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Deng on Hong Kong and Maintenance of Policy



**CHINESE CINEMA
VENTURING ABROAD**



A 350-metre long dragon kite made in Weifang, Shandong Province.

by Li Jin

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CONTENTS

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS 4

China's Reform Enters Its 10th Year

EVENTS/TRENDS

Work Progressing on HK Basic Law
Harbin Stamps Out Corruption
NPC Condemns US Meddling
China Expels Reactionary
Chinese News Highlights, 1987
Oases Found in Taklamakan Desert
Weekly Chronicle (Dec. 21-27)

INTERNATIONAL

Israel, Palestinian Uprising Brutally Suppressed
Western Europe: INF Treaty Receives Tepid Praise

Top 10 World News Events Of 1987 12-13

Current Policies & Prospects For HK 14

'One Country, Two Systems' Concept: Its Formation and Development 17

Chinese Films: Can They Go to the World? 19

Time Running Out for President Reagan 25

CULTURE/SCIENCE 29-30

BOOKS 31-34

COVER: Scenes from Chinese films.

Deng on Maintaining Hong Kong Policy

■ At a meeting with members of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's Basic Law Drafting Committee last April, Deng Xiaoping stressed the consistency of China's policy on Hong Kong. We present the full text of this important policy statement (p. 14). Also printed is a review of the formation and development of the "one country, two systems" policy, which was applied in resolving the Hong Kong question and is equally applicable to Taiwan (p. 17).

China's Reform Enters Its 10th Year

■ Encouraging progress has been made since China launched its economic reform programme. But there are still problems. The one that worries the government and people most is rising prices. To remedy this, the government will seek to stabilize the economy and extend the reforms in 1988. It will work out measures to keep incomes in line with price changes so that people's living standards do not fall (p. 4).

Controversy Over Tibet

■ China protests against US interference in China's internal affairs concerning Tibet (p. 6). A revealing book review which describes US involvement in Tibet since World War II helps explain China's anger from a historical perspective (p. 31).

World Opens to Chinese Films

■ China's first major film festival demonstrated the rapid progress made by the country's film industry over the past few years. A wide variety of themes and styles were presented and both young and established directors made their mark. The festival showed that Chinese film making has come of age, and Chinese films are gaining appreciation abroad (p. 19).

Reagan Races Against Time

■ With the Iran-contra scandal cooling down and the INF treaty signed with Moscow, US President Ronald Reagan has regained some of his political prestige. But while he would like to completely restore or even improve his former image, his days in the White House are numbered. It will be hard for him to attain all his goals in this election year (p. 25).

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China's Reform Enters Its 10th Year

by Jin Qi

China's reform, oriented towards market forces and a vigorous economy, is nine years old. Its development, though not all smooth, is still encouraging. In the first eight years of reform, GNP, state revenue and per-capita income all doubled, and more progress was made in 1987. Total grain output is expected to reach 400 million tons, second only to the record year of 1984; total industrial output value is estimated to have grown by 14 percent; heavy and light industries were kept in balance. Foreign trade and finances turned out better than expected. (*Beijing Review* will publish the State Statistical Bureau's estimated 1987 figures in issue No. 2).

Inflation has become a problem, however. Price rises have continued at an annual rate of 6-8 percent for the last three years, especially in the 29 large and medium-sized cities including Beijing and Shanghai. For a while last July price rises moved into double digits (10 percent). People worry that unless price rises are checked, the benefit from the reform will be cancelled out. The government has adopted some emergency measures to remedy this. Pork, eggs and sugar have been rationed in the state stores.

Price rises point to economic instability, resulting mainly from excessive demand. Inordinate investment in capital construction, consumption outstripping production and excessive money supply have remained uncorrected for a number of years. These problems arose from inadequate reform rather than from the reform itself. That is, the economic regulatory mechanisms which are to be established through the reform are incom-

plete, still ineffective or as yet untried.

This year, the Chinese government will stabilize the economy and deepen the reform. It will focus on strengthening macro-economic control, establishing enterprise management mechanisms and developing the socialist market system. While controlling demand, it will increase supply. It will ensure an appropriate and steady economic growth and strive to improve product quality and economic returns.

This year the government will curtail credit and keep the money supply under strict control. In coordination with the reforms in planning, finance, material supply and foreign trade, China will establish mechanisms for regulating the macro-economy. It will first use funds and materials for the budgeted and key projects. It will firmly cut down the number of non-budgeted and unnecessary projects. The state will also control the retail price index, keep financial deficits at levels below last year's, and ensure a better foreign exchange balance than last year.

Meanwhile, according to the 13th Party Congress' plan, China will press ahead with political restructuring, separate Party from government functions, and reform government organizations. The State Council will submit the central government's plan for reform to the Seventh National People's Congress session to be held in March for approval. This move will change the government's economic management functions: taking a step away from direct control of enterprises and towards indirect control mainly through economic and legislative means.

Invigorating enterprises, especially the large key enterprises, in line with the principle of separating ownership from management power, is the linchpin of economic structural reform. Over the last nine years, enterprises, as independent commodity producers, have been given autonomy. In the past two years, many enterprises have implemented the contract responsibility system and an element of competition has been introduced. Enterprises have been allowed to keep more of any increased profits, and to reward hard work with more pay. Enterprises now have money and a greater ability to develop and renovate.

However, some problems have arisen. For example, many enterprises failed to comply with the state's rule that enterprises should spend 60 percent of their operational funds on production and the rest on welfare and bonuses, and have instead spent most of the money on welfare and bonuses, resulting in a further expansion of consumption funds.

Taking advantage of relaxed controls, some enterprises raised prices without authorization. Some enterprises, which monopolize the production of commodities in short supply, joined lawless retailers in speculation to disrupt the market and harm the consumers' interests.

All this points to the urgency of establishing a mechanism for enterprises to regulate themselves and relevant legal apparatus. It is expected that such legislation will be laid down in the Enterprise Law to be discussed and approved by the National People's Congress in March this year. Laws and regulations on economic associ-



ations, private enterprise and restrictions on and punishment of jeopardizing monopoly are also being drafted.

Extending markets under the guidance of the state plan is essential for vitalizing the enterprises and developing the socialist commodity economy. In the past few years, the consumer goods and capital goods market have expanded and spread across the country. Meanwhile, the capital, labour, technology, information and real estate markets are quickened. When this happens, it will promote goods production and circulation, improve economic results, and help readjust the current irrational pricing system. However, for important and scarce commodities and labour, prices must still come under state control to guard against illegal activities such as speculation. Only in this way can an environment be created for enterprises to compete on an equal footing, thus working out a system where the superior is promoted and the inferior eliminated.

In view of the fact that changes in price are inevitable, the state will attempt to readjust income in line with changes in prices, so as to prevent any drop in the standard of living. Rather, living standards should gradually be improved with economic development. This is important for winning the people's support and reducing resistance to reform. ■

Work Progressing on HK Basic Law

After more than two years of work, the Hong Kong Basic Law Drafting Committee has completed a preliminary first draft. After adjustments and improvements, the draft will be submitted to committee members for discussion at their next meeting.

The 10-chapter law is described as a mini-constitution for the future Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, which is to be founded when China officially reassumes its sovereignty over the region in 1997.

"We have finished drafting nine of those 10 chapters. Now what we need to do is to put these chapter drafts together, and discuss and revise the package as a whole, before we submit the draft to the seventh plenary meeting of the committee in April. The meeting will examine the draft law and make it public to solicit opinions," said Lu Ping, deputy director of the Hong Kong and Macao Office under the State Council and deputy general secretary of the drafting committee.

The unfinished chapter pertains to the region's emblem and flag. Designs are being sought worldwide and the committee's final choice will be presented to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress by the end of 1988 (*Beijing Review*, 1987, No. 22, p. 8).

The committee started its work in 1985, and had held six plenary meetings by the end of 1987. It will solicit opinions twice and submit the draft law to the National People's Congress for approval in 1990.

Lu said the purpose of the basic law is to ensure the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong. It will increase the region's autonomy, in accordance with the principle of letting the Hong Kong people administer Hong Kong. Under the new law, for instance, the Hong Kong legislative body will have real power; currently, it is only a consultative organ. Also, final appeals in legal cases will be decided in Hong Kong, instead of in London, as at present.

"As far as I have heard," Lu said, "the Hong Kong people welcome Deng's speech to the committee last April." Many Hong Kong people have been worried that China may change its current policies, including its Hong Kong policy, Lu said.

Deng told the committee, "Our policy towards Hong Kong will not change for 50 years after it returns to the motherland in 1997." Moreover, Deng said that in a socialist country, capitalism is allowed to be the norm in some special areas for "several decades or a century." At the same time, he said, "It is necessary to keep the socialist system on the mainland unchanged."

Lu said that without a strong socialist system in the mainland, Hong Kong's prosperity and stability would not be assured. He said 1987 saw the greatest development of Hong Kong's economy in its history, despite the influence of the Western world's stock market crashes. "It is the year when Hong Kong made its biggest profits, and its development momentum is very good."

He said he is not worried about

the news that some Hong Kong people invested outside of the region. "It is natural to export and import funds," Lu said, adding that in Hong Kong, there is a surplus rather than a shortage of investment funds.

"On the other hand," he said, "there has been a problem of confidence. It is true that there are people who are worried about the period after 1997."

Lu disputed the results of a survey conducted by a Hong Kong newspaper, which indicated that only 28 percent of Hong Kong's people are confident about the region's future, compared with 80 percent after the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong was signed in 1984.

The survey was "unreliable and unscientific," Lu said. "I think confidence is increasing." The issue of confidence will be gradually resolved if China continues its open-door and reform policy and its modernization drive, Lu said. "The key is that we must make the mainland prosperous and strong. Once we have done that, any problem will be easy to handle."

by Li Haibo

Harbin Stamps Out Corruption

In a drive to combat bureaucracy and corruption, 17 officials of the Heilongjiang provincial capital of Harbin have been disciplined.

Executives of the Harbin sub-branch of the People's Bank of China were accused of dereliction of duty in connection with a theft from the bank's treasury last June of gold, as well as gold and silver jewellery, worth 178,000 yuan (about US\$50,000).

Prior to the theft police had repeatedly urged the bank to install an alarm and one had been bought nine months before but never connected.

One month after the theft Bi Fengpeng was dismissed from his post as president of the sub-branch and Wang Shan was dismissed as vice-president. Zhao Yu, chief of the bank's currency issuance section, and Qin Shufang and Tan Lin, deputy chiefs of the section, were disciplined.

In another case, Yi Jingshan, former secretary of the Harbin City Real Estate Bureau Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), was jailed earlier this year for corruption. Yi was convicted for accepting bribes from a manager of the city branch of the China Housing Construction and Development Company. The manager was accused of embezzlement and receiving bribes. Also disciplined in the case was Bi Ke'an, deputy secretary of the bureau's CPC committee, and Lu Xiaoling, deputy director of the bureau for dereliction of duty.

In a third case, Feng Shutang, former deputy manager of the Harbin City Foodstuff Company, and two of the company's section chiefs, will be tried for serious neglect of duty resulting in two frauds which cost the company 6.2 million yuan. Another two company officials were also disciplined for dereliction of duty in connection with the case. ■

NPC Condemns US Meddling

On December 26, the Nationalities Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) issued a statement on the amendment on so-called "human rights violations in Tibet by the People's Republic of China" adopted by the US House of Representatives on December 15 and the Senate on December 16.

The statement says the amendment wilfully distorts the history and realities of China's Tibet Autonomous Region, and slanders and attacks the Chinese

government and people under the banner of protecting "human rights." It grossly meddles in China's internal affairs and openly urges the US administration to interfere in these affairs.

The statement says, "We feel utmost indignation and thereby lodge a strong protest with the U.S. Congress for disregarding the basic norms of international relations and trampling upon the principles set forth in the successive Sino-U.S. joint communiques."

Tibet is an inalienable part of China's territory, and the Tibetan people are members of China's big multi-nationality family. The amendment, which brazenly urges the Chinese government to establish a dialogue with the Dalai Lama on "the future of Tibet," only exposes its concoctors' vicious motive to split China.

The amendment accuses China of "human rights violations in Tibet," alleging that many Tibetans have been incarcerated and killed for expressing their political and religious beliefs. This is sheer fabrication and a lie. Anyone familiar with Tibetan history knows that under the previous dark rule of serfdom, the serfs and slaves who accounted for more than 95 percent of the Tibetan population fared worse than beasts of burden, with no personal freedom, let alone "human rights."

The Tibetan people have never before enjoyed as broad and full democracy and freedom as they do today.

The amendment distorts the economic and cultural life of the Tibetan people with the sensationalist assertion that "over 1 million Tibetans perished" between 1950 and 1970 as a direct result of famine or for political reasons.

This is not even worth refuting, the statement says. On the eve of the peaceful liberation of Tibet, its population was only about 1 million. It now totals 2.02 million, of whom more than 95 percent are

Tibetans. The living standards of the Tibetans have continuously improved. These are obvious facts that no one can write off.

The amendment falsely accuses China of having encouraged a large influx of "Han-Chinese into Tibet." This, too, is without foundation. Han people account for only 3.5 percent of Tibet's population.

The statement says that the development of Sino-US relations accords with the common interests and aspirations of the Chinese and American peoples. As a legislative body, the US Congress ought to take a prudent attitude on questions concerning Sino-US relations, and do more to develop these relations and promote mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples. Regrettably, and to China's indignation, however, the US Congress has instead chosen to interfere in China's internal affairs and viciously attack China.

The statement strongly urges the US Congress to take a sensible attitude, face the realities squarely and correct its mistakes so as to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents.

