Letters

Appearances Count

I have enjoyed reading about the great strides and progress which China is making, and learning more about this land which I have grown to love dearly.

It has saddened me that this magazine, which is a representative and ambassador for China in printed form, appears poorly put together. It has hurt me to hear many of my friends and colleagues comment on the Beijing Review as being "the worst magazine" they have ever seen as far as looks and layout.

As a result, I would like to offer some suggestions as to ways in which Beijing Review could be improved to give it a much better and more professional look. Keep in mind that the articles are excellent, it is the layout and the way in which they are presented which I feel needs improving.

I am enclosing a layout for a cover which I feel would be much more attractive.

Reid Rasmussen
Xianggang (Hongkong)

We have made changes in our layout for the new year incorporating some of your ideas, including using the beautiful transfer lettering you sent us as a gift. Many thanks for your generous interest and helpful suggestions.
—Ed.

Begin's Bloody Hands

I have just read the Beijing Review of September 27, 1982 (issue No. 39) and I am so shocked and saddened by your reporting that I have to sit down and express my hope that a correction can be made to redress the grievous error made by the article on page 10, accusing the Israelis of a "grisly revival of Hitler's methods."

As to the massacre, let's be clear that it was done by Christian Lebanese forces who were allied to the Israelis. Clearly, they were under Israeli protection and the Israelis must accept the blame for allowing the Christian Lebanese to enter the camps and then aiding them by illuminating the area all night long. The investigation which is now being conducted by an Israeli appointed board will shed light on who in the line of command gave the orders and who in this same line of command refused to stop the massacre once it became known. This action was wrong and the guilty parties must be found. But don't condemn an entire nation!

Walter E. Page
Cleveland Heights, Ohio, USA

A few weeks ago you had an article about Israeli opposition to Begin (issue No. 43). That was exquisite! In one blow you distinguished between a government and its people; i.e., transcended "anti-Semitism" charges.

Lynne Belsief
New York City, USA

Throughout our coverage of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, we have distinguished between the Begin authorities and the Israeli people. In our last issue (No. 52, 1982, p. 9), we reported on the Israeli judiciary committee's investigation of the massacre of Palestinian refugees at West Beirut's Sabra and Shatila Camps last Sept. 16. The facts substantiate our earlier reports that Begin, Sharon and company were responsible for creating the Beirut massacre. —Ed.

Communist Thought

Hu Qiaomu's article "On the Practice of Communist Thought" (issue No. 42) is well written and the explanation that communism has two meanings clear and precise. It pointed out: "The Communist Party seizing political power does not mean the establishment of communist system. This is a truth that has been proved by experience in all international socialist movements since the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia." I fully agree with the statement that "The great ideal of ensuring everybody a high level of material happiness and of spiritual civilization in the communist society is diametrically opposed to any exploiting system . . . ."

I found this article encouraging. In the 24 years since I entered society, I have been sacked about ten times. For this, I hate the capitalist values.

Kazihiko Mitomi
Niigata, Japan

Weather Over Qinghai-Tibet Plateau

I like "Culture and Science" articles because they give information about your country, e.g., high altitude weather changes over Qinghai-Tibet Plateau (issue No. 39).

Christopher Hills
Christchurch, New Zealand

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Published by BEIJING REVIEW
Distributed by China Publications Centre (Guoji Shudian), P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China
Purchase from your local dealers or write direct to China Publications Centre (Guoji Shudian), P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China.
In China, available from the Foreign Languages Bookstore or Guoji Shudian.
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Premier Zhao’s Visit to Egypt

Premier Zhao’s 10-nation visit to Africa began in Cairo on December 20. Besides dealing with bilateral relations, the Chinese and Egyptian leaders agreed on the basic principles for the solution of the Middle East issue (p. 6).

New Year Message

The Editorial Board of Beijing Review describes China’s major achievements in 1982 and its tasks in the new year. It also announces that the magazine is going to mark its 25th anniversary in early March (p. 4).

Why a Shift in Emphasis of Work?

The first in the series entitled “Chinese-Type Modernization,” this article examines the need for modernization in a country that has won victory in revolution. It discusses the impact of China’s 1979 shift to socialist modernization (p. 14).

