

Both to contain the Soviet Union and to guarantee its control over the sea route from Northeast Asia to the Indian Ocean, the United States has strengthened its "defence partnership" with Japan and South Korea and updated the defence capacity of the ASEAN countries, Thailand in particular. But the political upheavals and economic instability in certain countries have embarrassed the US. In a foreign policy statement on March 14, President Reagan made an important adjustment in his foreign policy, advancing such ideas as "freedom" and "democratization," and opposing any kind of tyranny, whether of the left or the right. In order to secure its strategic interests, the US must, step by step, abandon some of its anti-communist and totalitarian "old friends." For example, in the case of the Philippines, under the banner of promoting "democratization," the US shifted its

support for Ferdinand Marcos to Mrs Corazon Aquino.

The US is also very concerned about the situation in South Korea. While firmly supporting the South Korean authorities, it is urging them to practise democracy. On the other hand, the US has conducted large-scale military manoeuvres with South Korea, bringing to an end the political dialogue between the north and the south. This shows that the US is reluctant to make any substantial efforts to reduce the tension in the Korean Peninsula. Economically, the US concentrates its aid on countries like Thailand and the Philippines in order to use them as barriers to contain Soviet expansion. However, though trying to resolve the economic problems of these countries and stabilize them, the US is unwilling to give up its economic and trade hegemonism, controlling the ASEAN countries by means of its investment policies, market quotas, tariffs, etc. Thailand has suffered a dramatic drop in its rice exports of about 500,000 tons annually due to American trade protectionism. This will make it difficult for the US to achieve its strategic goals.

US influence in the South Pacific has decreased as a result of disagreement with New Zealand over its anti-nuclear policy, which cripples the US-Australia-New Zealand alliance. All this has helped the Soviet Union to make certain gains. In South Asia, the US has achieved very limited success by confirming its aid to Pakistan, reducing India's reliance on the Soviet Union through military technology transfer, and by persuading Pakistan and India to improve their relations.

The United States has stepped up its pressure on the Soviet Union over Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two of the world's flashpoints. In addition to US\$15 million approved by the US Congress this year as aid to Afghan guerrillas, another

US\$500 million is to be spent in the form of secret military support and Stinger missiles. Washington also appears more active in its support of Democratic Kampuchea's anti-Vietnamese forces led by Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann. At the same time, it is attempting to persuade Hanoi to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea.

Making use of its economic, scientific and technological superiority, and by establishing a Pacific community, the United States hopes gradually to have the whole Asian-Pacific region serve its strategic interest. But this goal will be difficult to realize.

Moscow is determined to compete with Washington in the Asian-Pacific region, which is militarily important to the Soviets. In government declarations and Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech the Kremlin has come up with a package of plans intended to deal with the area "in a comprehensive way": a conference for collective security in Asia, a Pacific nations conference, an Asian-Pacific nuclear-free zone and so on, to divert the world's attention away from its SS-20 medium-range missiles deployed in Asia and from the Afghan and Kampuchean problems. It also hopes to restrain the Pacific community by turning it into an organization of Pacific economic co-operation for Moscow's benefit, isolating the Americans.

Militarily, the Soviet Union continues to contend with the United States for control of strategically important sea routes and to increase the mobility of its troops for rapid deployment. Politically, it wants to win over China, Japan and the ASEAN nations by exploiting their differences with the United States. It has made attempts to induce Japan to invest in Siberia, and it has opened its markets to the rice and textile products of ASEAN countries. It has also pushed its

way into the Southern Pacific region, signing fishery agreements with Kiribati and setting up diplomatic relations with Vanuatu.

The Soviet Union will not easily let go of Afghanistan. But it may seek a political solution, providing its influence is not reduced. While increasing its attack on Afghan guerrillas, Moscow is anxious to improve the image of the Mohammad Najibullah regime by strengthening its social foundations and to release itself from the military burden. Although the Soviets realize that it will have to help solve the Kampuchea problem if it wants to achieve better relations with ASEAN, it is reluctant to take action and is still fumbling its way towards this issue.

Apart from the Asian-Pacific area, the United States and the Soviet Union both have an interest in Southern Africa, Central America and the Middle East.

In Southern Africa, the US tries by every means to prise the front-line states away from the influence of the Soviet Union. Angola, along with the other front-line countries, supports independence in Namibia. However, the US has insisted since 1982 that any withdrawal of South Africa troops from Namibia must be preceded, or at least accompanied, by the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. At the same time, it has strengthened its support for the Angola People's Union (APU) while encouraging negotiations between the APU and the government of Angola. But the United States suffers from its soft policies towards the South African racist regime which sticks to apartheid and is hostile to the front-line states. However, the influence of the Soviet Union is limited in this area by geopolitical factors, although it has improved relations with Zimbabwe.

In Central America, Washington continues to interfere militarily in Nicaragua. It smiles



upon the Contadora Group's peace initiative for appearance's sake while sending supplies to "contras." The US will not rest content until the Sandinista government is toppled, and it might dispatch its own troops to Nicaragua to achieve the end, if its present policy of interference fails to bring about any positive results. It has refrained from taking action because it has met strong opposition at home and fears that it will not be able to win a quick victory in Nicaragua as it did in Grenada. The Soviet Union takes advantage of the conflicts between the United States and Latin American countries, but acts with caution in the "backyard" of the US, haunted by the nightmare of Cuban Crisis.

The confrontation between the superpowers is particularly tense in the Middle East and North Africa. Last April, the Reagan administration won a victory by bombing military and civilian installations in Libya, as well as the Soviet Union's missile base there, on the pretext of teaching "terrorists" a lesson, knowing full well that the Soviet Union would not involve itself in a situation in which it would lose more than it could gain.

### The Mid-East Hot Spot

In order to reduce the influence of the Soviet Union in the area, the US has been actively promoting the peace process in the Middle East. It is trying to pave the way to a summit between Egypt, Jordan and Israel and is encouraging Morocco and Egypt to negotiate with Israel separately. But because it renders Israel full support and stubbornly refuses to recognize the PLO, the peace efforts have bogged down.

The Soviet Union, making full use of the differences between the US and the Arab countries, keeps closely in touch with the radical countries while approaching moderate countries which have traditionally been the friends of

the US. It has established diplomatic relations with the Sultanate of Oman and the United Arab Emirates and on its own initiative offered Saudi Arabia SAM-7 missiles when Riyadh was turned down by the US. It has also reached agreement on the supply of weapons to Jordan. The Soviet Union has adopted the role of go-between with all rival factions in Lebanon and has improved its relations with Israel. Its proposal to call a conference on the Middle East to be attended by all the permanent members of the UN Security Council has received a positive response from Jordan, Egypt and Syria.

### Future Prospects

By competing with one another the United States and the Soviet Union are seeking to enlarge their spheres of influence. However, they are each constrained in this by various factors. The economy and technology of the US is ahead of that of its rival, but it nevertheless overestimates its own strength, and like the Soviet Union, will never be able to attain its goal of world domination.

The US economic growth is estimated at 3 percent this year, but its budget and trade deficits are high, so there can be no certainty that it will continue to grow. Congress has trimmed military expenditure for the 1986 fiscal year from US\$322 billion to US\$297.4 billion, the biggest reduction since 1981, and is expected to cut it back substantially in the next two years. Worries about direct US involvement in regional conflicts are restraining Reaganism on the domestic front. Meanwhile the new Soviet leadership is determined to carry out economic reforms, but it too has difficulties to overcome at home. While contending with one another, Washington and Moscow both fear a head-on clash. For this reason they dare not act rashly. Their weakening control over their allies also holds them

back. Their allies have their own interests and need to develop relations with third world countries. They have policy differences with the United States and the Soviet Union on regional issues and are unwilling to act always as the two superpowers would wish. Third world countries which have suffered from the superpowers' rivalry cannot tolerate any interference in their affairs. All this means that the two superpowers' ambitions are greater than their abilities. The struggle between them is sometimes tense, sometimes relaxed. But both need to keep talking, and the relations between them will not change in any fundamental way as a result of regional conflicts.

The balance of strength between the United States and the Soviet Union is roughly equal, and neither has effective means to break it. Therefore, a seesaw between them will continue. Both need to adjust their economies in order to gather their strength. Reagan expects to stimulate and develop the new concept of the huge scientific and economic comprehensive force of national defence by pushing his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Furthermore, he hopes the SDI project will lay the material foundation for giving the US an edge over the Soviet Union. However, SDI will involve the spending of thousands of billions of dollars and cannot be realized for a generation. And there is a debate over its feasibility. The Soviet Union is determined to readjust its domestic and foreign policies to be more powerful in the global contest with the US, but to implement the plan will require long and arduous efforts.

Moreover, Gorbachev badly needs to relax relations with the United States to win time and develop the Soviet economy. For political reasons Reagan needs to make some progress in foreign affairs before leaving office.