China Expels Reactionary

Qian Da, a representative of the reactionary Chinese Alliance for Democracy, was ordered to leave China by the Shanghai Public Security Bureau on December 21.

An official of the bureau said that Qian came to Shanghai with a visa from the United States on December 19 and concealed his identity as a representative of the headquarters of the alliance when he applied for entrance.

Qian held a mandate from Wang Bingzhang, the head of the organization, to undertake activities in China, the official said.

It was the second case involving the alliance. Also on December 21,

Yang Wei, a student connected to the group, was punished for conducting "demagogical propaganda for counter-revolutionary ends."

Speaking to reporters, the official said the alliance was founded in New York in 1983 by

Wang, who left China to study in Canada in 1979. The reactionary organization is aimed at "fundamentally changing the present 'autocratic' system in China and abolishing the Four Cardinal Principles in the Chinese Constitution," he said.

Chinese News Highlights, 1987

- Hu Yaobang resigns from his post of general secretary of the CPC Central Committee in January.
- Three CPC members, accused of being advocates of bourgeois liberalization, are expelled from the Party in January. They are Fang Lizhi, former vice-president of the Chinese University of Science and Technology; Wang Ruowang, a council member of the Chinese Writers' Association; and Liu Binyan, a staff reporter of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) and vice-chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association.
- On April 13, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva sign the Joint Declaration Regarding Macao of the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Portugal. According to the declaration, China will reassume sovereignty over Macao on December 20, 1999.
- China's worst forest fire in the past 40 years rages in the northeastern Greater Hinggan Mountains from May 6 until June 2, killing 193 people and causing enormous casualties. The forestry minister at the time, Yang Zhong, is dismissed from his post.
- The 22nd meeting of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee, held August 28-September 5, agrees on a proposal by Premier Zhao Ziyang to make Hainan Island a new province. The central government says Hainan will be granted preferences and extra decision-making powers.
- Two demonstrations aimed at splitting Tibet from China break out in Lhasa, the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region, on September 27 and October 1, causing six deaths and injuries to 19 policemen.
- The 13th National Congress of the CPC is held from October 25 to November 1. A new Central Committee is elected.
- Zhao Ziyang is elected general secretary of the CPC Central Committee at its first plenary session on November 2. Deng Xiaoping, who has withdrawn from the Central Committee, remains chairman of the committee's Military Commission.
- The first Taiwan compatriots since 1949 arrive to tour the mainland and visit their relatives after Taiwan lifts its travel ban, effective November 2.
- The 23rd meeting of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee approves on November 24 Zhao Ziyang's request to resign from the premiership. At Zhao's suggestion, Li Peng will exercise the powers of the premier until the First Session of the Seventh NPC.



LI GUANGKUAN

Oases Found in Taklamakan Desert

Chinese scientific investigators have found several oases in the far reaches of the Taklamakan Desert in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

Birds, hares, wild camels and some desert plants were found thriving in the oases. The investigators also found fresh water in the desert for the first time.

Taklamakan, the biggest desert and driest area of China, lies in southern Xinjiang and covers an area of 324,000 square kilometres. The temperature of the earth's surface there reaches 70°C in summer. The region is inhabited mainly by the Uygur people.

The Taklamakan Desert, "the dead sea," is generally regarded as a place void of everything except sand. In the Uygur language, Taklamakan means, "He who enters will not come out alive."

The oases were found between September and November last year. The discovery will contribute to further knowledge about the desert, one of the most forbidden areas in the world.

The photos show a diversiform-leaved poplar and one kind of bird found in the oases.

For several years, the alliance has conducted activities in opposition to the Chinese people's government. These activities include establishing organizations to rope in and promote rebellion among Chinese people abroad; distributing counter-revolutionary propaganda; and calling for the overthrow of people's democratic power and

the socialist system. Recently, the group has even attempted to establish a reactionary party. The incitement of Yang is one example of the alliance's activities, the official said.

Referring to the publication *China Spring*, the official said it was started by Wang and some others, with the first issue dated November 11, 1982. Since the 10th

issue it has been the alliance's mouthpiece in spreading reactionary propaganda.

"From the beginning the publication has aimed at opposing people's government and the Four Cardinal Principles (adherence to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, Communist Party leadership, and Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong

Thought)," the official said.

China Spring has published many speeches which attack the Communist Party of China (CPC), vilify the socialist system and advocate that China follow a capitalist road, he said. It publishes forged documents purported to be from the CPC Central Committee and various commissions under the State Council. It makes up stories saying the mainland is conducting military exercises aimed against Taiwan and slanders China's domestic and foreign policies. It also supports the Dalai Lama and disrupts national unity by flaunting the banner of "human rights."

Speaking on China's policy towards the alliance and *China Spring*, the official said that according to China's Constitution, the socialist system is China's fundamental system and no individual or organization has the right to destroy it.

"We do not allow the alliance to carry out any activities or *China Spring* to be distributed in China. All secret organizations set up by the alliance in China will be eliminated and all issues of *China Spring* will be confiscated."

The official said that China will deal with those who have taken part in the alliance's activities according to their individual circumstances, and will forgive the past misdeeds of those who were taken in by the organization and agree to cut off all future relations with it. ■

Weekly Chronicle (December 21-27)

POLITICAL

December 21

■ At a banquet held for Sudanese Prime Minister Al-Sadiq Elsidig Abdurrahman al-Mahdi, who is on an official visit to China, Chinese Acting Premier Li Peng says that the situation in the Middle East is still tense. He also

says the recent Arab summit meeting will help ease tension in the Persian Gulf region and promote a just and reasonable resolution of the Middle East problem.

December 23

■ The Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee recently held a meeting to discuss ways and means to eradicate unhealthy tendencies inside the Party, Xinhua reports.

The meeting called for giving priority to problems that have resulted in widespread complaints and which can be solved through the improvement of existing systems. Political movements are not an appropriate way to overcome such tendencies in the Party ranks, the meeting said.

December 24

■ In talks with Ali Abdullah Saleh, the visiting president of the Yemen Arab Republic, Chinese President Li Xiannian reaffirmed China's policy of strict neutrality in the Iran-Iraq war and active efforts to promote reconciliation.

ECONOMIC

December 21

■ The Lancang River has been successfully dammed at Manwan in Yunnan Province. The dam is part of a project to build a major power station—China's second largest after the Gezhouba station on the Yangtze River, the overseas edition of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) reports.

With a designed capacity of 1.5 million, the station is expected to generate 7.7 billion kwh of electricity a year, leading to an annual rise in industrial and agricultural output value of 16.8 billion yuan (about US\$4.54 billion).

December 23

■ Yuan Mu, a spokesman for the State Council, says the council has

approved a new law on co-operative enterprises involving Chinese and foreign partners.

The 28-article law covers the operation of co-operative enterprises and procedures for obtaining approval.

■ From January 1 to November 30, 1987, the output value of China's light industry totalled 169.6 billion yuan, an increase of 13.3 percent over the year-earlier period, the Ministry of Light Industry says.

About 8,000 new products were developed in the latest period, 60 percent of which have been put into production.

CULTURAL

December 22

■ Wu Chao, a 9-year-old pupil in Dongyang County, Zhejiang Province, has developed a foldable tray for mosquito-repellant incense and received patent rights for her invention from the Chinese Patent Office. This makes her the youngest patent holder in the country, the overseas edition of *Renmin Ribao* says.

SOCIAL

December 27

■ Rewi Alley, a well-known New Zealand social activist and a long-time friend of the Chinese people, died early this morning in Beijing of a cerebral embolism and heart failure at the age of 90, Xinhua reports.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

December 24

■ The Chinese government agrees to give a loan to Sudan and the two countries sign a 1988 trade protocol and a 1988-90 cultural co-operation pact.

ISRAEL

Palestinian Uprising Brutally Suppressed

Israeli troops sent to quell Palestinian resistance in Israeli-occupied Arab territories killed at least 22 people and wounded hundreds of others. Israel's latest atrocities were condemned by the international community.

A traffic accident on December 8, in which four Palestinians were killed by an Israeli truck, set off a new round of protests on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip. Massive demonstrations against Israeli atrocities also broke out in Jerusalem.

Israeli troops were sent in by helicopter, tank and armoured car to stop demonstrations and strikes by unarmed Palestinians against the Israeli occupation of the territories. The events coincided with the 40th anniversary of the United Nations partition plan for Palestine. At least 22 Palestinian demonstrators were killed and hundreds were wounded in the clashes. The Israeli authorities have arrested more than 2,000 demonstrators.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat condemned the Israeli atrocities, demanding UN protection for Palestinian civilians. The PLO Executive Committee discussed situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and appealed for international support for the Palestinian People's struggle against Israeli suppression.

Many countries and international organizations condemned the Israeli actions and voiced their firm support to the heroic struggle of Palestinian people against Israeli occupation and for the right to self-determination. Some nations also condemned Israel's new invasion of southern Lebanon.

On December 22, the UN Security Council passed a resolution deploring the killing of

Palestinians and calling on Israel to abide "immediately and scrupulously" by the Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilians in Time of War in the Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. The resolution urges "a just, durable and peaceful" settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

For 20 years the Israeli authorities have stubbornly pursued a policy of expansion, forcibly occupying the West Bank and Gaza Strip. With arms, Israel has attempted to rob the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights, maintaining its unconscionable occupation of Arab territories by means of cruel persecution and bloody massacres. But the more ruthless the suppression, the more violent the Palestinian resistance.

The history of the past 20 years proves that malicious actions by the Israeli authorities, and the subsequent brave resistance of the Palestinians always leave Israel even more isolated and in a worse predicament.

Since the early 1980s, calls to politically resolve the Arab-Israeli dispute through peaceful negotiations have increased. Most Arab countries and the PLO strongly advocate the convening by the UN of an international peace conference on the Middle East. The current session of the UN General Assembly passed a resolution to reaffirm that the PLO has the right to attend the proposed conference on an equal basis with other parties in the Middle East conflict. But the Israeli authorities refuse to

accept the historical trend. Their latest bloody actions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have sabotaged the efforts to peacefully resolve the Middle East problem, showing once again that Israel's conduct is the main obstacle to peace in the region.

For a while, the Israeli authorities took advantage of the distraction provided by the escalation of the Iran-Iraq war to step up their atrocities in the occupied territories and sabotage all peace efforts in the Middle East. This course aroused the indignation of the international community. The current UN General Assembly session also reaffirmed that the Palestinian problem is the "core" of the Middle East conflict: the rights of Palestinian people cannot be revoked; and Arab territories occupied by Israel must be returned. This is a sharp warning to Israel.

Li luye, China's ambassador to the UN condemned Israel for its military suppression and trampling of the basic rights of the Palestinian people in total disregard of world opinion, international law and UN authority. Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian told the visiting Sudanese foreign minister that China strongly condemns the Israeli authorities' cruel repression of Palestinian residents. Chinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping and Acting Premier Li Peng also expressed China's firm support to the just cause of Palestinian people and sharply criticized Israel in their talks with visiting Yemen Arab Republic President Ali Abdullan Saleh on December 25.

The Chinese government and people resolutely support the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and are opposed to the Israeli's policies of aggression and expansion. The Israeli authorities must immediately stop their cruel repression and persecution of the Palestinians.

by Zhao Xin

INF Treaty Receives Tepid Praise

The partial US military withdrawal in the region may make Western European nations take a new look at their own defence systems.

The US-Soviet Intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty was finally signed on December 8, 1987 by the leaders of the two countries during their Washington summit. Among the 859 US medium-and shorter-range missiles to be destroyed in accordance with the treaty are 429 deployed in Western Europe. This inevitably stirred Western European nations not only in a military but also in a political sense.

The INF treaty is generally welcomed in Western Europe as a substantial breakthrough and the first accord between superpowers in post-war years to scrap a whole category of nuclear arsenals. Europeans also see the dismantling of the two sides' missiles under strict verification measures as a means of thawing tense East-West relations and encouraging further disarmament in other areas.

But the withdrawal of nuclear weapons also alerts Europeans to their security needs. For several decades, the strategic defence of Western Europe has been based on nuclear deterrence and US nuclear weapons played a dominant role as the only weapon system capable of reaching Soviet territory. There are misgivings that the INF treaty will deprive Western Europe of its nuclear deterrence. The feeling gains weight with the possibility that future US-Soviet nuclear talks may include short-range missiles, thus encroaching on the independent nuclear forces of Britain and France. They have long rejected the idea of European "denuclearization," which they argue

would disarm Western Europe in the face of an armed Soviet Union.

A "decoupling" of US-European defence is another fear lurking among some Western European nations. A weakened Western Europe after the Second World War has banked on the US nuclear umbrella and American stationed troops for its own security. It costs the United States an annual US\$130 billion for its NATO commitments, one-third of its total military outlay. Appeals for dissociation from Western Europe have been on the rise within the United States and the removal of intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe will certainly deepen concern.

Western Europe is torn between the desire to achieve detente between the two superpowers and fear that its interests will be jeopardized as a result. In what they see as "overhead diplomacy," the United States and the Soviet Union reached an agreement on scrapping medium- and shorter-range missiles. Europeans were bitter that they were left on the sidelines in an issue which directly influenced their security. Some Western patriots have begun to call the INF summit a new Yalta agreement, alleging that it carved up Europe.

The new situation has brought Western European leaders together on many occasions in an effort to work out a common strategy. Leading the movement, France and Federal Germany began last year to talk about the possibility of creating a Franco-German brigade to strengthen

their military co-operation. An agreement was signed by the two countries for the co-operative development of weapons, combat helicopters and space technology. French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac declared openly four days after the INF treaty was signed that any invasion of Federal Germany would be taken as an invasion of France.