1982 in Retrospect

A review of the major world events of 1982 characterized by great turbulence and tension in international situation. The first instalment analyses the ramifications of the worldwide economic crisis and intensified US-Soviet rivalry (p. 18).

Afghanistan and Kampuchea

Excerpts from Renmin Ribao editorials to mark the 3rd anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the 4th anniversary of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea (pp. 10 & 11).
New Year Message

by the Editorial Board of "Beijing Review"

THE Chinese people have ample reasons to feel happy as they look back on the past year from the threshold of 1983. Some of the country's achievements were of worldwide significance.

When the worst economic recession since the end of the war hit the globe, China emerged practically unscathed, registering a healthy economic growth and overfulfilling its target of a 4 per cent increase in the gross value of industrial and agricultural production.

Last September, at a time when political turbulence and uncertainty loomed large in many parts of the world, China took a major step to effect a smooth succession of younger people to leading posts in the highest organ of the Communist Party, thus ensuring political stability and the continuity of its policies.

In December, China adopted a new Constitution after two years of laborious work by thousands of experts and officials, drawing on the wisdom of millions who participated in nationwide discussions.

Throughout the process, the construction of a socialist legal system and of socialist democracy was emphasized, to guard against the return of days when mere insinuations by a Jiang Qing could discredit Political Bureau Members and topple government ministers, when a couple of big-character posters with false charges could put the average citizen in serious trouble.

Unlike the unpractical targets so characteristic of most previous plans, the goals of the newly approved Five-Year Plan (1981-85) are both positive and realistic, with emphasis on well-rounded economic results rather than on mere speed.

This year marks the beginning of a national effort to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. It will also be a crucial period in the fulfilment of the 6th Five-Year Plan.

In addition to a comprehensive development of its economy, China will address structural reform and Party consolidation in the new year.

At the national level, the restructuring of Party and government departments will continue by taking resolute measures to train cadres in rotation, fight bureaucracy and raise work efficiency. The restructuring of such institutions at the provincial and prefectural levels will be in full swing in the first half of the year.

In May or June, the 6th National People's Congress will hold its first session and elect China's president and other state leaders. The Party Central Committee will meet later to discuss problems and policies related to Party consolidation, in order to substantially improve and strengthen Party leadership.

If we survey the international arena, most likely we will find a more turbulent world in which the superpowers' competition for global...
hegemony will continue to pose serious threats to world peace.

China's independent foreign policy has in the past year helped win many new friends in addition to enhancing its amity with old ones, and is expected to play a greater role in the coming year. China will spare no effort to strengthen its unity and co-operation with the third world, fight hegemonism and defend world peace.

For Beijing Review, the new year has a special significance: in early March it will mark the 25th anniversary of the publication of the journal.

In the past quarter century, our magazine has grown from a single English weekly into one with five language editions; its staff has increased from less than 30 to more than 230. Youngsters who helped to bring out the first issues now find their hair turning grey, and foreign friends who worked on the staff of Beijing Review in its initial stage will see mostly new faces if they return to join us in our birthday celebrations.

Our 25th anniversary is a time for celebration, a time to assess our past and map out our future.

Beijing Review has enhanced the understanding of China among people around the world, and has helped establish many friendships for China. It has contributed, in a small way, to the great cause of defending world peace and promoting human progress.

Regretfully, the magazine also spread a number of erroneous ideas and misinformation at certain times, especially during the "cultural revolution" when the mass media came under the tight control and destructive influence of the "gang of four."

Perhaps our readers can get a sense of the political and organizational chaos we faced during those traumatic years from one example. For more than a year our present chief editor was removed from her office and with some of our best editors and translators was forced to work full time sweeping floors, cleaning toilets and doing physical jobs of all sorts—a distortion of the Party's policy on the integration of mental and manual labour.

Considering this peculiar historical background, we feel we owe a special debt to our readers.

From 1979 on, almost simultaneously with the nationwide effort to redress past wrongs, we have been doing our best to correct our past mistakes. The tendency to embellish reality, to overstate, or to write without much substantive content has been, may we hope, overcome to a great extent. Our aim as we enter the 26th year of our publication is to write and report on both China's achievements and problems, truthfully and candidly, in order to give our readers a picture true to reality.