(Continued on p. 18)

## 'Socialist Culture & Ideology': Its Development

by Liu Wusheng

The Resolution 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 has been published in full in *Beijing Review*, issue No. 40.

To appreciate the document, it is helpful to recapitulate some of the past statements of the Party Central Committee and its leading members on this issue.

September 1979 saw the first detailed expression of the need to advance socialist culture since the previous year when the Party Central Committee affirmed that China's principal contradiction was between its people's expectations and China's inability to satisfy them, and instituted the modernization drive.

Ye Jianying, then chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, said, "While building a solid material foundation, we want to raise the educational, scientific, cultural and health levels of the whole nation, foster lofty revolutionary ideals and morals, develop a rich and many-sided cultural life and thus build an advanced socialist culture and ideology." He also stated that such a culture was a necessary condition for the realization of China's modernization.

The same goals were reiterated by senior leader Deng Xiaoping in December 1980. He enumerated a major goal of an advanced socialist society as close adherence to communist ideals, morals and

discipline, and rejection of feudal, bourgeois and venal capitalist influences through constant criticism and improved laws and regulations.

Further means of achieving those goals were suggested by the Party Central Committee in its "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" in June 1981. Declaring the Party's goal for the new period as building a modern, highly democratic and culturally advanced powerful socialist country, it listed the elements of that task as: Affirming the importance of education, science, culture and intellectuals in the drive for socialist modernization. Affirming the need to

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*One of the goals of an advanced socialist society is to adhere to communist ideals, morals and discipline and reject feudal and bourgeois influences through constant criticism and improved laws and regulations.*

---

strengthen the study of Marxist theories, Chinese and world history and current affairs, and of social and natural sciences. Improving ideological and political work; resisting the inroads of bourgeois ideas and the

influences of the remnant feudal ideology. Carrying forward the patriotic spirit of putting the interests of the motherland above everything else and contributing all to the drive for modernization.

In April 1982, during discussion of the crackdown on serious economic crimes, Deng declared that building an advanced socialist culture and ideology was indeed one of the essential guarantees that China will stick to the socialist road.

This conviction was elaborated on by Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, at the 12th National Congress of the Party in September, 1982. He argued that China's material modernization and cultural development were indispensable to each other. While material prosperity lays a foundation for cultural development, socialist culture boosts economic advancement and ensures its correct orientation.

Both were to have equal priority, lest "our society lose its ideals and objectives" in the pursuit of material gains. Hu stressed that socialist culture and ideology permeated and promoted each other. The two things, he said, constituted a major aspect of the superiority of socialism.

He said: "To build a socialist culture and ideology is a task for the whole Party and the common task of people in all fields of endeavour. (1) Ideological education in the Party is the main pillar of the building of culture and ideology in the whole society, and Party members should, first of all, play an exemplary role ideologically and morally. (2) Ideological

and political workers and workers in culture, science and education—all shoulder especially heavy responsibilities in building a socialist culture and ideology. It is necessary to organize a mighty contingent of militant ideological workers able to persuade and act as a magnet for others. (3) In formulating and implementing policies in their work, leading cadres in the economic field should concern themselves not only with production but also with the building of a socialist culture and ideology. (4) Every working person should contribute his or her share to the building of socialist culture and ideology."

In September 1985 at the National Party Conference, Deng Xiaoping noted that as production had increased, pernicious capitalist and feudal influences, some of which had been extinct since liberation, had reappeared. He made it clear that unless ideology progresses, material progress

would suffer, and repercussions might go even beyond that. "However small and weak our Party was in the past, and whatever difficulties it faced, we always maintained great fighting spirit thanks to our faith in Marxism and communism. With a common ideal we have strict discipline. That was, is and always will be our real strength," said Deng.

He stressed the need to oppose bourgeois liberalism which he defined as advocating taking the capitalist road.

At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection held immediately after the conference, Chen Yun, first secretary of the commission, warned against the detrimental capitalist philosophy which says that unless a man looks out for himself, heaven and earth will destroy him, and the slavish thinking which ignores national and personal dignity.

In January this year, in a move to develop socialist spirit, the Party Central Committee held a meeting of cadres from central Party and government organizations and called upon Party, government and army organizations to set an example to the nation.

On that occasion Hu Yaobang invoked the spirit of the "Foolish Old Man" of ancient legend, who set about moving mountains, as the motivating power with which "we will certainly be able to develop consistently."

After the meeting the Party organizations and the commissions for discipline inspection turned to improving the Party's style of work. Cases of major misconduct were dealt with. General social conduct improved.

The latest resolution is the result of the development in the Party's thinking on socialist culture and ideology, and is expected to exert a far-reaching influence on China's development. ■

*(Continued from p. 16)*

## Regional Conflicts

Therefore, he is looking for some compromise with the Soviet Union. Reagan links the settlement of regional issues with arms control negotiations. Gorbachev launched a "war of proposals" with his speech at Vladivostok (Haishenwai) on July 28. Events have shown that it is not impossible that limited agreement on arms control and even on the question of Afghanistan could be reached after several summit meetings.

As more and more third world countries follow independent policies and act against hegemonism, the road for peace and development will grow wider and wider. US and Soviet influence and control in other parts of the world will be further reduced.

The history of the 40 years since

World War II is the history of the struggle of the USA and the USSR for control of third countries and of the latter's struggle against their control of their sovereignty and fundamental interests. Now third world countries no longer tend to ally themselves with one or other of the superpowers. The non-aligned movement has become a force to be reckoned with. In the United Nations and other international arenas the developing countries have made outstanding achievements in safeguarding their own rights and interests and in co-operating to uphold justice. Moreover, countries that have ties with the United States are now developing relations with the Soviet Union and those countries that favour the Soviet Union have begun to improve relations with the United States. In this way they can make use of the contradictions between the United States and the Soviet Union. They evolve step by

step to advance their own development. This has become a law of development.

Regional co-operation is also growing. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation and other regional organizations are now making efforts to overcome their differences, strengthen South-South co-operation, promote North-South dialogue and call for the establishment of a new international economic order. The ASEAN and Gulf states now support each other in defence. The nations of the South Pacific are endeavouring to set up a nuclear free zone. The movement of the people of the world, including the American and Soviet peoples against war and nuclear weapons, and for peace is now in the ascendant. ■



# Sun Yat-sen: Initiator of China's Democracy

by He Zhongxin

**S**un Yat-sen, also known as Sun Zhongshan, was born into a peasant family in 1866 in Cuiheng Village, Xiangshan (now named Zhongshan in his memory) County, Guangdong Province.

While still a boy he was deeply impressed by stories of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-64) and Hong Xiuquan, hero of the peasant insurgent army, which were told by the old people in the village. When he was 13, his mother took him to Honolulu where he received Western education and converted to Christianity. He returned to China and studied at a medical school run by the Guangzhou and Hong Kong churches. He envisioned reforming China along Western capitalist lines. After he graduated from the Medical College in Hong Kong in 1892 he started practising medicine in Macao, the first Chinese doctor there trained in Western medicine.

He continued to follow current world events and concerned himself with the future of China. He wrote to Li Hongzhang, a high-ranking official in charge of foreign, military and economic affairs in the Qing Court, proposing political reforms in China. He argued that the prosperity and strength of European countries did not lie in their possession of powerful warships and cannons but in their ability to make the best use of every talent, tap the potential of every piece of land, make everything serve its proper purpose and open markets for their goods. These, he said, were the four cardinal principles for running the country. But his proposal was ignored by Li Hongzhang, a defender of the feudal monarchy.

Realizing that there was no hope of peaceful reform in China, Sun Yat-sen turned to revolution. In 1894, he founded Xing Zhong Hui (the Society for the Revival of China) in Honolulu calling for the expulsion of the Manchus, the revival of China, and establishment of a popular government. The next year the Hong Kong Xing Zhong Hui was established. Immediately afterwards the society gained a stronghold in Guangzhou, and prepared for an armed uprising. Sun Yat-sen took an active part in the preparation. But because the plan was leaked, the revolt ended in failure.

The Qing government ordered Sun Yat-sen's arrest and sent spies to track him down. Sun was forced to leave China for Japan. Later he travelled to America and Europe to propagate his revolutionary ideas and make contact with people who shared his views.

During his stay in London, he read extensively in the British Library and made a study of capitalist society. He was then kidnapped by the embassy of the Qing government in London and imprisoned there. He was released when a cleaner passed a letter to his teacher who alert the public.