Within a week of the INF treaty signing, France and Britain, the two nuclear states in Western Europe, decided to join hands in developing a new type of air-to-ground nuclear missile and other measures designed to boost defence co-operation.

Among the issues involving Western European security is the adoption by the seven member countries of the Western European Union of a "European Security Platform," which reaffirms conventional and nuclear forces as two fundamental props for Western Europe's security, upholds European-US strategic links, and emphasizes the need for allied interests to be immune to any arms control move. The document clearly points to Western Europe's strong desire for defence co-operation.

To pursue a common military strategy, Western European countries must iron out their differences in military doctrine. Federal Germany, a member state of NATO, maintains that Western Europe and the United States should be as close as lips to teeth, while France which is no longer part of NATO militarily has long inclined towards an independent defence policy. France and Britain have warned that European denuclearization is not the best way to achieve peace in Europe, but Federal Germany, lying in the shadow of Soviet short-range missiles, considers it a good idea. Paris-Bonn military co-operation also displeased Britain and Italy who refuse to recognize in Western Europe a leading centre in European defence.

by Jia Bin

Top 10 World News Events of 1987

1
Giant strides in superconductors: discoveries made in February and March in the United States, China, Japan and other countries in superconductor research made superconductivity one of the most exciting concepts in applied physics this decade.



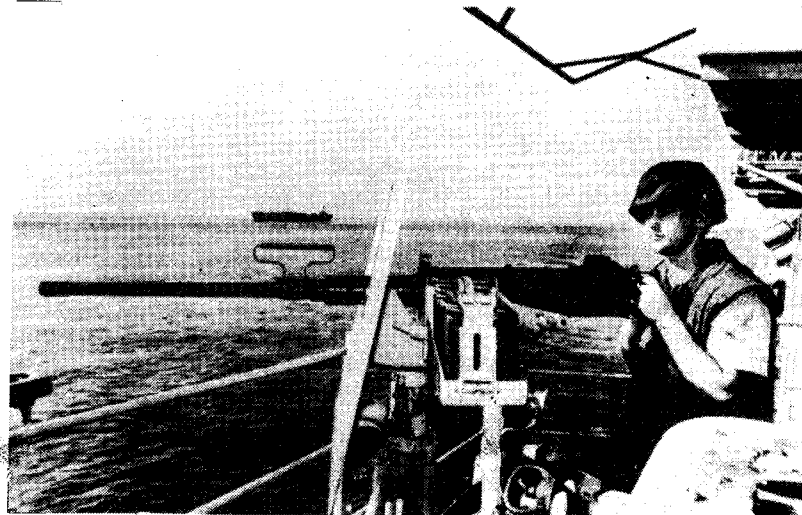
2
A light plane from Federal Germany lands in Moscow; on May 28, Mathias Rust, 19, flew a light plane from the Finnish capital into Moscow and landed in Red Square. Soviet Defence Minister Sergei Sokolov and head of the Soviet Air Defence Force Alexander Koldunov were removed from their posts for "serious failures" in military organization and in guarding Soviet airspace.



3
Soviet reform: in a plenary session on June 26, the Soviet Communist Party passed a resolution calling for "fundamental reorganization of economic management." The Supreme Soviet approved the Law on State Enterprises on June 30.

4
World's 5 Billion Day: The United Nations named July 11 "The World's 5 Billion Day" to attract more attention to the population crisis facing the international community. UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar visited the world's 5 billionth inhabitant in Yugoslavia.

5
US naval escorts in Gulf: on July 22, the United States began escorting US-flagged Kuwaiti tankers in the Gulf. Earlier, on July 20 the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 598, asking Iran and Iraq to immediately adopt a ceasefire.





6
Central American Peace Accord signed: on August 7, the Central American Peace Accord was signed in Guatemala City by presidents from Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador. It marked a turning point for countries in the region which opened up consultations to end unrest and restore peace.



7
Honecker visits Bonn: on September 7-11, Democratic German leader Erich Honecker visited Federal Germany. It was the first visit to Federal Germany made by a top Democratic German leader.



8
New York stock crash: on October 19, the New York stock exchange suffered the worst fall in its history of 195 years. The crash created a chain reaction in stock markets the world over and shook the Western economy.

9
Chinese Communist Party National Congress held: on October 25-November 1, the Chinese Communist Party held its 13th National Congress in Beijing. The congress determined that China is now in the primary stage of socialism and laid down the basic Party line for this stage. Changes in top Party members introduced a younger new leadership.



10
US-Soviet INF treaty signed: on December 8 in Washington, US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev signed an intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty to eliminate all nuclear weapons in that category. The treaty is the first genuine arms reduction agreement in the history of US-Soviet arms negotiations.



Current Policies & Prospects for HK

In his speech on April 16, 1987 while meeting members of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's Basic Law Drafting Committee, Deng Xiaoping expounded on the constancy of China's current policies. The speech is reproduced here, with our own title. — Ed.

Deng Xiaoping

I've come just to see you. We haven't met for nearly two years. I must say you've been working hard.

Your committee has been working for 20 months. With your hard work and wisdom, the work has progressed smoothly, and co-operation has been satisfactory. This will benefit Hong Kong's transition. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's Basic Law should embody the success of our "one country, two systems" principle. This basic law should set an example for Macao and Taiwan, so it is very important. There is no equivalent anywhere: it is a new thing. There are three years left for the drafting; the basic law must be worked out very carefully.

Today I want to say something about the constancy of our policies. That is to say, our policy towards Hong Kong will not change for 50 years after it returns to the motherland in 1997. This includes the basic law which will be valid for at least 50 years. I want to say that there will be no need for change even after that. Hong Kong's status will not change; our policies towards Hong Kong will not change, neither will our policies towards Macao. As for our policies towards Taiwan, they will not change in the 50-year period after the issue of reunification is resolved according to the "one country, two systems" principle. Our domestic open policy and the policy of opening to the outside world will also remain unchanged. By the end of this century, China's per-capita GNP will reach

US\$800-1,000. It appears that we can realistically hope for a figure of US\$1,000. There are over 100 countries in the world, and by the year 2000 I'm afraid China will still be placed behind the 50th, but its strength won't be the same. By then China's population will be 1.2-1.25 billion and its GNP will be US\$1,000-1,200 billion. Our socialist system, based on public ownership, seeks common prosperity; by then China will be a well-off society. Differing from ordinary affluent societies, it will be one where people's living standards improve universally. More importantly, having achieved this, China will, in another 50 years, quadruple its GNP to reach a per-capita GNP of US\$4,000. If this is achieved, though China will still lag behind a few dozen other countries, it will have become a moderately developed country. By then China's population will be 1.5 billion. That means its GNP will be US\$6,000 billion, which is calculated according to the 1980 exchange rate between the US dollar and Renminbi. This figure will certainly place China in the front ranks of the world. China practises a socialist system of distribution, by then not only will the state's strength have increased, people's living standards will have improved too.

What conditions are needed to achieve this goal? First, it needs a stable political situation. Why should we have handled the problem of student unrest so seriously and so quickly? Because China must experience no more

turbulence. In handling anything, one should have the overall situation in mind, the key to China's development lies in political stability. The second condition is that the current policies should remain unchanged. As I have just said, the problem of change or no change should be considered in the light of our goals over the next few decades.

So we need stability in two fields: stability in politics, and stability in policies. Constancy means stability. If, by the end of another 50 years, this policy proves effective and our goal is achieved, there will be still less reason for any change. So I say after the issue of reunification is resolved through the "one country, two systems" principle, our policies towards Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan will not change during the period of 50 years and will remain unchanged thereafter. Of course, by then I will no longer be alive, but I believe our successors will show the same understanding.

There is one more thing which will remain unchanged. The open policy, which the Chinese Party and government have adhered to, will not change. This makes everyone happy. But whenever there is a sign of disturbance, there are people who wonder whether China's policies are changing. Recently, after the case of Comrade Hu Yaobang became known, people asked whether China's policies had changed. They are haunted by fear of change. They overlook the fact that China's policies basically cover two aspects. When we say

constancy, we mean constancy in two aspects, not one aspect. The other aspect is adherence to the four cardinal principles: to the socialist system, to Communist Party leadership. That is ignored. People only ask whether China's open policy has changed, but they have never asked whether the socialist system has changed. It has not and will not.

Our adherence to the socialist system and the four cardinal principles has been set down and written into China's Constitution. Some of our policies, including our policies towards Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, were formulated on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles. Without the Communist Party of China, without China's socialism, who could have formulated these policies? Nobody would have had the courage and insight, no other political party could have done so. Do you agree with me? It would not have happened without courage. That courage is based on something—the socialist system; socialist China led by the Communist Party. China is building socialism with Chinese characteristics, therefore the "one country, two systems" policy was drawn up and the two systems can be allowed to coexist. It could not have happened without some courage, which is based on people's support. The people support China's socialist system and the Party's leadership. Ignoring the four cardinal principles suggests one-sidedness. To see whether China's policies are changing, one must also look to see whether the four cardinal principles are upheld. To be honest, if there were changes in this aspect, it would be impossible to keep Hong Kong unchanged in the 50-year period. To ensure that our policy towards Hong Kong will not change during this period and thereafter, it is necessary to maintain China's socialist system led by the Chinese Communist Party. Building socialism means building socialism with Chinese

characteristics. One of these characteristics, which is very important, is the handling of the issues of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan—the "one country, two systems" principle. This is a new thing which was invented not by the United States, Japan, Europe, or the Soviet Union, but by China; that is what we mean by Chinese characteristics.

In talking about constancy, one should consider constancy in all aspects of the policy. Changes in one aspect will affect other aspects. So please explain this to friends in Hong Kong. Just think, if China's socialist system should change, if the socialist system with Chinese characteristics and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party should change, what would Hong Kong be like? It would be impossible to keep Hong Kong unchanged during the first 50-year period. To ensure the implementation of our Hong Kong policy during this period and beyond, it is necessary to keep the socialist system on the mainland unchanged. When we oppose bourgeois liberalization, our aim is to ensure that China's socialist system will not change, our policies as a whole will not change, our domestic open policy and our policy of opening to the outside world will not change. If all these should change, our goals of building a prosperous society by the end of this century and of reaching the level of a moderately developed country in the next century would not be met. Now that international monopoly capital controls the world economy and the world market, it is not easy to build oneself up, it is even more difficult for a poor country like China to build itself up. Without the policies of reform and opening up, we could not survive the competition. You understand this better than we do, it is indeed not easy. There has been much discussion of this issue of constancy, and I believe such discussion will continue to the end of this century and into the next.

We should prove this constancy with facts.

Now some people say that China is withdrawing from its policies of reform and opening up. I admit there are problems with our pricing system and we have curtailed investment in capital construction. But we should approach the matter from the perspective of the overall situation. Taking each step forward involves expansion in certain fields and retrenchment in others; this is only natural. On the whole, openness is the main thing. Our open policy will definitely continue. Our door is not open wide enough. Our openness and reform are not easy tasks. They require boldness and resolve. There is no other way out than to open up and reform. Without this, there will no hope for the country's modernization. But in dealing with concrete matters, we must be careful and constantly review our experience. Every step forward we make, we should review our experience to see what should proceed faster, what slower and what should be withdrawn. This is absolutely necessary. We should not act recklessly. Seeing that we have tightened up in certain respects, some people assert that our policies have changed. This view is unsound.

The "one country, two systems" principle also involves two aspects. One is, in a socialist country capitalism is allowed to be the norm in some special areas, not for a short period, but for several decades or a century. The other aspect is that socialism should have dominance in the state as a whole. Otherwise, how can it be described as "two systems"? It would become "one system" only. Some people who advocated bourgeois liberalization hope that China's mainland will adopt capitalism, through "wholesale Westernization." On this issue some people's ideas are one-sided. Without a proper understanding of the two aspects of the matter, it would be

impractical to carry out the "one country, two systems" principle or the policy of no change over several decades.

American journalist Mike Wallace put a question to me. He said now that the mainland's economic developmental level is far lower than that of Taiwan, why should Taiwan be unified with the mainland? I answered there are two major reasons: First, China's reunification is the desire of all the Chinese people, a desire that has been cherished for one and a half centuries. Since the Opium War, China's reunification has been the common desire of the Chinese nation, including Taiwan; it is not the desire of a certain political party or grouping, but the desire of the whole nation. The second reason is that unless Taiwan returns to the embrace of the motherland and becomes unified with the mainland, someday it would be taken away by others. Now many people abroad try to seize upon the matter of Taiwan and make an issue of it. Once Taiwan is reunified with the mainland, the situation will be stable even if everything in Taiwan, including its system, remains unchanged. Therefore resolution of this issue will be regarded as an excellent thing by people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, as a contribution to the reunification of our country and nation.