It is our hope that you will join us in our effort to improve the magazine by sending us more suggestions and criticisms. If you plan to be in Beijing in early March, we hope you will let us know so you can join our celebrations.

Happy New Year!
Premier Zhao visits 10 African countries

Premier Zhao Ziyang began December 20 paying official visits to Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Congo, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya. The purpose of this trip is to learn from the African peoples’ experiences in construction, promote mutual understanding and friendship, strengthen unity and co-operation between China and the African countries.

Premier Zhao arrived in Cairo on December 20 on the first leg of his African tour. He was accorded a warm welcome there. The Premier held two rounds of talks with President Hosni Mubarak.

During their talks, the two leaders exchanged views on current international issues and they had many points in common. They held that in order to settle the Middle East question, Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied, and the national rights of the Palestinian people must be restored. They stressed that it is essential to uphold Arab unity and be prepared for a protracted struggle.

President Mubarak praised China’s position on the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Zhao Ziyang said during the talks that it is China’s consistent policy to develop Sino-Egyptian friendship. The economic and technological co-operation between the two countries has had a very good beginning. China will make efforts to further develop this co-operation on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit, better practical results, more diversity in form and mutual development, and is ready to explore new areas and new ways of co-operation.

Zhao Ziyang and Hosni Mubarak held a joint news conference. Premier Zhao expounded in particular China’s foreign policy. He pointed out: “China’s foreign policy is consistent, with two basic points: first, oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace; and second, firmly unite and co-operate with the other third world countries. This policy was reiterated at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The first countries I visit after the 12th Party Congress are Egypt and other African countries. This shows that China will further carry out the policy of firmly strengthening its unity and co-operation with the other third world countries, as was reiterated at the 12th Party Congress.”

Zhao Ziyang reaffirmed China’s support for the Arab states’ efforts in seeking a settlement to the Middle East issue. He considered that the Fez proposal is reasonable and realistic and provides the basis for bringing about a compre-
hensive and just solution to the Middle East issue.

Premier Zhao said: “On the basis of Israeli withdrawal from all Arab lands it occupied in 1967 and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their national right to existence, all the Middle East countries, including Israel, will have the right to independence and existence.”

During the joint news conference, Premier Zhao Ziyang reaffirmed China’s position to continue supporting the non-aligned movement.

Premier Zhao visited scenic spots and historical sites during his stay in Egypt, including the citadel of Saladin, the Egyptian museum and the great pyramids and the sphinx at Giza, the tombs of the Pharaohs and ancient temples in Luxor. He also visited the Aswan high dam.

Praising the friendship and co-operative relations between Egypt and China, President Hosni Mubarak said: “The Chinese Premier’s visit to Egypt embodies the friendship and relations of co-operation between the two countries.” He said that Premier Zhao’s visit was a success.

Egyptian papers attached great importance to Premier Zhao’s visit. The Egyptian paper Al Ahram said editorially that Premier Zhao Ziyang’s visit to Egypt “is an event of paramount importance in the history of relationship between Egypt and China since its development at the time of the late Premier Zhou Enlai.”

Premier Zhao Ziyang ended his visit to Egypt on December 24 and left Cairo for Algeria.

Young cadres raised to leading posts

About 3,600 cadres in Beijing have been promoted to leading posts in the past three years. Their average age is a little more than 40.

Among them, 1,200 are university graduates and another 1,000 have an educational level equivalent to that of secondary vocational or senior middle school graduates. Government statistics for 1981 showed that 35 per cent of the leading cadres at the district or bureau level had a secondary vocational school education or above as against 28 per cent in 1980, and in some units the percentage was over 50.

The Beijing Bureau of Animal Husbandry did not have a single university graduate among its directors or deputy directors prior to 1978. Now half of them are university graduates. All 15 modernized chicken and pig farms under the bureau are headed by specialists with university degrees.

The Shoudou Iron and Steel Company is a medium-sized complex with 66,000 workers and staff. In the past few years, 140 middle-aged and young people have been promoted to leading positions as factory directors or department heads. Most of them are university-educated technical cadres. At present, 81 per cent of its factory directors and managers are technical cadres.