In 1905, Sun Yat-sen, Huang Xing and others organized Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League) based on Xing Zhong Hui and a number of other revolutionary organizations. The league's programme was to drive out the Manchus, restore China, establish a republic and equalize land ownership. Sun Yat-sen was elected president of the league. In the introduction to *Minquan* (Democracy), a magazine published by the league, Sun Yat-sen,

for the first time, put forward his three principles of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. Through the magazine he conducted a heated debate with conservatives who advocated constitutional monarchy. Revolution and royalism were poles apart he claimed; this was just as clear as black and white which could never be mixed and east and west whose positions could never be reversed. Led by Sun Yat-sen the league launched a number of revolts with the aim of overthrowing the Qing government, building a revolutionary momentum in southern China.

On October 10, 1911, the Wuchang Uprising in central China succeeded, inspiring revolutionaries in many other provinces. Sun Yat-sen, then in the United States, was acknowledged leader of the 1911 Revolution.

The provisional government of the Republic of China was founded on New Year's Day 1912. Sun Yat-sen was elected provisional president of the first bourgeois republican government in China's history. The provisional constitution promulgated by Sun Yat-sen stated: "The sovereignty of the Republic of China belongs to all people of the nation." The provisional government issued a series of decrees for reforming politics, transforming social traditions, and eliminating outmoded conventions and customs.

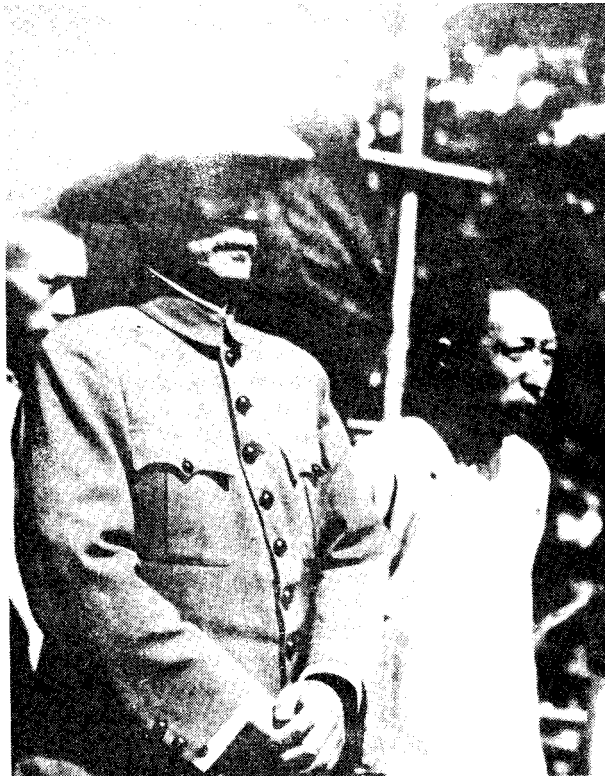
The Qing government in Beijing was compelled to proclaim the abdication of the emperor, simultaneously ending more than two centuries of Qing Court rule and two millenia of autocratic feudal monarchy in China.

In February the following year, however, Sun Yat-sen was forced



Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925).

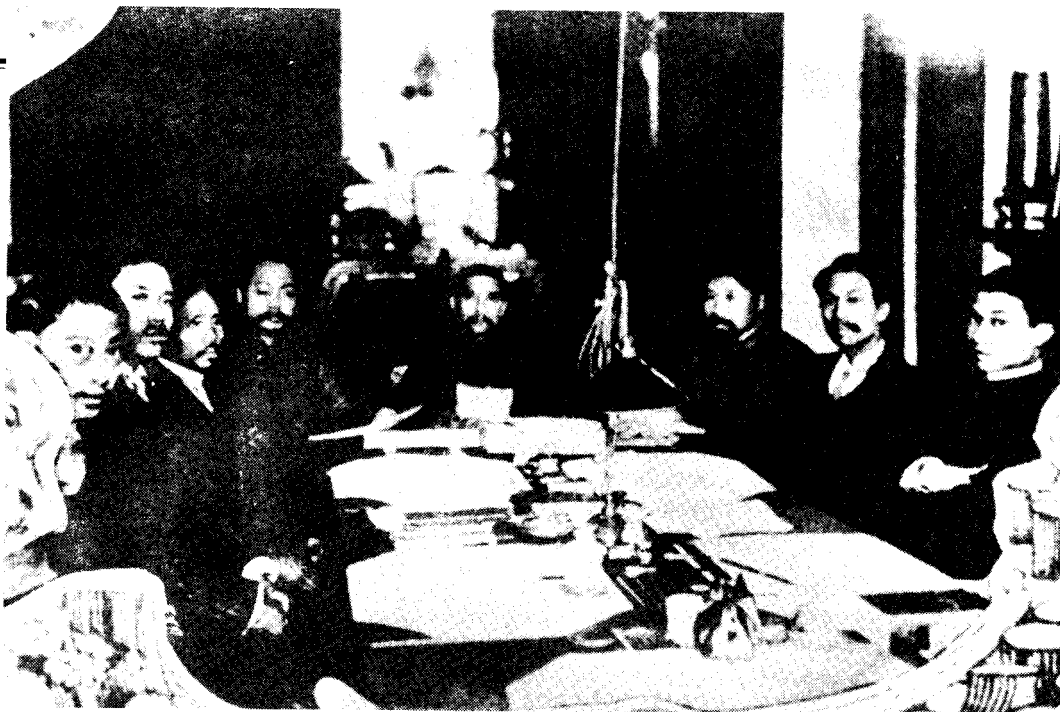
Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching Ling at the opening ceremony of the Huangpu Military Academy, June 16, 1924.



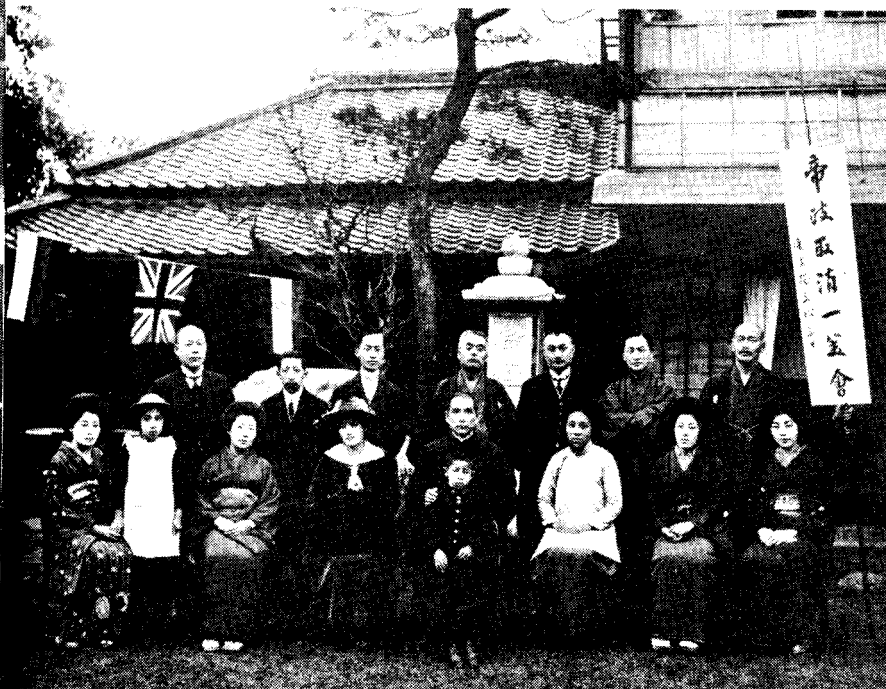
Sun Yat-sen and his right-hand man Liao Zhongkai (right) in Guangzhou, November 1924.

November 1924. Before he travelled north Sun Yat-sen issued a declaration reiterating his call to overthrow imperialism and feudal warlords and proposing a national conference and the abolition of unequal treaties.





Sun Yat-sen (middle) at the first cabinet meeting of the provisional government, January 4, 1912.



Sun Yat-sen (seated) and Soong Ching Ling (on his right) with participants at a Tokyo meeting denouncing Yuan Shikai, April 1916.

Sun Yat-sen (right) and others leaving the meeting hall of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang.





to resign when the revolutionaries came to terms with the warlord Yuan Shikai who usurped what the 1911 Revolution achieved and became the provisional president. Not wanting to interfere in affairs of government, Sun Yat-sen took the post of minister of railways.

Yuan Shikai forced the parliament to elect him the formal president, and quickly dissolved it. Sun Yat-sen initiated a struggle against Yuan but failed. After that he fled to Japan, hoping to restart the revolution.

In 1915 Sun Yat-sen married Soong Ching Ling in Japan and the couple saw each other through thick and thin.

Dismissing the provisional constitution Yuan Shikai soon put on the imperial robe and declared himself emperor. Sun Yat-sen issued a declaration denouncing Yuan, which was echoed by anti-Yuan struggles in many provinces in China. Yuan fell from power 83 days after he put himself on the throne; his successor was another feudal warlord backed by imperialism.