I also want to say something about the drafting of the basic law. I once said that the basic law should not be too detailed. Hong Kong's system should not be completely Westernized. Western things must not be copied mechanically. Hong Kong has neither adopted the British system nor the American system, and it has gone through one and a half centuries this way. Let us suppose Western systems are completely transplanted, the system of three constitutional powers and the British and American parliamentary systems for example: I'm afraid they will not provide the

proper criteria by which to judge democracy. So I have invited you to come together and give the issue careful consideration. Regarding democracy, the mainland advocates socialist democracy, which is different from the capitalist concept of democracy. Western democracy involves the division of the three constitutional powers and parliamentary elections. We do not oppose Western countries' practice of parliamentary election, but we do not use it on China's mainland; we do not practise the division of the three constitutional powers and the two-chamber system. What we practise is the system of the National People's Congress—the unicameral legislature. This suits China's conditions best. If our policies and orientation are correct, this system will prove to be the most beneficial, it will help bring prosperity to the country and avoid too many involvements. Of course, if policies are wrong, it will be of no use whatever cameral legislature is practised. I don't believe that general elections are definitely beneficial for Hong Kong. For example, I used to say that matters of Hong Kong's future should naturally be handled by Hong Kong people. Can these people be elected by universal suffrage? We say these administrators of Hong Kong's affairs should be Hong Kong people who love the motherland and Hong Kong. Can such people definitely be chosen through general election? Hong Kong Governor David Wilson recently said that the matter should proceed in an orderly way and step by step. I think this view is quite realistic. Even if a general election is held, it will need a period of gradual transition, proceeding step by step. I once told a foreign guest that in the next century, after the first half century is over, the mainland would introduce general elections. Now indirect elections are held in units above the county level and direct elections are held only in grass-roots units at and

below the county level. Because China has a population of 1 billion and the cultural level of its people is low, conditions are not ripe for universal direct election. When something is practical in certain countries, it is not necessarily practical in other countries. We must suit our action to reality and decide our own system and management methods according to China's own characteristics.

One more point must be made clear. One must never think that when Hong Kong's affairs are governed by local people and not by the central government at all, everything will be just fine. That won't do and this idea is unrealistic. It is true that the central government will not interfere in the routine affairs of the Special Administrative Region and will have no need to do so. However, will things which might harm the country's fundamental interests occur in the Special Administrative Region? Could it be that such things will not happen? If they do, will Beijing concern itself with the matter? Can't it be that nothing harmful to Hong Kong's fundamental interests will occur in the region? Is it conceivable that there will be no interference or destructive force in Hong Kong? I think there is no basis for such self-consolation. If the central government gives up all power, then some confusion may result and Hong Kong's interests may be impaired. Therefore, keeping certain power for the central government will benefit Hong Kong and bring it no harm. Just think this through soberly: Might a problem arise in Hong Kong which cannot be solved without Beijing's interference? In the past when Hong Kong encountered a problem, Britain would invariably attend to it. Some matters will inevitably arise which you will find it hard to solve without the central government taking a hand in the matter. The central government's policy will not impair Hong Kong's interests and it is hoped that things

detrimental to the interests of the country and Hong Kong will not arise in the region. If such things do occur, what is to be done? Please consider this, the basic law should take all these into consideration. Suppose after 1997 someone in Hong Kong denounces the Chinese Communist Party and curses China; we will allow them to do so, but if they turn abuse into action and try to

turn Hong Kong into a base of opposition to the mainland in the name of "democracy," how should it be dealt with? We will definitely interfere. Administrative organs in Hong Kong will first take action. The mainland's troops stationed locally will not necessarily be used; they will go into action only when turmoil and big riots occur. But interference is necessary.

Generally speaking, the "one country, two systems" principle is a new thing, and there may be many things still beyond our expectation. The basic law is an important document which must be conscientiously worked out on the basis of reality. I hope it will be a very good law which truly embodies the "one country, two systems" concept and proves practical and successful. ■

"ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS" CONCEPT

Its Formation and Development

by Li Jiaquan

Over five years have elapsed since the "one country, two systems" concept was proposed. It has already been applied in resolving the Hong Kong issue. Dr. Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, during his visit to Hong Kong and Macao early last year, said that the formula of "one country, two systems" drawn up by the Chinese government was a practical proposition and that the people of Hong Kong were becoming more confident that the capitalist system there would be maintained after the colony is handed over to Chinese rule in 1997.

Although Taiwan and Hong Kong are different, the basic principles contained in the "one country, two systems" formula can apply equally to Taiwan. We are highly confident of solving the Taiwan issue in accordance with the principle of "one country, two systems."

The "one country, two systems" formula is the product of a long evolution. The idea was first put forward on the eve of the Third

Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978 and gradually took shape thereafter. It is the product of the Chinese Communist Party line of seeking truth from facts, and a major development in China's policy for peaceful reunification of the motherland.

Three Stages

The development of the "one country, two systems" concept can roughly be divided into three stages:

The first began on the eve of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In November 1978, in a meeting with the *Washington Post* correspondent, Deng Xiaoping said, "After a peaceful reunification of the country is achieved, Taiwan may still retain non-socialist economic and social systems." At the plenary session, China adopted the strategic policy for peacefully reunifying the motherland.

The Communiqué issued by the plenum said, "The normalization of relations between China and the United States presents the prospect of the return of the sacred

territory of Taiwan to the embrace of our motherland more clearly."

The Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee's Message to Compatriots in Taiwan on New Year's Day 1979 said: "Our state leaders have declared that they will take present realities into account in accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland. They would respect the status quo on Taiwan and the opinions of people of all walks of life there, and they will adopt reasonable policies and measures in settling the question of reunification so as not to cause the people of Taiwan any losses." The message proposed restoring trade, post and air and shipping services across the Taiwan Straits.

In a meeting with the governor of Hong Kong in March 1979, Deng Xiaoping said, "We have always taken the special status of Taiwan into account, the social system there need not change and the people's living standards need not be affected, and as a local government, it may have extensive autonomy and armed forces for its own defence. Of course, there must not be two Chinas, nor can there be one and a half Chinas."

Although the "one country, two

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systems" concept had not been explicitly stated, the idea was already clear. After the Party Central Committee's plenary session in December 1978, China no longer spoke of "liberating Taiwan," or of "peaceful liberation." This represents a major change in the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards Taiwan.

The Second stage began in September 1981, when the NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying delivered a statement to the Xinhua News Agency, which detailed the specific principles and policies for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

Ye's statement said, "After the country is reunified, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed forces. Taiwan's current socio-economic systems will remain unchanged, so will its way of life and its economic and cultural relations with other countries. There will be no encroachment on property rights and legal right of inheritance of private property, houses, land and enterprises, nor on foreign investment."

In meeting with a foreign friend in January 1982, Deng Xiaoping said, "The nine-point policy (Ye's statement) was presented in the name of Chairman Ye Jianying; in fact it embodies the 'one country, two systems' principle. Two systems are permissible, and one may not undermine the other."

Here the "one country, two systems" concept was given its name. I asserted in an earlier article published under the name of Wei Daye in November 1984, when, because of incomplete reference materials, I suggested Deng Xiaoping first put forward the idea in September 1982. I would like to correct that here.

In July 1983, in a meeting with a professor from New Jersey in the United States, Deng said, "After the country is reunified, the Taiwan special administrative region may retain its independent nature and practise a system

different from that of the mainland. It may exercise an independent judiciary and the right of final judgment need not reside in Beijing. Taiwan may also keep its own armed forces, so long as they do not constitute a threat to the mainland. The mainland will station neither troops nor administrative personnel in Taiwan. The political party, government and armed forces in Taiwan will be administered by Taiwan itself. Seats in the central government will be reserved for Taiwan."

It is clear that the "one country, two systems" concept had already taken shape at that time and been advanced.

The third stage began in 1984 and was marked by an article focusing on Deng Xiaoping's statements on the "one country, two systems" principle, which was carried in the weekly *Outlook*, on October 15. During this stage, the "one country, two systems" concept was comprehensively expounded and put into practice.

Prior to September 1984, negotiations on the Hong Kong issue had been going on between China and Britain, and they represented the application of the "one country, two systems" principle to Hong Kong. During that period, Deng Xiaoping spoke about the concept on many occasions, for example, in meeting with a US research centre delegation on February 22, with US President Ronald Reagan on April 28, with British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe on April 18 and July 31, and with Hong Kong industrial and commercial delegates visiting Beijing, and Hong Kong public figures separately in June of the same year.

In October *Outlook* carried a digest of all these statements, and in them Deng stressed that the "one country, two systems" idea was thought out on the basis of China's conditions; respecting facts means respecting the history of Hong Kong and Taiwan; and

the idea is a major strategic policy decision, not an expedient measure. The third stage is where the idea was systematized and used in settling the Hong Kong question.

Conclusions

(1) The idea is a major development in China's strategic policy for peacefully reunifying the motherland, and a major part of this policy. Advancing this idea has moved the peaceful reunification of the motherland from being a wish that is imaginable but unattainable, to a fair, reasonable, practical and scientific proposition.

(2) The "one country, two systems" idea embodies three principles as shown in the solution of the Hong Kong question: (a). Sovereignty must be recovered, the motherland must be reunified; (b). No change will be made in Hong Kong's current system, full guarantees are provided for the region's prosperity; and (c). Other countries' economic interests in the region will not be encroached upon. These basic principles reflect the wishes of all Chinese people. They also apply to Taiwan.

(3) The "one country, two systems" principle is one of China's basic state policies. There are stipulations in China's Constitution on the establishment of special administrative regions. They all have legal effect.

In his Report on Government Work delivered to the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress on May 15, 1984, Zhao Ziyang, then premier of the State Council, formally put forward the "one country, two systems" idea, which was adopted by the session.

In July 1984, speaking of the Hong Kong negotiations which were more or less complete, Deng Xiaoping said, "I am confident the 'one country, two systems' principle is practical."

Chinese Films: Can They Go to the World?

The First Chinese Film Festival demonstrated the rapid progress made by China's film industry in the last few years. A wide variety of themes and styles were represented and both young and established directors left their mark. Chinese films are gradually making their entry into the world.

By Our Correspondent Zhang Wei

The most conspicuous event for China's film industry in 1987 was no doubt the week-long Chinese film festival in September. At the festival, 111 Chinese films were screened under the gaze of over 200 film makers and critics from different parts of the world. The festival, which aimed towards providing the possibility for exchanging experiences with film makers from abroad, presented 61 feature films, 30 cartoons, and 20 documentaries produced by 15 film studios over recent years. Some of the films received both international and Chinese awards, and quite a few have been the subject of controversy.

The films represented the work of 20 directors, four of them women, including established veteran directors and younger directors who have now come to the fore.

In 1956 at the Cannes Film Festival when the noted French film critic Regis Bergeron saw his first Chinese film, *Missions on the Streets*, which was produced in the 1930s and describes the life of lower-class Shanghai residents, he was greatly impressed. He deeply regretted the disappearance of Chinese films from the world screen in the 30 years that followed. After attending the Chinese film festival he expressed his renewed confidence, saying, "I'm pleased to see Chinese films have touched on a great variety of themes; love is no longer a forbidden topic and war is no longer pure heroism. Chinese film

today reveals a changing world, renewed and seething with life."

Varied Themes, Styles

A wide variety of themes featured in the films shown at the festival. Among the historical films were *Sun Yat-sen*, a biography about the pioneer of China's democratic revolution and the first president of the Republic of China (1912-49), *Clash of the Warlords*, about the fighting between warlords in the 20s; *The Battle of Taierzhuang*, about the war of resistance against Japanese aggression; *Genghis*

Khan, outlining the unification of Mongolia under his rule; and *The King of Sulu and the Emperor of China*, describing the friendship between a ruler of a south Pacific state and a Chinese emperor during the Ming Dynasty in the 15th century.

Several films deal with contemporary life: *T Province in 1984 and 1985* and *The Broken Promise* are about changes in the city and countryside under the current economic reform; *The Black Cannon Incident* and *The Displacement* criticize bureaucracy and evil trends in modern life.

War films include *War is None of Women's Business* and *The*

"An Old Well."



Lives They Left Behind, describing the war of self-defence against Viet Nam. *Army Nurse* is a description of the life of women soldiers.

A number of films are based on legends or are purely entertaining. *Wang Wu, the Big Knife* portrays the life of a chivalrous man who fought the Qing army and foreign invaders at the turn of the 20th century; *Miraculous Pigtail*, a kungfu film based on the fight of the Boxers in Tianjin against the invading eight-power allied forces. The warlord Sun Chuanfang's robbery of the Empress Dowager's tomb in the late 20s is the subject of *The Legend of the Empress Dowager's Jewelry*. *Tribulations of the Young Master* is adapted from *Tribulations of A Chinese Gentleman* by the French writer Jules Verne. One entertaining film is *Mirage* about a photographer's experience in the Gobi desert in the 30s.

Films about children and teenagers include *The Missing Girl Student*, *My Classmates and I* and the *Kids' Canteen*.

Just as their themes are varied so are the styles of the films. Some reflect the structural beauty of the screen while others are simple and unassuming; some make use of realism and some are fantastic and imaginary.

The varied themes and styles deeply impressed many foreign film critics. Rubanova, a Soviet film critic, said, "Chinese films were largely unaccepted by Russian audiences, because they all seemed to be from the same mould. Theme, content and style were monotonous, aiming to educate the audience. Now things have changed a great deal." She said the festival revealed the co-existence of realism and futurism; love and sex had their proper place, and there were almost no areas restricted to film creators. Such great variety in films is rare in other parts of the world. "This shows the Chinese film circles are very lively and are full of hope."

Six Films

At the festival six films that attracted much audience attention were *The Black Cannon Incident*, *A Small Town Called Hibiscus*, *An Old Well*, *Miraculous Pigtail*, *The Big Parade* and *Missing Girl Student*.