In 1981 when the company instituted an economic responsibility system, these new leaders played an active role in helping reform the system of industrial management and in establishing scientific management in the fields of planning, finance, labour and wages, personnel, techniques and equipment. As a result, in the first 10 months of 1982, the Shoudou Iron and Steel Company earned 309 million yuan in profits, nearly double the figure for the corresponding period of 1978, a year which hit an all-time high in both economic and technical targets.
National economic tasks for the year

The Chinese Government recently published the planned targets for national economic and social development in 1983.

— A 4 per cent rise in total agricultural output value over 1982. Grain output will be 342.5 million tons, or 7.5 million tons above the expected 1982 output; cotton output will be 3.37 million tons, an increase of 70,000 tons over 1982’s estimated figure. There will also be an all-round development in other industrial crops as well as in forestry, livestock breeding, sideline occupations and fishery.

— A 4 per cent increase in total industrial output value over the estimated 1982 figure, and efforts will be made to achieve a 5 per cent increase. The output of yarn will be 3.32 million tons, or 0.3 per cent more than 1982’s expected output; sugar, 3.7 million tons, an increase of 8.2 per cent; coal, 670 million tons, up 3.1 per cent; crude oil, 100 million tons, about the same as in each of the previous two years; electricity, 338,000 million kwh, a 4 per cent increase; steel, 35.5 million tons, one million tons less than in 1982; chemical fertilizer, 12.55 million tons, roughly the same as the 1982 figure; cement, 92 million tons, up 2.2 per cent; and timber, 50.65 million cubic metres, an increase of 1.7 per cent.

In transportation, railway freight will be 1,120 million to 1,140 million tons, an increase of 20 million to 40 million tons over 1982. Short-distance transportation will be handled as much as possible by the waterways and highways.

— The social purchasing power in 1983 is expected to be 276,000 million yuan, 20,000 million yuan or 7.8 per cent more than in 1982. Of this, the increase in the cities and towns will be 6,800 million yuan and in the rural areas the increase will be 13,200 million yuan.

— The total volume of import and export trade is set at 68,400 million yuan, an increase of 14.5 per cent over the 1982 figure. Of this amount, exports will amount to 32,800 million yuan, up 4.8 per cent, and imports will be 35,700 million yuan, up 25.3 per cent.

— The nation’s natural population growth rate will be kept at below 14 per thousand in 1983.

— Jobs for 5.5 million people in the cities and towns will be arranged.

The above are the main targets for the 1983 national economic and social development plan which was drawn up by the State Council and approved by the recent Fifth Session of the Fifth National People’s Congress.
Pinglu County shakes off poverty

The government of one of China's poorest counties cabled Premier Zhao Ziyang last fall to say that for the first time in many years - the county had gathered in a good harvest, thereby making a solid step towards shaking off poverty.

Since 1949, the population of Pinglu County in west Shanxi Province has increased by 48 per cent, but grain output rose only by 24 per cent, which meant a lower per-capita grain consumption level than that of 1949. The local peasants depended heavily on the state for relief supply, averaging 2.5 million kilogrammes in the 1953-80 period. With per-capita income averaging a meagre 34 yuan following the 1956 movement to organize co-operatives, the county lagged behind the other 115 counties and cities in the province.

Things began to pick up with the institution of the rural responsibility system, the popularization of scientific farming and a new geographical layout of farm crops. Last June, when Premier Zhao Ziyang was there on an inspection tour, county government officials told him that they anticipated a good harvest in grain and edible oil that would substantially increase per-capita income. The Premier instructed the county officials to report to the State Council once its harvest was in. As anticipated, last autumn Pinglu gathered in 50 million kilogrammes of grain and over 5 million kilogrammes of edible oil and its per-capita income reached 132 yuan.

In his letter of congratulations to the Pinglu County government, Premier Zhao expressed the hope that the county would sum up its experiences, continue to consolidate and improve the rural responsibility system, popularize agro-science and technology, pay due attention to maintaining ecological equilibrium and strive for sustained growth in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, industry and sideline occupations.

28 cities report full employment

Twenty-eight Chinese cities currently report zero unemployment. They have been able to provide work for people who have been awaiting jobs for several years, as well as for the 1982 middle school graduates.