Sun Yat-sen went to Guangzhou in 1917 to take the post of the commander in chief of the Constitution Protecting Military Government, but without a single soldier or any arms he was elbowed out by the warlords and was forced to resign again.

In 1921, Sun Yat-sen took office as the extraordinary president of the Republic of China in Guangzhou, but was soon betrayed by Chen Jiongming, who had reached the position of commander of the land force of the government of the Republic of China through Sun's support.

This was a time of tremendous change in the world. The October Revolution in Russia had succeeded in 1917. In 1919 the May 4th Movement started in Beijing, facilitating the Chinese working class' ascension to China's political arena. Two years later, in 1921, the Chinese Communist Party was born.

Sun Yat-sen came to know the

Communist Party of China. In Shanghai he met with Li Dazhao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, and Lin Boqu, an old member of Tong Meng Hui, who joined the Communist Party. Their talks filled Sun Yat-sen with hope and strengthened his confidence. He came to see that unless the future revolution took the Russian course as its example it was bound to fail. He also met Soviet representative Joffe, and with him put together a joint declaration on the Chinese revolution.

Soon afterwards Sun Yat-sen drew up the policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

The Kuomintang, reformed and led by Sun, held its first national congress in 1924 and allowed members of the Communist Party to join it. This was the first phase of co-operation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang and gave new life to the revolution. The manifesto of the congress gave a new interpretation of the Three People's Principles advanced by Sun Yat-sen in 1905. Here, nationalism was explained as achieving full equality for all nationalities within China and opposition to imperialism; democracy as allowing all common people to have democracy and not just the privileged few; and people's livelihood as equalizing land ownership and regulating capital. The three principles, then known as the New Three People's Principles, was the political foundation for the co-operation between the two parties.

Upon the death of Lenin, Sun Yat-sen wrote an elegy, calling Lenin the friend of the nation and teacher of the people.

To establish a military force for revolution, Sun Yat-sen founded the Huangpu Military Academy with the help of the Chinese Communist Party and Soviet advisers. He himself headed the academy, with Chiang Kaishek as president and Liao Zhongkai

KMT representative and hoped to establish, through the academy, a revolutionary army distinct from the old landlords' army.

As China sank deeper under the exploitation and oppression of imperialist powers and disintegrated as the warlords pursued their warfare, Sun Yat-sen determined to use force to overthrow the northern warlords. In September 1924, he led an advance party of his army to Shaoguan, Guangdong Province, from where he set out on the northern expedition. He stated that the aim of the expedition was not only to overthrow the northern warlords but also the imperialist powers on which the warlords depended.

The CPC-KMT co-operation propelled the revolution forward and promoted the worker-peasant movement.

In October 1924, a coup d'état was staged inside the northern warlord government. Feng Yuxiang, leader of the coup, invited Sun Yat-sen to Beijing. For the sake of peaceful unification of the nation and propagating revolutionary propositions, Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching Ling travelled north.

Sun Yat-sen proposed holding a national conference with the purpose of overthrowing the warlords and imperialism, believing that to be the only way China could achieve unification and peace.

Already in poor health, Sun Yat-sen's condition worsened in Beijing and he died on March 12, 1925. On his deathbed he still repeated these words: "Peace, struggle on, save China."

In a testament he wrote before he died he said: "For 40 years I have dedicated myself to the national revolution. To ensure the liberty and equality for China, we must awaken our own people and ally ourselves with peoples of the world who treat us as equals."

His coffin was first kept in Beijing and in 1929 it was moved to Nanjing. ■

ANYANG

## Contract System Benefits Workers and Enterprises

**China has taken some new steps in reforming its labour system this year. This follows a three-year experiment in selected industrial cities. Anyang is one of the cities, and the experiment there has wrought many changes.**

by Our Correspondent Wu Naitao

**A**nyang is a medium-sized city in northern Henan Province, its population numbers 530,000. One of the 16 pilot cities in the country, Anyang introduced the contract labour system at the end of 1982 to break the old "iron rice bowl." Through this system, 11,000 new workers have by now been employed by more than 300 state-owned enterprises. They form 6.1 percent of the city's industrial workers and 3.7 percent of its total employed workforce.

### Application Open to All

In December 1983, the Anyang Electron Tube Factory wanted to build a new production line and needed 200 new workers. The factory advertised the positions and used examinations to select 230 from the 1,500 applicants. The new workers had to attend a six-month training course before signing seven-year contracts and beginning work.

Workers and employers are happy with this. In the past the workers were assigned to their jobs by the labour department and had no choice in the matter. Neither did the enterprises. The workers had to stay with the factory and do the same job regardless. Recruitment through advertising and exam helps worker mobility and the elimination of nepotism.

Tang Binghua, 23, thought he wanted to be a sailor and signed a contract with the Guangzhou Ocean Transport Company in 1983. A year later he had changed his mind. He asked for his contract to be terminated. The company

agreed. Tang came back to Anyang, took a factory's exam and signed a five-year contract with the factory. "If I were a permanent worker, I would not have been able to change my job so quickly," he said.

The Yubei Textile Mill has since 1983 recruited more than 800

rate of the contract workers in the city is 99 percent, 5 percent higher than that of the permanent workers.

### Professional Training

One of the most important features of the new labour system



Contract workers at Anyang Rubber Factory sit for promotion exams.

contract workers. The contracts stipulated a three-month probation period. Forty-four people have not continued beyond that period. The rest are working hard and their attendance rate is high. As a result, the enterprise's performance has improved. In comparison with the same period in 1983, the mill's total output value in the first half of this year was 21.9 percent higher and productivity increased by 20.3 percent. The average attendance

is training. Anyang has run 350 professional training classes, each three to six months long, and trained 20,000 people. More than 90 percent of these trainees were employed by state enterprises and collectively or privately run businesses. This is a great improvement over past practice when permanent workers were usually apprenticed for several years after being assigned jobs.

Anyang's labour department

has established an employment training centre. This conducts training courses for all comers who will pay. The centre has 12 classrooms and trains 1,200 people a year.

The city has introduced the following employment training practices:

—Skilled workers have to take courses at professional schools and work under probation before taking up their posts.

—Workers are trained according to the needs of the enterprises. Before signing contracts with their employers, workers must be recruited by examination and must attend their factory's training classes for at least three months.

—At the beginning of every year, the employment training centre asks for a letter of needs from every factory in the city and designs its courses according to the results. At the end of the class, the centre recommends workers to the enterprises.

In general the centre's training classes last six months and those run by enterprises and government undertakings three. The training fee is 10-30 yuan.

Manager Li said that the purpose of his centre is to train industrial workers with a skill and a professional attitude. The enterprises have found that trained workers settle into their jobs quickly, helping the enterprise's efficiency and production management. For the workers themselves, the fees are a worthwhile investment as they learn skills in a short time and can enter a job as first-grade workers instead of working for little pay as apprentices.

### Rights and Privileges

Liu Fu, an officer at the Anyang labour department, said, "The contract workers enjoy the same political rights as the permanent workers and have the same salary, welfare and labour provisions."

In fact they are paid a little more

than their permanent colleagues. In the Anyang Electron Tube Factory, 84 percent of the contract workers with three years' experience have been promoted to the third grade after an exam. But it takes at least five years, and a maximum of 13 years, for a permanent worker to achieve the same grade.

According to the Anyang government regulations, the new contract workers are paid as first-grade workers for the first year, and second grade the next year. In the third year they are assessed and may be promoted and paid in accordance with their technical skills. If they reach the level required for a third-grade worker or above, their skills must be assessed every three years. They can be promoted to the equivalent of fifth grade. Permanent workers by tradition have to wait a long time to be promoted. The state unified plan sets a maximum on the number of promotions among permanent staff.

The system under which contract workers work means they can get more bonuses than permanent workers. The Anyang No. 1 Rubber Factory has 341 contract workers, accounting for 35.6 percent of the workforce. With their higher educational level, easy acceptance of innovation and hard work, they often outdo their colleagues. Contract workers in the factory get a basic average monthly salary of 42 yuan, equal to a second-grade permanent worker. Bonuses may bring that up to 90 yuan, higher than the average permanent worker. Zhang Limin, deputy head of the No. 3 workshop, said, "There is a contract worker in my workshop who came to the factory several months ago. His salary is only 36 yuan. Last June he produced better products more quickly than anyone in the workshop. For this he got 86 yuan as a bonus. In total he had an income of 150 yuan that month, 30 yuan more than I, a fifth-grade worker of 17 years' standing. No

one complained, on the contrary, it encouraged the permanent workers to work hard."

The difference in welfare between contract workers and permanent staff is that contract workers' children cannot enjoy half-price medical treatment. Since most contract workers are very young and most of them have not married yet, that has not been a serious problem yet.