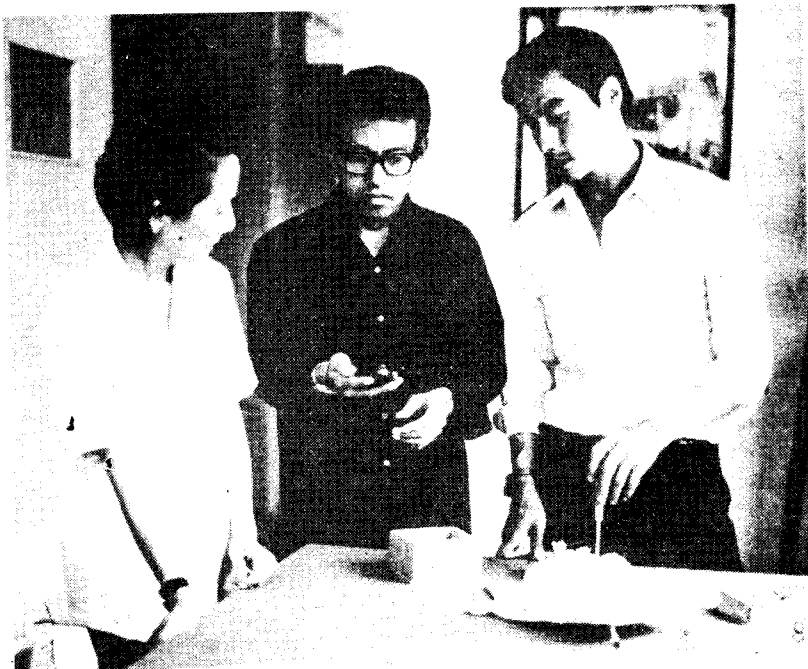
The Black Cannon Incident produced by the Xian Film Studio is about the experience of an engineer named Zhao Shuxin, who works as the German interpreter on a construction site. Zhao is an avid Chinese chess fan. After losing a black cannon piece while he is on a business trip, he cables his friend to look for the missing piece. The cable is discovered by one of Zhao's leaders, who suspects him of involvement in illicit activities, and discharges him from his duties as interpreter. An unqualified interpreter replaces Zhao with the result that the state suffers huge financial losses amounting to 800,000 yuan. The film raises the issue of respect for intellectuals.

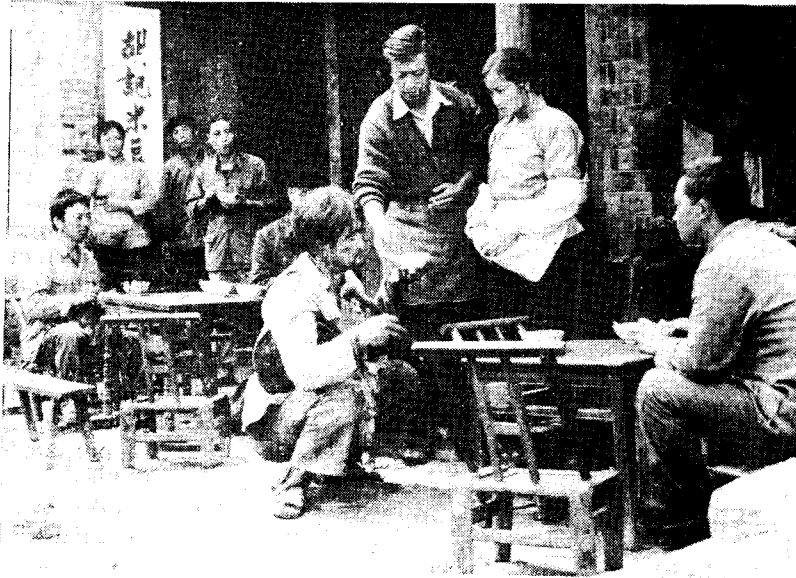
Through the skilful use of colour, image and sound, the director brings out the structural beauty of the film.

Thirty-three-year-old Huang Jianxin is an advocate of "structuralism," but in his film-making he tries to cater to the tastes of people with different educational levels. Though his films are regarded as China's exploratory (experimental) films, they still draw a large audience. "I try to produce films of an exploratory nature for higher tastes, but they can be appreciated by all," said Huang. When *The Black Cannon Incident* was shown at the festival, the hall was packed and the audience responded well to the film. A representative of the Hungarian Film Co. commented, "The courage to face up to and expose errors will gain the sympathy and support of the people and win film makers their confidence. Hungarians can share many feelings with the Chinese as we have been through similar experiences."

An Australian cultural affairs

A scene from "The Black Cannon Incident."





A scene from "A Small Town Called Hibiscus."

official said. "I like the film's sense of humour. This movie will be welcomed if it is shown in Australia."

A Small Town Called Hibiscus, which is based on life in western Hunan, describes the changing fate of the ordinary people through different historical periods from the early post-liberation days to the 1980s. The heroine Hu Yuyin is an honest food stall owner who becomes well-off through hard work, but later suffers under the "left" political line. Her tragedy is, to a large extent, a true portrayal of the life of Chinese farmers in those years. Xie Jin, a veteran director, kept to his original style with its touching description of the fate of his characters. The fine performance by actress Liu Xiaoqing received warm applause at the film's close. Rubanova of the Soviet Union said, "We find this film easy to understand. It shows how the life of an individual can be affected by history. We have films with a similar theme."

"I think this is a first class film, though it is a bit too long for American audiences," an American critic said.

An Old Well takes place in

Shaanxi. The movie takes its name from a poor village on an arid rocky mountain. For generations the local farmers tried in vain to find water by sinking wells. Sun Wangquan, a young farmer, takes up the quest with all the knowledge he has gained at school. He overcomes many difficulties, even losing his girl friend's love, but in the end finds water.

The style of *An Old Well* is heavy, slow and sombre, and the character's fate is bitter. Director Wu Tianming said that he tried to depict the tenacious and persevering character of the Chinese nation. At the film's close, the audience seemed to be lost in thought. Wu said, "It is easy for a film to win applause, but it is difficult to leave audiences at a loss for ways to express their feelings or unwilling to leave their seats. This is the effect I am after."

Many spectators hoped the film would be entered in an international film festival. Mr. Paul Clark of the Hawaiian International Film Festival said, "This film is a success. We can see how much effort the director and actors put into it." *An Old Well* lived up to audience expectations

when, two weeks after the film festival, it won an award at the Tokyo International Film Festival. What is most noteworthy in the film is the acting of Zhang Yimou, a film photographer whose film *Yellow Earth* about life in the 30s for northern Shaanxi peasants has won awards at international film festivals on numerous occasions. His performance is true to life. It prompted some experts to comment that it might mark a turning point away from the formula acting used by most Chinese actors.

Shanghai Film Studio's *Missing Girl Student* reveals the innermost feelings of a teenage girl. It is rare for a Chinese film to describe a girl's attitudes towards sex and the film created quite a stir when it was shown to the public. It has also raised the interests of foreign audiences. The director Shi Shujun is a noted woman director who also raised controversy with her film *Schoolgirls' Dormitory*.

The young director Chen Kaige first won acclaim with *Yellow Earth*, and his work is represented at the festival by *The Big Parade*, documenting the military review in Beijing's Tian An Men Square in 1984 and the intensive training prior to the review. The film provides an insight into the thoughts and views of six officers and men of an air-force squadron.

Chen said, "I wanted to show the interesting responses and contradictions arising when individuals under a strict organization and high discipline clash with the organization." *The Big Parade* won an award at the Montreal International Film Festival.

Miraculous Pigtail is a legendary film about an honest and simple villager skilled in martial arts. A Finnish spectator said *Miraculous Pigtail* is the best representative of the martial arts films screened at the festival. It received unanimous praise from the audience. Many believe the film is a good example of the integration of traditional folk

customs with film art.

Sha Er has a miraculous pigtail with which he defeats the local despots and a Japanese martial arts master, so he wins high repute as the "miraculous pigtail." In 1900 when the eight-power allied forces invaded China, Sha Er joins the Boxers and kills many invaders. But when his pigtail is cut short by a bullet, he is deprived of his miraculous power and he turns to a hermit's life in humiliation. Years later he becomes a sharpshooter with two pistols and continues his fight against the enemy with his new weapons.

The theme is interesting because it touches on the Chinese national spirit and the weaknesses of the people scarred by oppression. Superficially this legendary film is full of humour, with lots of action and an interesting plot, as well as *wushu* and local customs, but the central theme is solemn and profound. The director Zhang Zhen calls the film an historical fable. He said, "I hope the audience will consciously or unconsciously relate the film to the society of our times."

Zhang said he was seeking to combine artistic quality with entertainment and to make films that are both amusing and inspiring and will be appreciated on both an entertaining and intellectual level.

The Xie Jin Mode

One of the film festival's main attractions is Xie Jin. The 68-year-old director began his career in the early 50s. Over the past 30 years, he has turned out a dozen influential works.

Woman Basketball Player No. 5 is about two generations of athletes—the mother representing the old and the daughter the new generation. *Red Detachment of Women* is about the life and struggle of women guerrillas on Hainan Island in the 40s, and

Sisters on the Stage describes the tragic experience of women performers in old China. Both *The Legend of Tianyun Mountains* and *The Herdsman* are about ill-fated intellectuals. *Wreaths at the Foot of the Mountain*, which portrays modern army men, takes the Sino-Vietnamese war as its background. *A Small Town Called Hibiscus* is Xie's latest production. Some of Xie's films were prize-winners in China and his work has been shown at retrospective film exhibitions in the United States and France. He is a veteran director enjoying fame both inside China and overseas.

Last year at a discussion on Xie's works, some people criticized that Xie's films are limited to a set style or mode. They even raised the slogan of "Down with the Xie Jin mode." In his representative works *The Legend of Tianyun Mountains*, *The Herdsman* and *A Small Town Called Hibiscus*, innocents are often wronged, then an angel-like good woman suddenly appears, and the good in the end conquers all evil. Some held that this mode bears the "mark of vulgarity."

Another group of people held

that Xie was always close to the people and has a good understanding of the times. He translates his own feelings into artistic images and through them the audiences are moved. His work is realistic, but by no means bears the mark of vulgarity.

At the September festival, many asked Xie about the "Xie Jin mode." He answered, "Mode implies stagnation, but I'm always attempting to develop and create something new." He said styles and forms of different schools of thought represent the character and taste of the artists and different styles should coexist. He went on, "I will continue to work with realism, getting close to the masses and the times."

Regis Bergeron of France said, "A film that causes no argument is lifeless. I can understand how bad Xie Jin felt when he heard 'Down with the Xie Jin mode.'" In France I was also once the object of controversy, but it actually proved helpful. The debates showed that without the older generation the film industry would not be what it is today; without the young, it will have no future. The old and new generations of directors should

"The Missing Girl Student."



seek mutual understanding and help one another."

Max Tessier, a French film critic, said, "The history of the cinema is a record of the interaction of diverse opinions. Over 20 years ago in France a group of young directors opposed the old directors, but later they also wrote something good about their older counterparts. In Japan some young film critics even spoke against the famous director Akira Kurosawa. In the past few years, Xie Jin has proved his right to be called an outstanding director. *A Small Town Called Hibiscus* deeply impressed me. I think old and new directors should work side by side because they each have their place in Chinese film history."

Another focal point of the festival was the rise of new directors of the 80s, known as the "fifth generation" (Generally, directors of the 20s and 30s are known as the first generation; directors of the 40s, second generation; directors of the 50s, the third generation; and directors of the 60s, the fourth generation). The fifth generation of directors mainly refers to Zhang Junzhao, Chen Kaige, Huang Jianxin, Tian Zhuangzhuang and Wu Ziniu. Their films are recognized as films of a probing nature—borrowing Western styles of presentation to portray the Chinese nation. Their chief works are *One and Eight*, relating the story of how an Eighth Route Army soldier reforms a group of local bandits in the 40s; *Hunting Ground*, about the life of Tibetan hunters in Qinghai Province; *Yellow Earth*, and *The Black Cannon Incident*. Although some of these works were well received and won overseas awards, they met a cold reception in China and some critics found fault with the films.

Two months ago Chen Kaige showed his new work *A Primary School Teacher* in Shanghai. When the film was half way through, only a dozen or so people



Miraculous Pigtail.

remained in the audience. An engineer with a MA degree said to Chen, "Your film is incomprehensible even for people with a high level of education. How can you expect the majority to appreciate it?"

Tian Zhuangzhuang's experience was even worse. When *Horse Stealer* was shown in a preview screening, most of the audience said they didn't understand what the film was about; only a small number of spectators expressed their appreciation. Tian said vehemently, "My film is for the audience of the 21st century." This caused an uproar because his words were regarded as disrespectful to today's audience.

The diametrically opposed attitudes to the "probing films" of the fifth-generation directors has raised the interests of foreign film makers. A critic from Poland said, "It is good to have contention about young directors' works. The worst thing for a film is no debate at all."

Another critic questioned, "Why does the fifth generation of directors emphasize aestheticism?"

Is it because for a long time Chinese film workers paid little attention to artistic conception which was looked upon as a secondary factor?"

One expert, commenting on the criticism of Tian Zhuangzhuang after claiming that he made his film for 21st century audiences, said that Tian's outlook should be seen from an analytical point of view. The 19th century French writer Stendhal declared that his work *The Red and the Black* was written for 20th century readers. The purpose of debate is not to deal blows to certain writers, but to stimulate people to think more. The older directors should consider the possibility and need for change, while the young should not limit their aims to aestheticism, but consider the nature of film as a popular art. Audience tastes vary, so directors should have the freedom to explore and reform.

Uphold National Character

Several Chinese films have won

awards at international film festivals in the last few years. Some experts maintained that their success was due to the adherence to national character while adopting some Western techniques. If Chinese films are to make progress, directors should continue to follow this path. Either pure imitation of Western technique or an adherence to pure Chinese style will lead Chinese film astray.

One critic said, "If Chinese film is to take its place in the world, does it mean national character must be discarded? Giving up national character is tantamount to discarding the best feature of Chinese films."

Ms. Robertson, an editor for the BBC, criticized certain

Chinese films for overemphasizing flash-backs, resulting in a constant suspension of plot. She believes this to be one bad result of using Western techniques.