With a population ranging from 200,000 to 400,000, these small and medium-sized cities have made rapid development in the light and textile industries, commerce and service trades, and their surrounding rural areas have achieved encouraging progress in agricultural production.

Changzhi city in Shanxi Province with a population of about 400,000 has opened 277 much-needed commercial, service, catering and repairing shops in the past three years. It reported providing jobs for 32,281 people (or 98 per cent of its once jobless citizens) in that period. In the first eight months of 1982 the city again arranged work for 2,458 people, including new middle school graduates.

To find employment for the labour force within its population of more than 1,000 million will be a major issue in China for many years to come. To provide more job opportunities, the government requires that the state-owned enterprises be more efficient and at the same time encourage and support the collective and private economy. Some 26 million people in China’s urban areas were given jobs in the three years from 1979 to 1981. By the end of 1981, there were only 3.05 million people nationwide still awaiting jobs.

Cities reporting full employment include Wuxi, Nantong and Suzhou in Jiangsu Province, Anqing and Huaibei in Anhui Province, Weifang and Yantai in Shandong Province, all in east China; Shashi and Xiangfan in Hubei Province, central China; Chaozhou and Foshan in Guangdong Province, south China; Shijiazhuang and Zhangjiakou in Hebei Province, north China; and Jiamusi and Shuangyashan in Heilongjiang Province in northeast China.
Afghanistan

Victory belongs to Afghan people

Excerpts from “Renmin Ribao” Dec. 27, 1982 editorial. — Ed.

It is three years since the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. The past three years have demonstrated that the Afghan people with a glorious tradition of struggle against aggression are invincible. Their determination to regain their national independence is unshakable. The Soviet Union, its every move frustrated, is bogged down in the mire.

The Soviet aggression against Afghanistan is a major step in the Soviet global strategy for world domination. Three years ago today, Moscow believed that with a “limited” force and its sophisticated weapons plus its puppet Karmal regime, it could subjugate the small mountain state of Afghanistan in a few months and turn it into a springboard for its southward drive.

However, the Soviet Union overestimated its own power and underestimated the capability of a weak and small nation to resist aggression. For three years, the flames of the Afghan people’s struggle have been raging ever more fiercely. The Soviet troops have suffered serious setbacks. It is reported that the Afghan resistance forces now control vast areas and have established many local governments, while the 100,000-strong aggressor troops control only some cities, military bases and major communication points, and are subject to constant guerrilla attacks. Estimates are that Soviet casualties exceed 10,000 dead or wounded.

The fundamental reason for the continuing success of the Afghan resistance forces is that they are waging a just war against foreign invasion in defence of national independence. Today, after three years of severe testing, they have emerged stronger with better leadership, equipment and organization. This testifies to the following irrefutable truth: Superpowers are not to be feared; a powerful, modern army may eliminate a smaller modern regular army, but it will never be able to wipe out a popular and patriotic armed force of national resistance.

Extensive Support

The Afghan people’s struggle against aggression is an integral part of the struggle of the world’s peace-loving people to safeguard world peace against hegemonism. Hence the extensive sympathy and support they have received from people the world over. For three years, the international community has strongly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The UN General Assembly and other international organizations have time and again adopted resolutions calling for the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

In order to extricate itself from its predicament, the Soviet Union, while intensifying its “seek and destroy” operations against the Afghan guerrillas, has made gestures implying its readiness for a “political solution” to the Afghan issue. But the essence of the Soviet “political solution” is to acquire international recognition, and thereby legitimization of its invasion of Afghanistan as a fait accompli.

A political solution to the Afghan issue is possible only if
the repeated resolutions of the UN General Assembly, the Islamic summit conferences and the non-aligned foreign ministers conferences are strictly implemented, if all foreign troops are withdrawn immediately and unconditionally from Afghanistan and the Afghan people are allowed to exercise their right to self-determination without external interference, if Afghan independence and non-alignment is restored and the Afghan refugees are allowed to return to their homeland safely and with dignity. This is the only correct way to resolve the Afghanistan issue.