### Cracked "Iron Rice Bowl"

In the past, eating from the "iron rice bowl" the workers seemed safe. They had fixed incomes, whether they did their job well or not, and did not worry about employment. Some people took advantage of this and were slack in their work, and the factory leader was helpless. The new labour system empowers factory leaders to sack their workers if they break labour discipline.

The city's Electron Tube Factory has discharged 31 out of 219 contract workers, eight sackings were for absence without good reasons, stealing or causing serious damage to machines.

Naturally, introducing sackings will meet with opposition since the "iron rice bowl" has been prevalent in China for at least 30 years. Chang Junlin was lazy, and worked badly despite his colleagues' entreaties. In the process he damaged equipment. After consulting the workers' congress, the factory head Zhang Zhaoming sacked Chang. Chang and his relatives used their connections to prevent his sacking and put pressure on Zhang by writing letters to his superiors and threatened to take Zhang to court. Zhang stuck by his decision and received the support of the factory's Party committee and workers' congress. The episode dragged on for six months causing Zhang much anxiety.

Zhang said that he persists in instructing those who make mistakes and sacking those who make serious mistakes and refuse



to correct them, because the factory is a production unit not a reform-through-labour school. He Jingwu stayed away from his work for 12 days. The factory head wanted to sack him but found that he had had good reason. So he got a second chance. Since then He has worked very hard. "I like my work very much," He said. "After this event I decided to work much harder. I believe the factory will renew my contract provided I do my job well." His colleague, Dong Yongben, fared worse. Dong entered the factory together with He but he was discharged for taking off one month without reason.

In the last three years the factory let 50 of the 400 contract workers go before the end of the contracts, four of them were actually dismissed.

### Social Insurance

As things stand, permanent workers enjoy insurance services provided by their enterprises and receive a pension, health care and funeral expenses after they retire, while contract workers receive social insurance. Eventually social insurance will completely replace enterprise-based welfare services.

The contract workers in Anyang have the following social insurance services:

Once employed, they are guaranteed injury and sick pay and funeral expenses by the factory they work with according to the contract signed.

--When they lose a job they receive welfare from the labour service companies but that is decreased gradually in order to encourage them to find a new job.

After retirement they will receive a pension from the labour insurance company based on their past insurance contributions. Twelve percent of an average contract worker's salary goes to the labour and service companies as unemployment insurance (2 percent actually comes out of the



**Wang Wenku (right), contract worker at Harbin No. 2 Woollen Mill, recently promoted deputy head of the Western suits workshop.**

basic wage packet). In addition the enterprise adds 10 yuan a month for every contract worker.

It will take time for people to understand and accept such a major change. As China is not about to abolish the life-long permanent work system some people think the new contract system is unsafe in comparison with the old one. If they have the opportunity they want to be permanent workers. Jia Wanmin was a young fitter who was satisfied with his work. After his father retired though, he took up his father's less skilled work as a warehouse keeper. (Children taking up their parents' work after they retired used to be a privilege permanent workers had.) "I certainly wouldn't be a warehouse keeper if it weren't a permanent job," he said.

The contract workers themselves are often uneasy. Lin Anxia became a contract worker after she failed the college entrance examination. At the beginning she felt inferior to the permanent workers and was afraid she would be looked down on. Three years later she was no longer worried and was elected head of her production group because of her excellent work. Now a third-grade worker she has a monthly income of 100 yuan. "I find no difference between the contract workers and

the permanent workers. They all are the masters of our enterprise," she said.

Our correspondent also interviewed contract workers in the commercial and service fields. They feel secure. They all believe they can work there until retirement as long as they do their job well.

Is there a difference then between the contract system here and the system in capitalist countries? Li Zuwei, mayor of Anyang, said. "Our purpose is to avoid the shortcomings of the old system and encourage a reasonable flow of labour. Contract workers enjoy the same political and economic rights as permanent workers. Under this new system, the public ownership of the means of production, equality among workers and the distribution system of to each according to his work remain unchanged. We dismiss some of the contract workers in order to punish a few bad ones and protect and encourage the majority. But we continue to educate and punish only a few.

"Of course, the new system still needs perfection. Related laws and regulations are needed so that workers and enterprises have something to go by, thus eliminating any worries they may have," the mayor concluded. ■

# The Tujia People: A New Image

By Our Correspondent Lu Yun

The Tujia people have a long history, but somehow it was not recognized as one of China's national minorities until nationality identification after 1949. On December 1, 1983 the Exi Tujia, Miao Autonomous Prefecture was founded in southwest Hubei Province (see sketch map). It borders on other Tujia communities in west Hunan and east Sichuan provinces.

The 23,900-square-kilometre prefecture administers two cities and six counties with a total population of 3.37 million. National minorities number 27 and amount to 39.32 percent. Of

these, the Tujia makes up 32.3 percent and Miao 5.3 percent.

General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Premier Zhao Ziyang have both inspected Exi. They brought important news for the economic development of the area. Hu even proposed to "build Exi into the most advanced autonomous prefecture." Exi has rich natural resources, but for historical reasons, it is relatively very backward. With the founding of the prefecture which brings with it many privileges and economic reforms, the prefecture's development has speeded up. Wherever one goes, he always gets the

impression that many changes have already taken place, despite the still obvious poverty.

## Agro-Technology Pays Off

Exi is a mountainous area with 72 percent of it over 800 metres above sea level. For over 30 years the area has been short of food. And because of very bad transport conditions, it is almost impossible to bring food in from the outside. Therefore it has been the prefecture's priority to raise the grain yield.

Young people learning to weave the traditional Tujia silk.





lacquering.

Tian Hengcai, past director of the Agricultural Bureau, told me that for a long time, local corn crops had suffered because it was not warm enough. The prefecture decided to experiment with the high altitude plastic covering technique in 1982. Experience proved that the new technique could raise the temperature, improve soil content by accumulating nutrients, and eventually increase the yield. It was popularized in 1984. Funding came from government subsidy, bank loans and private resources.

and by now it has been used over 250,000 hectares, about 60 percent of the total cultivated area. The yield per hectare has increased from 2,200 kg to 3,700 kg, and this has basically solved the problem of food supply in the area.

Tian also told me that two other measures have been adopted in order to increase production. The first is to grow hybrid rice and hybrid corn. About 60 percent of the rice and 80 percent of the corn are grown this way. The second measure is the comprehensive use

of pesticides, especially on rice crops. The total grain yield last year was 1,268 million kg, three times as much as that of 1949.

There are many possible avenues for economic development in Exi, such as forestry, animal husbandry, medicinal herb growing and other local specialities.

The prefecture has decided to take advantage of these and to develop a "diversified economy with emphasis on forestry." The fact that Exi's people, having ensured a food supply, have shifted their priority in economic development to making use of the mountains is undoubtedly proof of progress.

Exi could be important to the forest industry. It has a plantable area of 1.45 million hectares. Since 1984 some 1.07 million hectares of forest, about 72 percent of the area available, have been distributed to individual families to look after. Ownership is gained by planting and tending the trees, and can be inherited or sold. The collectively owned forests, on the other hand, have been reduced to only 200,000 hectares. This has accelerated the development of forestry. In the last couple of years over 130,000 hectares of trees and 1,860 hectares of seedlings have been planted. This spring over 390,000 hectares have been afforested, 86.6 percent privately owned.

With scientific guidance, the city of Lichuan has succeeded in developing the Fubao Mountains by using all resources and recycling what they can. The mountains cover about 7,000 hectares and come as high as 1,700 metres above sea level. More than two thousand people live here, about 79 percent are Tujia. They have planted a forest at 1,450 metres and above and built a herb farm below. In the forest clearings they raise cattle and sheep, and in the valleys they have built ten reservoirs with a total water capacity of 1,600 cubic metres. Seven power stations with a total

generating capacity of 2,952 kw have been built on the reservoirs. The water from the power stations is used to irrigate over 2,000 hectares of farmland nearby.

The major plant crops are trees and herbs, but land shortage is a problem. With the help of Xu Jintang, associate researcher at the Institute of Medicine of the China Medical Science Academy, the Fubao herb farm started to plant huanglian (rhizomes of Chinese goldthread) between rows of trees in the 1970s. They now have a huanglian plantation of 100 hectares and feed grass grown in the same way. They also have 73 hectares of tea and 700 head of cattle and horses.

Workers at the reservoirs have planted trees over 80 hectares of mountain slopes. Beneath, they have planted huanglian and other herbs in 15 hectares. Last year they made a profit of 300,000 yuan, averaging over 10,000 each. The 1,750 herb farm workers also made about 1,000 yuan last year.

The city of Enshi established a 9,200-hectare pasture at Dashanding in 1983. It now supports more than 1,000 heads of cattle, 3,000 sheep and 5,000 geese. The dairy factory produces milk powder from four tons of milk a day. Pasture and dairy farming on the high mountains have been successful so far. There is a great potential for animal farming in Exi, where

there are as many as 470,000 hectares of land suitable for growing feed grass. There is optimism about the potential for development along these lines throughout southern China.