National character must bridge the gap between the cultures of East and West. Ms. Robertson said, "*A Good Woman* is a tale of a woman's marriage to her child-husband, a pre-liberation practice in the mountainous area of Guizhou. This is like Arabian Nights to British audiences."

A critic from Sri Lanka said the theme and the method of presentation in Chinese films fit in with the experience of Asians. He continued, "It is difficult for the films of any country to maintain national character and at the same time appeal to world audiences."

Peter Herzum, a director from Hungary, said it was insufficient to say "Chinese films go to the world, because the world itself is not a simple entity. For foreign audiences, the quality of the Chinese film is not a problem. The key lies in how to make them accept these films. For instance the *Yellow Earth* about Northern Shaanxi peasants and *Sacrificed Youth* about the young people migrating to the countryside in the 70s will be well received in Western Europe, while *The Legend of Tianyun Mountains*, *At Middle Age* about the fate of intellectuals, and *A Small Town Called Hibiscus* will be readily accepted in Eastern Europe. It is rare for one film to be welcomed in every part of the world. If the Chinese film is liked by any foreign audience, I think this can be regarded as the entry of Chinese film into the world."

Max Tessier of the Cannes Film Festival said it is essential for China to take part in world film festivals if Chinese film is to take its position in the world, because this is the best platform for its introduction to audiences and film distributors. Noboru Akiyama of Japan suggested, "The individual work of good Chinese directors should be shown abroad. Many directors became known to the world through such individual exhibitions."

Mr. Kunuiok of the Federal Republic of Germany and Ulrich Gregor, chairman of the Berlin International Film Festival, both believed China is capable of holding an international festival. To attract participants from abroad it is essential to hold competitions or to have special seminars, such as "films by young directors" and "retrospective exhibitions of China's films of the 30s and 40s."

The first Chinese film festival is now over. Some 200 foreign film workers brought back dozens of copies of films. As to whether they will be accepted in their country or not, we must to wait and see.

Participants to the Chinese Film Festival collecting synopses of the films released at the festival.



Time Running Out for President Reagan

In his remaining term in office, Ronald Reagan will do his utmost to regain his political prestige. But while he can still accomplish some things in selected areas, mainly in the diplomatic sphere, some doors are rapidly closing.

During his first term in office, US President Ronald Reagan enjoyed fairly high prestige. In the first two years of his second term, his popularity held. In the first half of 1986, he had the support of between 64 and 68 percent of the electorate, almost a record for a US president in the latter half of his second term. But by the end of 1986, his prestige and popularity had fallen drastically.

The political prestige of US presidents generally tends to drop in the last two years of their second term in office, when they are seen as "lame ducks." But the sharp decline in Reagan's popularity surpassed the expectations of many people. Reagan became a lame duck so quickly mainly because of a series of special events which occurred in late 1986.

First, the US Congress overturned a presidential veto and imposed sanctions against South Africa. Next, the United States handed a Soviet spy over to the Soviet Union in exchange for American journalist Nicolai Daniloff. Then came the disclosure of a false intelligence operation by the US government against Libya: the shooting down of a US plane carrying weapons to the Nicaraguan contra rebels and the capture of the pilot; the plunge in the value of US dollar, and the continuing rise in the huge trade deficit, along with the sluggishness of the economy. All these factors have, to varying degrees, hurt the image and prestige of the president and his administration. But the events that have hurt the most are the summit meeting between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland: the loss of

Republican control of the Senate after the mid-term elections; and the Irangate scandal.

In defiance of strong opposition in political and military circles, the president accepted in haste Gorbachev's proposal to hold a summit meeting in Iceland in the hope of reaching an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe that would benefit the West. Reagan, having neither studied the issue with the Joint Chiefs of Staff beforehand, nor consulted his West European allies, nearly reached an agreement with the Soviets on the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Only Reagan's refusal to compromise on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI, also known as the "Star Wars" programme), prevented this outcome, generally seen as disastrous by the West.

At first, Reagan indicated that he was disappointed by the results of the summit. But he soon changed his tune and said it had achieved unusual progress and was a great victory for the United States. This dramatic inconsistency caused a lot of confusion as to what policy the Reagan administration was pursuing and invited severe criticism from the Armed Services Committee of the Senate. Most importantly, the US president's clumsy performance deepened conflicts with the country's West European allies over defence, led to uneasiness among the allies, and cast serious doubt over Washington's reliability and ability to lead the West.

A lot of the credit for the president's success in pursuing the

"Reagan Revolution" during his first term in office should go to the Republicans' dominance over the Senate, which prevented the failure of White House initiatives. But the Democrats recaptured the Senate majority by 54 to 46 in the mid-term election in November 1986, after six years in the back seat. The doves who now dominate Congress differ with the hardline Reagan administration on the budget, taxes, trade policy, military expenditure, aid to Nicaraguan contras and arms talks with the Soviet Union.

While Reagan called for reinterpretation of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty in order to hasten the development of SDI, Democrat congressmen voted for abiding by the two treaties as soon as they gained control of both houses of Congress. Wasting no time, the new Congress also passed a trade bill which the president opposed and a budget for fiscal 1988 which forced Reagan to give up his tax reforms in exchange for a larger military budget. The two legislative chambers also put together the two-thirds majority needed to overturn the president's veto of a clean-water bill and a highway bill. White House initiatives are being lost in the legislative labyrinth not only because of the Democrats' obstruction, but also because some Republican congressmen have begun to deviate from Reagan's doctrine.

The Reagan administration has been badly hurt by the Iran-contra operation, which first came to

light on November 3, 1986. Daniel Inouye, chairman of the US Senate's Iran-contra panel, has described the operation as a scandal full of deceit and law violations, which has exposed an abnormal process of policy-making within the White House. Although Reagan has not been driven from office like Richard Nixon, because of differences between Irangate and Watergate, his image in history has been tarnished. Instead of a strong and honest leader, Reagan is perceived as deficient, with a poor grasp of policy details and a detached management style. Polls showed that Reagan lost 20 percent of his supporters in the month after the Iran-contra affair was revealed and about 60 percent of Americans believed he lied about the affair.

Before the Iran-contra affair, according to a poll, 48 percent of Americans considered themselves Republicans while 46 percent said they were Democrats. After the operation was reported, 38 percent called themselves Republicans and 54 percent Democrats.

The events have left deep scepticism about the White House. Congress wants more of its members involved in making US foreign policy and is demanding that the president's power be further restricted. At the same time, US prestige abroad has been lowered as a result of the Iran-contra affair. The Reagan administration has repeatedly called on other countries not to sell weapons to nations which sponsor terrorist activities and Iran tops its list. By its act of duplicity, the United States has lost the trust of some old friends, particularly in the Middle East.

The stock market crash last October dealt the Reagan administration another blow. Many people began to lose confidence in Reaganomics. Although several factors contributed to the stock slide, the administration's gargan-

tu budget deficits and trade deficits are widely believed to be the major culprits. Propelled by the stock market shock and pressure from the other Western industrial countries, the administration agreed to consult congressional leaders to find a way out. The consultations resulted in a compromise on November 20 that required the government to cut the budget deficit by a total of US\$7.6 billion in the 1988 and 1989 fiscal years.

The move is expected to help stabilize the stock market. But there will be likely a sharp struggle between Congress and the White House over where the axe should fall. Furthermore, even if Congress passes the plan, people will still be sceptical about what its effects will be. It is partly because of such scepticism that the stock market remains unstable.

Reagan's miscalculations and embarrassments, which have thrown him into a predicament, can be at least partly explained by the following:

— Reagan, because of his stress on ideology, is partial in appointing officials. Most of those whom he has appointed are conservatives, and some of them are of low quality.

As a conservative himself, Reagan has always thought highly of conservatives, no matter how incompetent they are. His successive assistants for national security affairs pale beside Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski: who served his predecessors. But they shared his views and acted according to his wishes, and thus won his confidence. Because they have such a strong backing from Reagan, they have acted arbitrarily and have feared nothing. John Poindexter, in his testimony before the joint congressional committee investigating the Iran-contra affair, maintained that he was carrying out Reagan's policy by diverting proceeds from the secret arms sales to Iran to the Nicaraguan contras.

A critic for the *Boston Globe* said the Irangate scandal is rooted in Reagan's thinking. This could hit the nail on the head.

It was unwise for Reagan to appoint Donald Regan to the position of White House chief of staff. Regan is from Wall Street and is talented in financial affairs, but he was by no means an able chief of staff. The reason Reagan appointed him to the position is simple: they are birds of a feather. Regan's way of working is domineering and he often underestimated the problems he came across. During his two years in office, the White House was thrown into confusion and had a strained relationship with Congress. Reagan went to the Iceland summit in haste — totally unprepared — and almost made a gross error. For this Regan should be held responsible to a great extent. A report from the Tower Commission — the special board appointed by the president to review the Iran-contra affair — maintains that Regan should take major responsibility for the Irangate incident because he was unable to co-ordinate White House business and failed to keep Reagan out of trouble. This view has some merit.

— Reagan sees secret actions as an important tool of US diplomacy. Indeed, the president and his entourage regard secret actions as "noble means." During Reagan's presidency, the expenditures and activities of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have increased as never before. The Iran-contra affair is only one of a great number of secret actions undertaken by the CIA and other agencies in Nicaragua and elsewhere. According to reports in the press and evidence at the Iran-contra hearings, there existed an "underground government" composed mainly of the late William Casey, former director of CIA, and Poindexter, then assistant for national security affairs. They formulated foreign policies and

put them into practice behind the back of the State Department and Secretary of State George Shultz. This has not only weakened the role of Shultz but also caused frequent confusion in US foreign policy.

— Reagan had his head turned by his successes. In the presidential election of 1984, he scored a much greater victory than in the 1980 election, winning a second term in office. He pulled off the invasion of Grenada in 1983 and the later air-raid on Libya. He first met Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 from a position of strength. Reagan and his close associates got so swollen-headed by all this that they refused to listen to some important members of the cabinet such as Shultz and former Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Their pride led to the series of misconducts and embarrassments.

The Reagan administration has made every effort to extricate itself from the difficult situation and regain its reputation. To erase the memory of the Iceland summit, Washington has kept stressing that the US strategy of nuclear deterrence remains unchanged and that the United States will hold to its promise of protecting Western Europe.

Reagan has employed both hard- and soft-sell tactics in dealing with Congress. On the one hand, he has called for co-operation between Congress and the White House and the unity of Republicans and Democrats. On the other hand, he has vetoed proposed laws unacceptable to the White House.

Reagan has taken a co-operative posture on the Iran-contra scandal by admitting his faults and assuming his responsibility. He also pledged to prevent such occurrences in the future and said he wanted to re-establish mutual confidence between the administration and Congress.

To win over public opinion and present a new image of the White House, Reagan reshuffled the

National Security Council and his White House staff, replacing people associated with the Iran-contra affair with new ones enjoying widespread reputations. These moves have helped mitigate rebukes levelled at the administration by the Congress and have eased the president's plight.

The Iran-contra scandal, which did Reagan the most severe damage, is cooling down, and the president is emerging from the straits he was in. He will certainly do whatever he can to regain his political prestige during the remainder of his presidential term. But it will be hard for him to change his lame-duck image and do much in the time before he leaves office. Reagan does not have much longer to act as the host of the White House, and the repercussions from the Iran-contra affair will not die away soon.

Party competition will grow stronger as the 1988 elections draw near. Agreement between Republicans and Democrats will become harder to reach and the Democrat-dominated Congress will impose increasingly strong pressure on Reagan.

The conflicts among the White House staff and government ministers have eased a bit because of the reshuffle of the National Security Council and the resignation of Weinberger, but the strife between the ultra-conservative and the conservative Republicans remains keen and difficult to resolve. Reagan has lost the appeal he enjoyed in the early 1980s when the conservative thinking he represents prevailed. The international environment has also changed because Gorbachev — Reagan's Soviet counterpart — has proved difficult to tackle. Moreover, the current international trend of detente and independence does not mesh well with Reagan's aims.

But Reagan should not be underestimated. He still has some capacity for manoeuvre and may

accomplish something as a result of some favourable conditions.

First, he retains substantial prestige. His support did not drop below 50 percent even at the height of his troubles.

Second, the economic situation of the United States is not too bad. The economy grew slowly last year. Most economists estimate that the US economy expanded 2.8 percent in 1987 and will not contract this year.

Third, the United States has become stronger militarily since Reagan took office. US advantages in SDI and science and technology have formed solid bases for Reagan's foreign policies, especially regarding the Soviet Union.

Fourth, the Democratic Party has not been able to pose a serious threat to Reagan because of the lax relations within the party and internal differences on important issues. The party even supports Reagan's policy on the arms control talks.

Fifth, Gorbachev, in his own interests, seems to have decided to maintain contact with Reagan. Gorbachev has reached some compromises with the president and has provided him with some political advantages.

Finally, the Western alliance nations hope that the United States will continue to play a leading role. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said, "We need the leadership of the US."

Reagan's assistants in the White House have brewed a so-called "maintaining legacy scheme of action" to give Reagan the best possible image during the rest of his term in office.

The maintaining legacy scheme also includes attempts by the Reagan administration to: carry out budgetary reform and force Congress to reduce budget deficits so as to implement Reagan's bill of economic rights; continue to aid Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary armed forces to keep up the momentum of

Reaganism; display US strength in the Gulf region, and firmly contain attempts by the Soviet Union to extend its influence; and carry out fruitful arms control talks with the Soviet Union so that Reagan can go down in history as a peace-seeking president.

Among these goals, prospects seem the best for the arms control negotiations. Reagan and Gorbachev signed a treaty to eliminate all intermediate-range nuclear missiles on December 8 last year, and they will probably sign another accord to halve their strategic nuclear weapons this year during Reagan's planned visit to Moscow.