The struggle around the Afghanistan issue is one of great significance that has a bearing on world peace. Compromises with and concessions to the aggressor or tolerance of the Soviet schemes to occupy Afghanistan by force will only increase the arrogance of the hegemons and aggravate the threat to the peace and security of the whole world. Therefore, all peace- and justice-loving countries and peoples of the world must increase their support for the just struggle of the Afghan people against hegemons, and provide moral and material assistance to the Afghan people so as to bring about an equitable and rational solution to the Afghanistan issue in conformity with the interests of the Afghan people.

Afghanistan is a neighbour of China. By invading Afghanistan and massing its troops along the Afghan-Chinese border, the Soviet Union is also posing a grave threat to China's security. The Chinese people have always firmly supported

the Afghan people in their just struggle and resolutely demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people may resolve their own problems free of external interference.

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**SE Asia**

**Salute to people of Kampuchea**


FOUR years ago today, Viet Nam unleashed a large-scale war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. It occupied large tracts of Kampuchean territory and installed a puppet regime in Phnom Penh in an attempt to reduce Kampuchea to a Vietnamese colony.

Under very harsh conditions, the patriotic Kampuchean armed forces and people rose in struggle for national salvation. Tempered in severe tests on the battlefield, they dealt heavy blows to the Vietnamese aggressors and brought about important changes in Kampuchea, thus making tremendous contributions to their country's national independence and to the peace and security of Southeast Asia.

Relying on its military superiority and support from the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese authorities tried in vain to annex Kampuchea, rig up an Indochina federation, and dominate Southeast Asia in order to satisfy its ambition for regional hegemony.

Unity in the Fighting

However, the situation in Kampuchea has not developed as the aggressors have wished. The patriotic Kampuchean armed forces and people have grown stronger in the course of their arduous struggle. They have expanded their areas of operation and have set up a coalition government so that the various patriotic Kampuchean resistance forces are now fighting together against the Vietnamese aggressors. The situation in the Kampuchean battlefields is developing in favour of the Kampuchean people.

The Kampuchean people's just struggle of resistance to Vietnamese aggression has won the sympathy and support of the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and from peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people throughout the world. The UN General Assembly has adopted four separate resolutions defending the legitimacy of Democratic Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations and demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

The four-year struggle of the Kampuchean people against aggression has proved the truth that no matter how strong the aggressor, even in these modern times the struggle against aggression can surely overcome all kinds of difficulties to win final victory, provided that the people rise in a resolute and protracted war for national salvation, unite all patriotic forces at home and win support from the international community.

**Viet Nam’s New Offensive**

Although the Kampuchean people have won great victories, they still face a difficult struggle. To extract themselves from this difficult position, the Hanoi
INTERNATIONAL REPORTS AND COMMENTS

authorities have initiated new military actions during the present dry season. Meanwhile, they are attempting to undermine the unity among the three Kampuchean patriotic forces. They are actively plotting a regional “dialogue” between the so-called Indochinese countries and ASEAN, in an attempt to trap other countries into condoning the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and legalize the puppet regime in Phnom Penh.

They also spread the myth of a “threat from China” to sow discord between China and ASEAN in an attempt to encourage compromise, thus seeking a justification for their refusal to withdraw troops from Kampuchea.

The settlement of the Kampuchean question is key to the easing of tensions in Southeast Asia and to checking the hegemons’ expansion in this region. It can only be settled by a withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea in accordance with relevant UN resolutions. The Kampuchean people must be allowed to solve their own problems and to restore the country’s position of independence, neutrality and non-alignment.

China’s stand on the Kampuchean question is open and above-board. We are not seeking any selfish interests, but are only upholding justice and fulfilling our commitments as friends of the Kampuchean people. We are willing to continue to make efforts, together with ASEAN and all peace-loving countries in the world, for a just and reasonable solution of the Kampuchean question.