### Co-operative Industry

Exi does not have much decently equipped industry, small factories predominate. Yet it has many local products like raw lacquer, tung oil, tobacco, tea, oranges, yangtao (*actinidia chinensis*) and herbs. It is also rich in natural resources, iron, phosphorus, coal, natural gas, to name but a few. It has rich water resources and a great potential for tourism. In the past few years Exi has been engaged in establishing economic and scientific relations with several bigger cities to develop Exi's rich natural resources.

So far Exi's cities and counties have set up co-operative relations with 159 institutions in nine different areas. They have established similar relations with businesses in the US, Japan, Indonesia, Hong Kong and Macao. More than 160 letters of intent and 70 contracts have been signed. Fifty-one projects have gone into operation and 218 scientific personnel from other areas are working in Exi. Some of the projects involve relocating high energy consumers from the old industrial cities to places of raw materials. Calcium carbide and crystal silicon, for example, have begun production by combining local anthracites, limestone, silica and electricity with equipment and fund from Badong and Jianshi cities. Other projects process local agricultural products. The South China Potato Research Centre bought a potato chips production line from the US and installed it in Enshi. It turns out 500 tons of chips each year.

Laifeng County has introduced technology from Jiading County in suburban Shanghai for its

Plastic covering is now common in Exi.

LU YUN





fertilizer production. As a result the cost has fallen from 184 yuan to 148 per ton. The Shadaogou Confectionery in Xuanen lost money consistently for three years until last year when, with the help of Wuhan Food Industry Technology Development Corp., it started to produce Yangtao products and baked food. Its products sell very well as far away as the province's capital city Wuhan, and it has started to make a profit.

With the help of six technicians from the Dongwu Silk Mill, a well-equipped and technically powerful factory in Jiangsu Province, the Laifeng Silk Mill has improved its management and the quality of its products. They are very popular in the surrounding 38 counties and cities, and its silk sheets are probably the best known in the area.

Xianfeng County's claim to fame has been the old palace compound of Tangya Tusi, the tribal leader of the Tujia. It includes marble figures (built in 1611), the Sicheng Archway (built in 1623), and Tusi's tomb. The "No. 1 metasequoia in the world," a living deciduous coniferous tree of the pine family, is one of the few plants in China which has survived the quaternary Glacial Age.

Exi also abounds incaves. The 22-kilometre-deep Tenglong Cave was discovered only last year and is the biggest of its kind in the world. It has numerous branch caves, but the main cave is divided into ten big halls, each covering 80,000 square metres and 110 metres high. In it, stalagmites and stalactites of various shapes and colours present a beautiful yet mysterious picture. The caves play host to many bats and in the waters there is a kind of rare, transparent fish. Engineers believe that Tenglong cave is actually a series of caves on different levels, representing different periods and preserving their various geological characteristics. Therefore it is very important for scientific research.

## Promoting New Life Habits

Enshi is the capital of the autonomous prefecture, and has a population of 70,000. The Shengli Street is the downtown area. Over 4,000 people live here. But it used to be notorious for being dirty and unsafe, littered with rubbish and puddles; gambling, theft and violence were rife. In just one year 34 people were arrested for violent crimes.

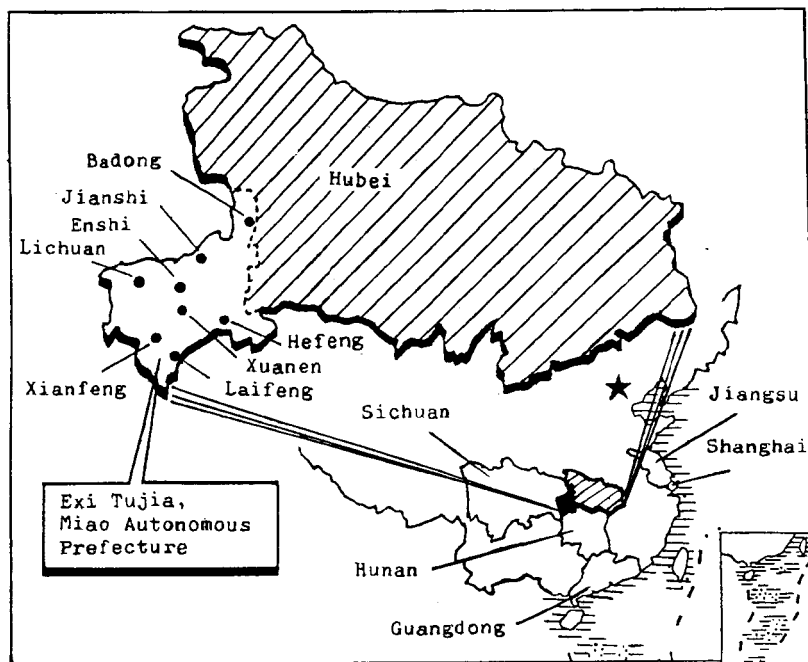
So in the latter half of 1984, the street's people set up a neighbourhood committee. By way of lectures, wall newspapers and broadcasts, the committee members have done a lot to change the tarnished reputation. They have fixed the sewage system and the deserted drinking water wells, and have also formulated rules against gambling, theft, pornography, violence, and dumping rubbish outside designated areas. "In the past we never felt comfortable coming home," the neighbours all say. "But now we feel relaxed living here."

There used to be only a few stores here. Recently many shops

and stands have been set up. Many people even come in from outside the prefecture to start their business here. Generally speaking, they have offered good services.

Wen Falin and his wife, a shoe making family by tradition, have opened a store selling leather shoes on the street. Wen is very sympathetic with people who have irregular feet. He shapes and reshapes their shoes until they fit. In the past few years he has made such shoes for more than 140 customers from outside the province, and in return he has received numerous letters of thanks. Last year he was honoured with the title "most courteous pedlar."

Shengli Street has been transformed into a clean, civilized and prosperous commercial street. Some 174 of 197 unemployed young people are now either working in factories or running small restaurants, repair shops and hotels of their own here. Together with business people from other places, they all contribute to a prosperous and pleasant atmosphere in the market. ■



## Asian Defence Show in Beijing

**T**he Asian Defence Technology Exposition (Asiandex'86) is being held between November 4 and 11 at the China International Exhibition Centre in Beijing.

Participating in the exposition are 158 companies from China, the United States, France, Britain, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Canada, Brazil, Austria, Spain, Australia and Hong Kong. A total of 1,200 varieties of arms are on display, including planes, warships, tanks, armoured cars, rifles and guns as well as radar, electronic and navigation equipment. About 500 of them are physically there on display.

According to A-Lan Sze, Project Director of Asiandex'86, all the exhibits are of the most advanced type in the world.

To show its increasing capacity to produce arms, China is displaying a large range of equipment provided by the China National Aero Technology Im-

port and Export Corp., China National Nuclear Energy Industry Corp., China Precision Machine Import and Export Corp., China State Shipbuilding Corp. and China North Industries Corp.

On display is the C-101 supersonic and low attitude missile designed and produced in China and handled by the China National Precision Machine Import and Export Corp. The missile is designed to get through, evading the enemy's defences. The SST-600 missile, a surface-to-surface tactical ballistic missile handled by the same corporation, is powered by solid fuel and its maximum range is 600 kilometres. It is transported on a multi-function mobile launching vehicle and can be used against fixed or slowly moving targets such as concentrated troops, tanks, communication centres, air defence sites, command posts, ammunition depots, aircraft at airfields and missile launching sites. The medium-range bomber, the F7-M

airguard fighter equipped with seven kinds of electronic devices, and the A5-M aircraft handled by the China National Aero Technology Import and Export Corp. have aroused the interest of foreign businessmen.

The Chinese Hall shows China is not only developing its economy swiftly but is also catching up with the world's advanced defence technology.

The exposition is organized by the Commedia Associates Ltd. of Hong Kong and supported by the China Xinshidai Corp., the Beijing Society for International Strategy, and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade. ■

## New Accords Avoid Double Taxation

**T**o encourage foreign investment in China and protect foreign investors' profits, the Chinese government has signed agreements on avoiding double taxation and tax evasion with Japan, the United States, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Singapore, Malaysia, Canada, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and New Zealand.

Negotiations on the issue began in 1981. The agreements signed with Japan, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Singapore have come into effect. That with Malaysia will be effective from January 1987 and the others will follow. China has also initialled agreements in the same vein with Thailand, Romania and Italy. Talks with Yugoslavia, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, Australia and Czechoslovakia are under way.

The agreements signed include tax exemptions to avoid double taxation. The governments of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Norway and Sweden agree not to levy income

**A Chinese missile on display.**

CHEN ZONGLIE



taxes on their citizens (including businesses accorded legal person status) who have already paid taxes in China.