It is hard to predict the results of the US actions in the Gulf region, and the prospects for realizing the administration's other aims are even dimmer because of deep differences on the issues between Congress and White House. Although Reagan and Congress reached a compromise agreement on budget deficit cuts, Reagan and the Democratic Party are at odds on budget reform. Reagan wants big cuts in non-military government expenditures, increases in military spending, and no tax rises, while the Democratic Party thinks otherwise.

The scheme included the attempt to appoint conservative judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. Through this appointment, Reagan hoped to reinforce the right and ensure that the court will keep to a conservative course after he leaves the White House. When Bork's nomination was rejected by the Senate, Reagan nominated another conservative judge, Douglas Ginsburg. Again the attempt was defeated because Ginsburg admitted to having used illegal drugs. Reagan was forced to put forward a third nominee, the less conservative judge Anthony Kennedy.

With regard to giving aid to the Nicaraguan anti-government armed forces, the Democratic Party has all along showed little

interest in the matter. The Democrats stress negotiations with the Nicaraguan government.

There are differences within the White House on how to realize Reagan's major policy aims. White House moderate Howard Baker notes that if Reagan takes less antagonistic postures, successfully negotiates on arms control with the Soviet Union and seeks a compromise proposal with Congress on budgetary and tax issues, he will improve his image and end his term with a success. The

If Reagan reaches an agreement with the Soviet Union on a 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons and achieves successes in one or two internal matters during his remaining year in office, in other words, if he plays his last act well, he can win a better place in history. But doing this will not be easy in the general election year.

conservatives want Reagan to take a tough stand, fight with Congress and put forward a clear-cut Republican line that his party can carry into the 1988 elections. Judging by Reagan's recent actions, he seems to agree with Baker.

Reagan's political record shows that he is a person to stress the conservative line and that he often changes his attitude according to the objective situation to attain his political aim. Reagan will adopt a flexible attitude in the future only if he can retain his basically conservative image.

No matter what happens from now on, Reagan had achieved a place in history. When he first took office, the strength and international position of the United States had just fallen. After he came to the White House, he

put the United States in a stronger position to struggle with the Soviet Union for hegemonism; raised the international position of the United States; realized sustained economic growth along with low inflation, something rare in US history; and helped the American people recover their self-confidence. All of this will be written into US history. The foundation for most of these achievements was laid in Reagan's first term.

At the same time Reagan's administration chalked up a huge budget deficit and the US national debt topped US\$2 trillion during six years in office. The United States has gone from being the largest creditor in the world to the biggest debtor. The trade deficit in 1986 amounted to the US\$156 billion. All this will cost the United States dearly in the future and will probably be remembered in history.

If Reagan avoids mistakes on international issues during his remaining year in office, reaches an agreement with the Soviet Union on a 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons and achieves successes in one or two internal matters, in other words, if he plays his last act well, he can regain his former image and win a better place in history. But doing this will not be easy in the general election year.



Chinese Film Wins World Acclaim

An *Old Well*, a feature produced by the Xian Film Studio, was selected as the top film at the Tokyo International Film Festival in last October. The film which is considered representative of recent works by Chinese film makers, aroused great interest when it was shown at the China Film Festival in Beijing the previous month. Orders for *An Old Well* have been received from the United States, Federal Germany, Japan and Canada.

The film is set in the early 1980s in the poor mountain village of Laojing (Old Well) in northern China. Zhao Qiaoying, a pretty and open-minded graduate of senior middle school, fails her college entrance examination, and later returns to her home village where she becomes a farmer. Zhao loves Sun Wangquan, a strong, upright young man of the village. But she longs to leave for the outside world. She and Sun both have lofty aspirations.

Sun's grandfather asks him to stay in the village and marry Duan Xifeng, a young widow whose dowry would bring money for the marriage of Sun's younger brother. Instead, Sun and Zhao decide to go away. The grandfather becomes so angry that he breaks some pots and bowls, and blocks their path out of the village. At the same time, Sun hears the news of his father's death in an accident during the sinking of a well. Under these circumstances, Sun cannot but submit to his grandfather's pressure and father's death-bed wish to stay in the village and marry the young widow.

The village has been short of water for centuries. Although the villagers have sunk many wells over the years, all they have for their efforts is 129 dry holes. Confronted with this harsh reality, Sun feels a sense of responsibility.

Trapped in a marriage without love, he devotes his heart and soul to drilling for water. Out of love, Zhao decides to help him and donates her whole dowry to the well project.

To find a good place to drill the well, several young men of the village cross mountain after mountain and live in the open air. They finally begin to drill at the first site which has been selected by scientific methods. All the villagers take part in the project, and do what they can to help. But one day the wall of the well collapses, and Zhao and Sun are buried. Eventually they are rescued, and when the well is completed, Zhao leaves the village to seek a new life.

A black stone tablet at the mouth of the well bears the inscription: "This well will be known for 100 generations. On January 9, 1983, work on the first motor-pumped well was finished in Laojing Village. Every hour it gives 50 tons of water." Also recorded on the tablet is the village's history of drilling wells and an account of the sacrifices of several generations.

An Old Well shows that the Chinese people are working hard for the prosperity of the country. They struggle not only against nature, but also against poor and backward conditions and conservative ideas. It is amidst this kind of bitter struggle that a new prospect and future for the Chinese nation are seen.

Wu Tianming, the film's director, said, "Films are produced for the people. Our people hope to see their real life described in the film. At the same time they also hope to deny their life. A good way of life will start through denying the old life style."

The film portrays several characters typical of a remote mountain village in a period of change. Zhao, a senior middle school graduate, is unwilling to lag behind. She loves her village deeply but hopes for a new and

better life. So Zhao, a typical tragic figure, finally leaves her home village.

Duan, the widow who marries Sun is industrious, kindhearted and virtuous, but her husband does not love her. Her experience reflects conservative Chinese ideas. She also is a tragic character.

Sun, the leading character in the film, sacrifices his love and devotes himself to drilling a well that will transform his village. He succeeds in his work but fails in his personal life. His complex character reflects the struggle between new and conservative ideas in a new historical period. Some critics see Sun as a new type of person created by China's social reform. His character is developed fully and successfully.

The film is moving and tragic. Many viewers said it made them think.

Wu Tianming talked about why he wrote the screenplay. He said that to gain an understanding of China's countryside, he visited at least 40 counties in western China in 1985. In Zuoquan County, Shanxi Province, he found 37 villages without water or electricity. One of the villages had drilled more than 100 dry wells. The local people had to carry water 7.5 km after working on the farm. "There are many reasons for lacking water. To promote the reform in rural areas, I wanted to paint the facts and to extol the local people who are creating a new life with their own hands."

The film's direction, acting, cinematography, makeup and props are realistic and plain, and reflect true life. For example, to portray the poor and desolate countryside, the director decided to use subdued colours in the film. But when he and the cameramen delved into the realities of village life, they found the farmers in backward villages preferred bright colours for their clothing and other articles. As a result, the film portrays tragedy through bright

colours—and does so very successfully.

To find an actor for the part of Sun, Wu visited more than 20 provinces. But he said the actors he found were all too handsome to play Sun. At last he chose Zhang Yimou—one of the film's cameramen.

Wu said Zhang, who grew up in northern Shaanxi Province, had the makings for the part. To learn to play it well, Zhang went to live in the countryside. In the early morning or late evening, he carried water over long distances. He learnt how to behave like local farmers through contact with them. To realistically portray a tired and weakened state when he was in the collapsed well, Zhang did not eat or drink for three days. At the Tokyo International Film Festival, Zhang won the best actor award.

Wu said that in China many actors' performances are not realistic. To show how things truly are, he asked the cameraman to capture real life. He directed that the lens be held straight, and that no artificial effects be created through processing. Two or three cameras were used to film many of the scenes to give the performers more freedom.

In recent years, Wu, 44, has promoted the making of probing films and encouraged young directors to adopt innovative styles. Six films produced by the Xian Film Studio show his talent. Of them, *The River Without Navigation Mark* won the Ministry of Culture's highly rated film prize and a prize at the Hawaii International Film Festival in 1984. The film *Life* was awarded the Hundred Flower Prize in a nationwide ballot. These films portray the life of farmers in China's present-day countryside.

Wu said, "The focal point of my films is the northern countryside. I will continue to express the people's lives, hopes and struggles."

by Zhang Wei

Rustic Shanxi Folk Songs and Dances

*"Rolling Taihang Mountains ho,
Ninety-nine mountains;
Ever flowing Yellow River ho,
Ninety-nine bends;
We have endless days to spend,
And innumerable rivers to wade.
Who leaves so many songs?"*

This is one of the songs from *Affections From Sons and Daughters of Huanghe River* recently presented by the Shanxi Provincial Song and Dance Troupe to the warm applause of Beijing audiences. The programme, containing 25 songs and dances with a pastoral flavour, left audiences with a deep impression of beautiful local scenery and customs, and the honest, industrious character of the Shanxi people.

The first part of the performance represents scenes of local people working and living along the Huanghe (Yellow) River, through dances such as *A Working Song for Towing Boats* and *Song of the Shoulder Pole*, and the songs *In Praise of My Wonderful Hometown*, *Picking Water Melons*, the *Shepherd's Song* and others. The choreography draws from figures depicted in folk paper-cutting and shadow plays, giving audiences a glimpse of the delicate, primitive simplicity of the Shanxi people's art.

The most moving scene is the dance *Longing for My Lover* in the second part. It describes the pain of departure for young lovers. *How I Miss My Love* is sung by a separated couple, each singing one part, and the dance is set against the backdrop of a large heart design.

The third act reflects joyful scenes celebrating the traditional Spring and Lantern Festivals—New Year visits, boat dances, the yangko dance and colourful lanterns. In *Paying a New Year*

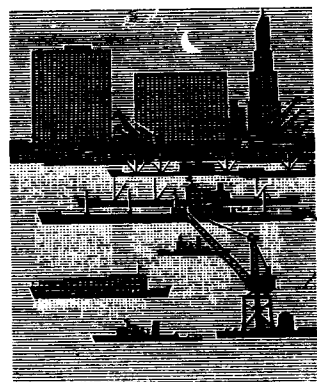
Call, audiences can feel the pull of the vast, majestic plateau north of the Great Wall. Another folk song *Celebrating the Lantern Festival* captivates listeners with its lyrical, warm tune. *Watching the Yangko Dance* is a vivid dance in which a group of young country girls are captivated and surprised by the yangko dance; they bend with laughter, or cover their eyes in embarrassment. The scene is so vividly portrayed that audiences feel they are also watching the spectacle.

Why do audiences still respond so well to the songs and dances even though many are very familiar to them? Zheng Yuntong, vice-president of the Shanxi Song and Dance Troupe, said that the programme was selected from 15,000 folk songs and a wide variety of folk dances arranged in an attempt to convey the rich flavour of life while keeping the special pleasing quality of the pieces.

Skilful performances are another reason for the show's success, according to Zheng. The performers create strong images of the country infused with a rich provincial flavour.

"The experiences of the past 30 years have taught us that only by looking to the masses, and drawing from the treasure house of folk art, can our arts continue to live and develop," Zheng concluded.

by Hong Lanxing



'The Making of Modern Tibet'

Written by A. Tom Grunfeld

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For the last 30 years or so, a tremendous amount of literature on Tibet has been published abroad including a good number of controversial pieces condemning the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951 as an act of aggression and open violation of human rights etc. We know that for many centuries Tibet was a reserve for Buddhist scholars. Few foreigners entered it, and still fewer troubled to study it. Thus the name of Tibet still conjures up visions of mystery and fantasy, spirituality, exotica and mysticism. The novel *Lost Horizon* which takes Tibet as its setting was a hit in the 1930s and its reverberations are felt in the world even today.

A place like Tibet coming under the sudden impact of a modern social revolution in China is almost bound to cause wide concern and misunderstandings abroad. Yet no one has satisfactorily explained why there should be such a readiness to embrace gross misrepresentation and distortions of facts and to give such rancorous vent to the feelings of opposition to the liberation of part of China's territory from mediaeval serfdom.

It is therefore a real pleasure to read a book like *The Making of Modern Tibet* by an American scholar, Dr. A. Tom Grunfeld. He devoted four years to writing this serious, well-documented and objective study and it throws a flood of light on the questions of Tibet.

Dr. Grunfeld's book consists of a short Introduction, 11 Chapters, two Appendices and abundant notes. After a brief survey of Tibetan history from ancient to modern times, he examines the

period from World War II to the present in detail. He dismisses Tibet's earlier contacts with the world outside as of little political impact and concludes that there are only three relationships which are of significance to Lhasa; those with the rulers of China, with Anglo-India and with the United States. While the first and second relationships have been much dwelt upon, the US-Tibet relationship has remained elusive. Both the United States and the Tibetans, including the Dalai Lama, have been, and continue to be, extremely reluctant to discuss the subject. "This is unfortunate," comments Grunfeld, "for I believe that understanding the US-Tibetan relationship is most crucial for understanding the history of Tibet over the past three decades." (p.79) However, despite the non-co-operative attitude of the US State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency to Grunfeld's efforts to uncover relevant documents, many over 30 years old, under the Freedom of Information Act, the archive materials and reference which are used in the work are enough to prove the authenticity of Grunfeld's information and the objectivity of his conclusions.

One important aspect of the history is the Dalai Lama's position between Tibet's liberation in 1951 to his dramatic flight to India in 1959, a subject of endless speculation abroad.