Another provision is to deduct taxes already paid in China. Japan, the United States, Britain, Singapore, Malaysia, Denmark, Canada and Finland agree to deduct from their taxes whatever their people have already paid in China on incomes gained in China. Some agreements also stipulate that whatever income taxes China exempts should also be deducted from the taxes levied on people in their countries. ■

## Confidence in Chinese Market

**T**he Grace Co. of the United States has established the Grace China Co. Ltd. in Shanghai's Minhang Development Zone, having received its business certificate in mid-October. The company is the first solely foreign company opened in China since the promulgation of the Provisions for Encouraging Foreign Investment on October 11 (see issue No. 43).

Grace China has a total investment of US\$650,000 and will produce 1,600 tons of washers for bottles and tins a year. The business period is for 30 years, and the product is to be sold in China. In order to help the company balance its foreign exchange, China will pay for the product in foreign exchange by exporting tinned foods.

The Grace Co. has confidence in China. Mr. Grace, 73-year-old chairman of the board and president of the US company, made a special trip from New York to Shanghai to congratulate the new company. Mr. Grace said: I have followed and studied the Chinese market for six years, I know the policy of opening to the outside and other economic

policies well. I chose Shanghai for its comparatively developed industry and trade, its excellent technical and manpower resources, its infrastructure and its transport facilities. In addition, Shanghai turns out 70 percent of China's bottled and tinned foods and washers are in great demand. Shanghai is an ideal place for my investment."

Mr. Grace went on to say: Our experience in running businesses over the last 50 years makes me believe that the Chinese people have by tradition a fine commercial attitude. I'm not worried about my investment in China and do not intend to withdraw as soon as I've made enough profits. My aim is long co-operation with China. China is a huge market for foreign investment. ■

## Changping Attracts More Foreign Funds

**O**ne of the four satellite cities being built around Beijing, Changping county is devoting particular attention to absorbing foreign capital. By the end of October the county had approved eight projects, entailing US\$28.715 million in foreign capital and it has six more waiting approval entailing US\$45.55 million.

The Beijing International Golf and Amusement Park Co., a Sino-Japanese joint venture, has already opened for business. Other projects are under construction, such as the Jinghe Co. Ltd. set to slaughter 40,000 head of horses and cattle for export; another is a horse and cattle fattening farm, and there is also the Ming Tombs museum of imperial life in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). These projects are expected to be completed by the end of 1987.

Changping is about 30 kilometres north of Beijing proper. It abounds in building materials,

fruit trees, geothermal and tourist resources. It contains 13 Ming emperors' tombs built in the 15th century, the Juyong Pass, one of the important passes on the 10,000-*li* Great Wall, and the only road to Badaling, the Beijing section of the Great Wall. With its good industrial base, the county has excellent prospect for developing co-operation with foreign countries. The county is now talking with foreign investors about building a fishing centre, an international sanatorium, a shooting club, gardens and villas.

According to the Provisions for Encouraging Foreign Investment, the county has the right to approve projects with an investment of less than US\$1 million. ■

by Yao Jianguo

## News in Brief

■ The biggest radio equipment plant in China is building a quartz crystal production line, a huge technical project valued at 3.52 million Swiss francs. It is being done in the context of a trade agreement signed by China and Romania in 1984, the first time for China to export such equipment to an East European country. Now a large variety of new equipment have been finished and others are being processed.

■ Four oil wells have been put into trial operation in the Wei 10-3 Oilfield, the first Sino-foreign joint co-operation oilfield on the South China Sea. From August 7 to October 15, these oil wells produced 70,000 tons of crude oil. After officially going into operation, they are expected to produce 700,000 tons a year.

Located to the northeast of the Beibu Gulf, the oilfield is jointly managed by six companies from China and four foreign countries including France, Japan and Norway. Its verified oil reserves cover an area of 15 square kilometres and amount to dozens of millions of tons.

# The Story of Bainqen Erdeni

**T**he *Story of Bainqen Erdeni* (in Chinese) is to be published soon by the People's Publishing House. This is a companion volume to *The Story of the Dalai Lama* published in 1984.

The two books are written by Ya Hanzhang, former director of the Institute of Nationalities under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

After the publication of *The Story of the Dalai Lama*, Mr Xakabba Wangqug Dabdain, a former local Tibetan government official, who now lives abroad, wrote some articles in 1985 against Ya's book, again arousing controversy about the history of Tibet.

The publication of *The Story of Bainqen Erdeni* is not unconnected with that controversy.

In *The Story of the Dalai Lama*, Ya argues that the relationship between the local Tibetan authorities and the central government of China was both a political one of subordination, and also a religious one between "the benefactor and the Lama." Mr. Xakabba Wangqug Dabdain on the other hand takes the view that the relationship was only one between benefactor and Lama. He denies the existence of a political relationship of subordination. This is at the centre of the continuing controversy.

Ya's two books marshal a battery of historical facts to show that Tibetan history is an inseparable part of the history of China. Ever since the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), local Tibetan authorities have officially had a relationship of subordination to Chinese central governments.

What's the difference between *The Story of the Dalai Lama* and *The Story of Bainqen Erdeni*? The first book deals with the Tibetan people's patriotic anti-imperialist struggle in modern history. For example, the 13th Dalai Lama

twice led his people, both religious and secular, in a war against British invasion. The second book mainly describes the relationship of subordination between authorities in Tibet and the central government. The author gives considerable coverage to the efforts of the 9th Bainqen Erdeni to restore Tibet's normal subordinate political position.

The publication of the two books will clear up much confused thinking about Tibet's history. *Beijing Review* in issue No. 38, 1984, carried a review of *The Story of the Dalai Lama*. We now give the main points of *The Story of the Bainqen Erdeni*, with the stress on the fourth, sixth and ninth Bainqens.

The first Bainqen (1385-1438) was a disciple of Tsong Kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow Sect of Lamaism. The second Bainqen (1439-1504) was a Living Buddha of the Angkong Monastery, and the third Bainqen (1505-1566) was also a Living Buddha. The three generations of Bainqens were all very influential in religious matters, but they had no real political power. Local Tibetan political power was then in the hands of the leader of the White Sect, who was given the title of King Chanhua by the central government of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and who took a positive attitude towards the Yellow Sect of Lamaism.

During the period of the fourth Bainqen (1570-1662), China went through a dramatic change marked by the collapse of the Ming Dynasty and the establishment of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). A major political change also took place in Tibet—Tibetan political power was usurped by Tsangba Khan, the head of the Karma Sect. Though the Karma Sect was a branch of the White Sect, it took a

hostile attitude towards the Yellow Sect, killing its clergy and believers, and in fact almost extinguished it.

The fourth Bainqen became a lama when he was 13, and was later named a Living Buddha at Angkong Monastery. In 1601, he was invited to become the sixteenth *triba* (master in Lamaism) at the Trashilhunpo Monastery. From then on, successive Bainqens were all given the title of *triba* of the monastery.

The third Dalai died in Inner Mongolia. The "reincarnation" of the Dalai, discovered in Mongolia, was invited to Lhasa to be the fourth Dalai in 1602. He became a disciple of the fourth Bainqen, therefore forming a master-disciple relation between Bainqens and Dalais.

Shortly after the fourth Dalai died at the age of 28 in 1616, the Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation, or rebirth, was banned by the Tsangba Khan, head of the Karma political power. However, the fourth Bainqen took the opportunity to give medical treatment to the Tsangba Khan in order to persuade him to revoke his ban. As a result, the reincarnation of the fifth Dalai was not identified until 1623. He later too became a disciple of the fourth Bainqen.

The fourth Bainqen made two contributions. First he united as many clergy as he could to fight against Tsangba Khan's persecution of the Yellow Sect. Together with the fifth Dalai, he sent a secret envoy to Xinjiang to ask Gushri Khan, leader of Mongolian tribe, to send troops into Tibet to protect the Yellow Sect. In 1642, Tsangba Khan's troops were defeated, and Tsangba Khan himself killed. Gushri Khan devoted all taxes levied in Tibet to the "support" of the Dalai Lama, and gave some



manor houses to the Trashilhunpo Monastery. After that, the Yellow Sect became the local Tibetan authority.

Secondly the fourth Bainqen, together with the fifth Dalai Lama and Gushri Khan, sent envoys to Shengjing (today's Shenyang in northeast China) to establish relations between Tibet and the new Qing government. Tibet remained part of the Chinese empire by reaffirming its subordination to the central authorities.

In 1720, the fifth Bainqen (1663-1737) was given the title of "Bainqen Erdeni" by Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty for helping Qing troops force the Dzungars out of Tibet.

In 1728, Emperor Yongzheng of the Qing Dynasty took two political measures to manage Tibet: (1) He sent a resident commissioner to Tibet; (2) the Bainqen was granted the right to administer some areas in the rear of Tibet, putting him on an equal footing with the *kasha* (the Tibetan local government under the Dalai). Both the Bainqen and the *kasha* were subordinate to the leadership of the Qing central government. Both had to submit via the Qing commissioner in Tibet major decisions to the Qing emperor for approval.

The sixth Bainqen (1738-1780) lived at the height of Qing power. After their invasion of India, the British imperialists began casting greedy glances towards Tibetan territory. In 1774, the British viceroy in India sent an envoy to Xigaze to try to alienate Tibet from the Qing government. But the Bainqen said that Tibet was an inseparable part of China, and that the Qing emperor forbade foreigners to enter Tibet. The sixth Bainqen's patriotic stand frustrated the British imperialists' designs on Tibet.

In 1779, the sixth Bainqen made a long trip to Chengde, the Qing emperors' summer resort in Hebei Province, to celebrate the 70th

birthday of Emperor Qianlong. His audience with Emperor Qianlong was of great importance in maintaining a stable political situation in Tibet as well as in Mongolia and Xinjiang. The sixth Bainqen was given a red-carpet reception in Chengde. A monastery similar to Trashilhunpo Monastery was especially built for the Bainqen and his party. After the celebration, the sixth Bainqen, accompanied by the emperor's sixth son, went to Beijing to stay at the East Yellow Monastery, where the fifth Dalai Lama had lived. Here the sixth Bainqen contracted smallpox and died. Emperor Qianlong built the West Yellow Monastery in Beijing in his memory. A Buddhist shrine in the monastery still survives.

The seventh Bainqen (1782-1853) had a frustrating life. The Gurkhas launched two incursions into Tibet.

In their second invasion in 1791, they occupied the rear of Tibet, plundering the Trashilhunpo Monastery. The nine-year-old seventh Bainqen averted disaster only by moving to Lhasa, arranged by the Qing resident commissioner in Tibet.

In order to drive the Gurkhas out of Tibet, Emperor Qianlong dispatched 20,000 troops to Tibet. The King of the Gurkhas was forced to surrender and vowed that he would never invade Tibet again. After that the seventh Bainqen devoted the rest of his life to restoring the Trashilhunpo Monastery.

The eighth Bainqen (1855-1882) died at only 27 after many years of illness.

The ninth Bainqen (1883-1937) witnessed two British invasions of Tibet, both during the reign of Emperor Guangxu. In the first in 1888, British troops occupied Longtu on the border between Tibet and India, thus opening a route through the mountains to the interior of Tibet. In 1904, the British captured Lhasa. The thirteenth Dalai Lama and the ninth Bainqen jointly led the

Tibetan people in fighting the British, but were eventually defeated.

The British occupation of Lhasa compelled the thirteenth Dalai Lama to move to the interior. However, he was dismissed as Dalai Lama because the central Qing government believed a false accusation made against him by the Qing commissioner in Tibet, You Tai. The Dalai Lama had no choice but to take refuge in Mongolia. You Tai then proposed that the ninth Bainqen replace him. However, the Bainqen rejected this idea.

The British at this time tried to force the Bainqen to meet the British crown prince in India, in the hope of drawing the Bainqen to the British side. In the face of this political pressure, however, the ninth Bainqen stuck to his position of preserving the unity of China and rebuffed the British.

In 1906, the Qing government summoned the thirteenth Dalai Lama to court in Beijing, where the Qing emperor restored the title of "Dalai Lama" to him, and allowed him to return to Tibet. After his return to Lhasa in 1909, the thirteenth Dalai Lama soon fell out with Lian Yu, then the Qing commissioner in Tibet. Their relations deteriorated to the point where Lian Yu dispatched 2,000 Sichuan troops to Tibet, where they went on the rampage, killing civilians, and even firing at the Potala Palace where the Dalai Lama lived.

The thirteenth Dalai Lama left Lhasa for Beijing via India with the intention of filing charges against Lian Yu at the Qing imperial court. But no sooner had he arrived in India than the Qing government again dismissed him, placing trust in Lian Yu's false accusations against him. The thirteenth Dalai had no alternative but to stay in India as he no longer felt able to present himself before the Qing emperor. Lian Yu still wanted to put the ninth Bainqen in his place, but Lian's

attempt failed again when the latter politely declined.

In 1911, the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing Dynasty, and the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet to resume control of Tibetan affairs.

After the founding of the Republic of China, the central government decided to send an official to Tibet, but he was prevented from taking up his post by pro-British separatists in Tibet. For a period of time, the relationship between the local Tibetan authorities and the central government was abnormal.

At the same time, relations between the thirteenth Dalai Lama and the ninth Bainqen worsened. The main reason for this was that the thirteenth Dalai Lama, after the withdrawal of the Qing commissioner from Tibet, compelled the Bainqen to put the areas he governed under *kasha* jurisdiction. The Bainqen thus lost his position and inherited rights. The *kasha* also required Bainqen-controlled areas to provide one quarter of the provisions for the army, imposing a heavy economic burden on the people in these areas.

The ninth Bainqen went to Beijing in 1923 to discuss ways to restore the traditional relationship between the Tibetan and central governments. But the endless civil wars prevented a solution to the Tibetan problem and the Bainqen retired to Inner Mongolia, where he conducted Buddhist activities for eight years.

In 1931, the Nanjing government (The national capital moved from Beijing to Nanjing) gave the ninth Bainqen the title of "Grand Protector of the Country" in recognition of his patriotism. In 1934, he was appointed as a member of the central government and was to be escorted back to Tibet by a "special envoy" and hundreds of guards of honour. The year before, the thirteenth Dalai had passed away, and the

three biggest monasteries in Tibet and the Trashilhunpo Monastery had all dispatched their representatives to the interior of China to urge the ninth Bainqen to return to Tibet. This caused panic among the British imperialists and the pro-British separatists in Tibet, who tried to prevent the Bainqen from returning. The British ambassador to China told the Chinese government and the Bainqen himself that Britain did not oppose his return to Tibet, but that he must travel home via India. This suggestion was turned down by the government and the ninth Bainqen.

In the winter of 1936, the ninth Bainqen finally arrived in Qinghai Province, which borders Tibet, together with his party, including special envoys and a guard of honour. He was, however, unable to return to Tibet because of obstruction from the *Kasha*.

With the outbreak of the war against Japanese aggression in 1937, the national government had no time to solve the Tibetan question. The Bainqen then fell ill and died on December 1, 1937 in Yushu, Qinghai, at the age of 54.

The tenth Bainqen was born in 1938 in Xunhua County in Qinghai Province. He was recognized by the national government on June 3, 1948 and was officially installed on August 10, 1949 in Qinghai. The ceremony was conducted by Guan Jiyu, chairman of the Mongolia-Tibet Committee of the national government.

Qinghai Province was liberated by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in September 1949. On October 1, 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded, the tenth Bainqen cabled Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De to express his congratulations and hoped the PLA would liberate Tibet at an early date. On November 23, Chairman Mao and

Zhu De cabled the Bainqen, thanking him and hoping that he would "work hard with the patriots in Tibet for the liberation of Tibet and for unity between the Hans and Tibetans." Unfortunately the fourteenth Dalai had not yet come to power and the Tibetan government was headed by a pro-imperialist regent who refused to enter into negotiations with the central people's government.

In October 1950 the PLA began its march to Tibet and encountered the Tibetan army in Qamdo. The regent was forced to step down and the fourteenth Dalai came to power. A Tibetan local government delegation headed by Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme was dispatched to Beijing on April 27, 1951 to conduct negotiations with the central people's government headed by Li Weihan. On May 23 an agreement for the peaceful liberation of Tibet was concluded. The first article read: "The Tibetan people will unite to drive imperialist aggressive forces out of Tibet. The Tibetan people will return to the big family of the motherland, the People's Republic of China." This restored the authority of the central government over the Tibetan local government. The fifth article read: "Bainqen Erdeni should hold office as before." This paved the way for the return of the tenth Bainqen to Tibet.

On December 19, 1951, the tenth Bainqen left Qinghai for Lhasa escorted by the representatives of the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee and arrived on April 28, 1952. He received a warm welcome from the Tibetan local government and the PLA stationed in Tibet. That evening, the tenth Bainqen and the fourteenth Dalai met in a cordial atmosphere at the Potala Palace. On June 28, 1952, the tenth Bainqen reached Trashilhunpo Monastery where he received an emotional welcome from tens of thousands of people. ■

## ART PAGE

### **Traditional Chinese Paintings by Li Hu**

Li Hu was born in Dazu of Sichuan Province in 1919 and taught at the Central Academy of Fine Arts before he died in 1975.

Li devoted his life to transforming traditional Chinese painting and widening the expressing scope of Chinese painting by combining Western sketching with China's brush work. Li's works are precise in design, economical in strokes and creative in subjects.



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