Since his arrival in India, the Dalai Lama has repeatedly refused to recognize that the 17-point Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed in 1951 by representatives

of the local government of Tibet and the Chinese central government is a legal instrument. The 17-point agreement was signed in Beijing on May 23, 1951, and on October 26 of the same year the PLA entered Lhasa, eight years before the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa on March 17, 1959.

While the agreement was being discussed and signed in Beijing, the Dalai Lama, his retinue and a part of Lhasa's nobility arrived in the border town of Yatung, a day's journey from Sikkim, and dispatched their wealth and treasure there for safe-keeping. It was known among informed circles on the Indian side that the Dalai Lama was "desperate" to leave Tibet and his coming to India was a foregone conclusion. If there were any truth in allegations that the agreement was signed in Beijing under duress and that the Dalai Lama heard of it only over Radio Beijing, the author asks why did the Dalai Lama and his party, after meeting General Zhang Jingwu on July 14, 1951, decide to return to Lhasa? As General Zhang came from India practically alone to meet them, there was no one to stop them from entering India at that time. Both the Dalai Lama's elder brothers, Thubten Norbu and Gyalo Thondup, were already in India with other exiles who were opposed to the liberation; why did they not publicly denounce the agreement as coercion at that time instead of raising these complaints only after 1959? "In any case," comments Dr. Grunfeld, "the Dalai Lama and his court did return to Lhasa and worked with the Han, thereby confirming the legality of the 17-

Point Agreement." (p.110)

Another question to be asked in this connection is why did the Dalai Lama go to Beijing in 1954? According to the Dalai Lama's own words in his *Autobiography*, he stayed several months in Beijing where he grew to like Chairman Mao. He admitted that he assured Chairman Mao that his brothers staying abroad had no foreign connections and that he was even considering repatriating his treasure from Sikkim. What is more, he even composed a poem "in unabashed adulation" of Chairman Mao. An English translation of the poem is enclosed in the book, and it "hardly demonstrates someone unhappy with the Chinese presence in Tibet." (p.12) This, as the author tells us in a note, was acknowledged by the Dalai Lama in an interview on July 25, 1981. When he also said that the composition of poetry was a common practice in Tibetan culture. (p.112)

When the Dalai Lama was invited to India on November 26, 1956 to attend the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of Sakyamuni, foreign attempts to dissuade him from returning were rampant. The Dalai Lama nonetheless returned to Lhasa on April 1, 1957.

It is difficult to convince anybody that all this had nothing to do with the Dalai Lama himself or to attribute it to coercion.

Another instance of Dr. Grunfeld's fine grasp of details and penetrating analysis, is his account of the circumstances attending the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa in 1959. Chapter 5 "Foreign Intrigues I," Chapter 7 "The 1950s: Revolt" and Chapter 8 "Foreign Intrigues II" are especially interesting for they trace the role played by the CIA from the very beginning.

The earliest American involvement in Tibetan politics can be traced back to World War II. When the Yunnan-Burma road was cut by the Japanese army in

1942 during China's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the advisability of opening, or rather improving, a route of communication with India through the Qinghai-Tibet plateau came up for consideration. The KMT government under Chiang Kai-shek, though interested in the scheme, was helpless because of other preoccupations. The British government lacked both the will and power to push the road through. Only the United States was left and a few nobles in Lhasa had turned their eyes to it.

In December 1942, Captain Ilya Tolstoy and 1st Lieutenant Brook Dolan entered Tibet from India allegedly to conduct a survey for the road. They were the first Americans to arrive in Lhasa. After a stay of one month in Gyantse city and three months in Lhasa where they delivered several gifts from the American President to the Dalai Lama and collected a great deal of information with very little to do with transport, they made a hurried journey to Kokonor in northeast Qinghai. The plan ended as a fiasco. It was found that a trade route of sorts which already existed from Lhasa to India and another from Lhasa to Kham (Sikang Province) could carry up to 3,000 tons a year, while the planned one would allow for only 1,800 tons. But what is significant is that both men were sent by OSS (Office of Strategic Service), the forerunner of the CIA, and their visit was followed by the dispatch of three long-range radio transmitters to Lhasa to be run on three diesel generators presented in 1946. This in turn resulted in a Tibetan Trade Mission headed by Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa coming in 1948 to buy gold and silver from America for the sole purpose of "enrichment of the delegates," said some Indian officials, but "to demonstrate Tibet's independence and sovereign status" according to Shakabpa (p.85). The OSS allegedly had the original idea of

surveying the line to help its operations in China and for its intelligence value (p.83). Among US diplomats then stationed in Asia, there was also the argument that Tibet was "in a position of inestimable strategic importance both ideologically and geographically," that it could act as "a bulwark against the spread of Communism" and ultimately, "in an age of rocket warfare it might prove to be the most important territory in all Asia" (p.84).

In 1949, almost simultaneously with the establishment of the PRC Government in Beijing and the evacuation of the KMT regime to Taiwan, the Lhasa authorities decided to expel all KMT government officials from the Tibet region and allowed in the American broadcaster Lowell Thomas and his son through the intercession of Shakabpa. As soon as Thomas and his son returned to the US, they held a news conference at the airport calling for the immediate dispatch of an American mission to Lhasa and American aid to a Tibetan guerrilla war against the Communists in China.

A more active involvement of the United States in Tibet began after the outbreak of the Korean War. The United States was assuming the role of the world's policeman and "it was quickly becoming gospel that anything was acceptable if it helped to combat Communism" (p.89). Aligned under this anti-Communist banner were the CIA, KMT agents, certain British and Indian elements (though it is regrettable that the author does not do enough justice to Nehru who was at first genuinely opposed to associating India with any such alignment), all working in close collaboration with Shakabpa, Thubten Norbu, Gyalo Thondup and other Tibetan exiles. A European "preacher" George Patterson evacuated from Batang in west Sichuan in 1950(?) was acting as

their liaison. Their activities extended from disseminating misinformation to the international media, to training and organizing spies, saboteurs and parachute troops—all picked from among the Tibetan exiles—to airdrop arms, equipment and men for the rebels in Kham (therefore called Khampa) with the intention of concentrating in Lhoka and Lhasa.

Patterson, the liaison, acknowledged in his book *Tibet in Revolt*, 1960, that Thubten Norbu made a 4-point agreement with the Americans, which promised US political, financial and military aid and US support at the United Nations on condition that "the Dalai Lama leave Tibet and publicly repudiate the 17-Point Agreement" (p.107). This helps explain the dramatic developments in Lhasa in 1959.

According to the Autobiography of the Dalai Lama, the immediate cause for his flight from Tibet was his decision to attend a show at the PLA camp at Lhasa on March 10 that year. "A rumour spread at once throughout the city that the Chinese had made a plan to kidnap me," he wrote, and the people of Lhasa rose "spontaneously" to prevent it. It has been proved by letters exchanged between the Dalai Lama and General Tan Guansan, political commissar of the Tibet Military District, released afterwards and also conceded later by the Dalai Lama himself, that his visit to the show was actually proposed by him one month before.

Although the Dalai Lama had to call off the visit on that day, his correspondence with General Tan continued. As late as March 16, the day preceding his flight, the Dalai Lama wrote to General Tan, "A few days from now, when there are enough forces that I can trust, I shall make my way to the Military Area Command secretly" (p.131). This suggests unmistakably that the Dalai Lama was not a free man

though he was not yet alone, and that he was planning to seek refuge in the PLA camp.

In the meantime, tensions in Lhasa continued to grow with the armed rebels gaining the advantage. Grunfeld amply demonstrates that the Lhasa nobility was never happy at the prospect of being replaced by the rebels. But the situation had gone so much out of control that some of the Kalons (the senior Tibetan officials) sent a letter on the 10th requesting help to convey the Dalai Lama to the PLA camp. Then suddenly at 4 pm, the Dalai Lama is said to have heard two mortar shells fired from the direction of the PLA camp splash harmlessly into a marsh in the compound of Norbulingka (the Dalai Lama's summer palace). Thereupon a decision to flee was made on the instant and in great haste. By 10 pm the Dalai Lama was already on the road dressed as a simple monk bringing only one or two changes of lama robes (p.132).

It is not difficult to see from this account, many of whose details were furnished by the Dalai Lama himself, that up to the last moment he had no intention of leaving Tibet, nor was he inclined to side with the rebels. It seems a few of his retinue conspired with the rebels who were then converging on Lhasa and Norbulingka, whipped up a frenzy and quietly abducted the Dalai Lama to India.

On the way to India, the Dalai Lama and his party were accompanied by a trained photographer, also a native of Kham, to take pictures in colour of the whole journey, while a Lockheed C130 aircraft kept airdropping food and fodder for the party. About midway they were joined by a radio operator who kept them in uninterrupted communication with a CIA station abroad (p. 151).

As soon as the party arrived in India, most Western correspondents and Indian papers went wild with joy, acclaiming the cloudy

March weather as "sublime mysticism," a "cosmic cloud" that kept off air reconnaissance for the safety of the party and mysteriously broke only on the day the Dalai Lama stepped onto Indian soil. It needed a Dalai Lama to dismiss such claims. Nevertheless, one of the first things he did after his arrival was a public repudiation of the 17-Point Agreement.

The sensation of the Dalai Lama's dramatic flight was somewhat deflated by an admission by Patterson that he had been told long before by his Khampa friends that there were plans to spirit the Dalai Lama out of Lhasa. Others like L. Fletcher Prouty, an Air Force Officer who worked with the CIA during the late 1950s and early 1960s drily remarked: "If the Dalai Lama is spirited out of Tibet in the face of an overwhelming Chinese army of conquerors, are the Chinese going to think he found his support in heaven (?)" (p. 152)

This is just part of a book which constantly displays the author's acumen in unravelling a highly complicated question. Elsewhere Shakabpa, who knew very well that because the Trade Mission he led in 1948 did not possess Chinese passports, the American Embassy in Delhi was instructed by the US State Department to issue them visas on Form 257 according to the standard procedure in cases "where applicant presents a passport of a government the US does not recognize." (p.87) Yet this did not deter him from writing in his book *Tibet, A Political History*, 1967, that the mission travelled on Tibetan passports which were accepted by the United States and others as legal documents.

The CIA training base for Tibetan parachutists first located in Taiwan was removed to Camp Hale (altitude 2,800 m.) in Colorado. At one point the number of trainees reached 14,000 men (p. 150-152).

Other stories revealed in the

book deal with the fate of the KMT-backed rebels in western Nepal who once numbered 15,000; the coup plot in Bhutan; the population, distribution and position of Tibetan exiles abroad. All the details are based on authentic records and the best information available.

Appendix B of the book gives "The Dalai Lama's Views," "The Chinese Government's Views" and "Third Party Views" on the political status of Tibet. Then the author presents his own views and conclusion, which accord fully with the author's purpose in writing a disinterested and dispassionate history of modern Tibet and with a commitment to furthering historical understanding and truth,—an undertaking for which the book deserves a place of its own in the current literature on Tibet.

However, some of the source books used by Dr. Grunfeld have resulted in passages in his work with which an average Chinese reader might find it difficult to agree. One point begins with a reference to a lengthy dispatch from the Viceroy of India, G.N. Curzon, to London proposing "a tripartite (Britain-Tibet-China) conference" in Lhasa for the spring of 1903. The so-called "tripartite conference" idea is referred to several times in different contexts. It might be difficult to ascertain exactly when the term was first employed in official documents within the government of India, yet, as far as I know, the term "tripartite conference" in this sense appeared only in some English correspondence in connection with the Simla Conference (1913-14) and then was dropped altogether for reasons difficult to ascertain.

The Trade Regulations of 1908 which were signed by E.C. Wilton (though negotiated by Sir Louis Dane), Chang Yin-Tang and Tsarong Shape (Wang Chuk Gyapo) mentioned in the book

were not the result of any "tripartite conference." Chang and Louis Dane were named Plenipotentiaries in the Regulations while Tsarong Shape was designated a Delegate, and it is unequivocally stipulated in the preamble of the treaty that the Tsarong Shape (Wang Chuk Gyalpo), was "to act under the directions of Chang Tachen (the central government's representative) and take part in the negotiations."

It is also misleading to call the 1906 Convention signed between the Qing authorities and the British government after the Lhasa Convention of 1904 as "the Adhesion Agreement of Peking." (p. 57). It is true that the tottering Qing government was here confronted with a fait accompli which it was in no position to revoke, but the very first article of the 1906 Convention states, "The Convention concluded on September 7th 1904 by Great Britain and Tibet, the texts of which in English and Chinese are attached to the present Convention as an annexe, is hereby confirmed etc." and throughout the text there is no mention of "Adhesion" which presumably might be applied to any third party.

The word "suzerainty" is another point of divergence. As Dr. Grunfeld rightly points out on page 57, it was first used in a Convention signed between Great

Britain and Russia at St. Petersburg in 1907 in reference to Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. But China was no party to the Convention and no Chinese government has ever accepted it. Therefore the passage on the KMT government in World War II wanting to place troops along the trade route in Tibet "to bolster their claim to suzerainty over Tibet" (p. 80) is technically incorrect. The quotation of the US government's note to Britain of May 15, 1943 saying inter alia that "the Government of the United States has borne in mind the fact that the Chinese Government has long claimed suzerainty over Tibet..." (p. 81) and the British War Cabinet's memo of 1943 stating, "... Our recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet is a handicap, in that the Chinese Government can argue that suzerainty involves some degree of control" (p. 82) are both misleading, because they seem to suggest that "suzerainty" had been accepted by the Government of China. China has in fact consistently claimed sovereignty.

by Liu Shengqi

* Liu Shengqi is research fellow at the Institute of Nationality Studies under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He was English Secretary to the Tibet office of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs of KMT government from 1944 to 1949 and has since been doing research on the history of the Tibetan people.

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