10 major world events of 1982

1) The “New Delhi Consultation” which advanced South-South co-operation. (Feb.)
2) The return to Egypt of the Sinai peninsula, occupied by Israel since 1967. (April)
3) The Malvinas war between Argentina and Britain. (April-June)
4) The massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the withdrawal of the PLO armed forces from Beirut. (June-Sept.)
5) The formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea by the three anti-Viet Nam resistance forces. (July)
6) The 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which formulated an overall programme for socialist modernization and strengthened co-operation between new and old cadres by bringing younger members into top leadership positions.
7) The death of Soviet leader Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and the succession of Yuri Andropov as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (Nov.)
8) The beginning of Premier Zhao Ziyang’s visit to 10 African nations. (Dec.)
9) Progress in manned space flight: Soviet transport vehicle Soyuz T-5 docked with Saluyt-7 space station, Soviet cosmonauts set record of 211 days for space flight and the US space shuttle Columbia makes its first commercial flight.
10) The deteriorating Western economies, which saw the highest unemployment in 42 years, a record of 32 million for Canada, Japan, Western Europe and the United States.

Eastern and Southern Africa

Economic co-operation strengthened

Heads and plenipotentiaries of the 11 eastern and southern African countries held a two-day meeting in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, in mid-December. They decided to further increase co-operation among the member states of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which was set up in December of 1981, and to promote the PTA’s development into a regional economic community. This meeting is an important effort to develop the national economies and strengthen the political independence of these countries. This is also a contribution to promoting the South-South co-operation.

The communique issued at the end of the meeting said the PTA is a “necessary and timely” response to the worsening international economic situation facing the developing countries and to the obvious unwillingness of the developed countries to implement a new international economic order. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called this meeting a good example of South-South cooperation.

Many countries in eastern and southern Africa have suffered from the oppression and exploitation of imperialism and colonialism for a long time. Since gaining independence, they have faced the urgent task
of developing their national economies. These countries have large land areas, are rich in natural resources, and can learn from each other's experiences. These conditions are clearly conducive to the further development of economic cooperation among the nations of eastern and southern Africa.

— Ren Yun

USA

MX ‘dense pack’ deadlocked

A VEHEMENT debate has challenged the “dense pack” system ever since President Reagan announced on Nov. 22 his decision to deploy 100 MX missiles in Wyoming. The project was hotly contested in the US Congress. On Dec. 17, the Senate passed the appropriations bill which contains nearly 1 billion US dollars for producing the first five MX missiles. However, this bill would not allow the government to use the funds until it could convince the Congress sometime after March 1 that the current basing plan for the missile is sound or it can present a better one favored by the Congress. On Dec. 7, the House of Representatives voted down funds for initial production of the missile. Though the Senate vote saved the MX production plan, the “dense pack” project is now deadlocked.

The MX, a new generation of giant ICBMs, carries 10 warheads. It is more accurate and has greater range and targeting flexibility than the present Minuteman and Hercules ICBMs. The United States first developed the MX in the mid-70s to counter the Soviet SS-18 and SS-19 intercontinental missiles. Controversy has surrounded the MX for many years. The US Government has spent a great deal of money for research and development of the MX, but no acceptable deployment plan has been worked out.

Since taking office, President Reagan has argued that development of the MX is needed to redress the military imbalance between the United States and the Soviet Union and to demonstrate that the United States is determined to maintain “nuclear parity” with the USSR. He also claims that the MX is a necessary bargaining counter in the new round of nuclear disarmament talks. Initially he planned to deploy 100 MX missiles in the reinforced underground silos of the present Minuteman and Hercules missiles. Then he adopted the “dense pack” formation.

Why the Deadlock

But this project was opposed by many Americans. Three of the five joint chiefs of staff expressed reservations about the plan. Some defence experts say that the “dense pack” MX project cannot ensure invulnerability. Moscow could easily adopt counter-measures to neutralize the MX project.

Since the “dense pack” system is technically very complicated, and actual testing is impossible, Congress would like a more reliable project. Thus, the US Senate approved construction of the first MX missiles, with the condition that a new deployment system be found for the controversial weapon.

Reagan’s “dense pack” project has weaknesses, but it only costs 1 billion US dollars for the first five MX missiles. This is a very small percentage of the US 1983 military budget of $231.6 billion. The reason why so many oppose Reagan’s project is because of the size of the US military budget. This is a very sensitive problem that concerns both the US Government and the public. After he took office, Reagan put forward an ambitious plan for arms spending. US military expenditures went up over 7 per cent in 1982 and 10 per cent in 1983. The total military budget for five years will reach $1,800 billion.

However, the United States has been running into serious economic difficulties. The Reagan administration has refused to reduce its military spending, but has cut social programmes. This has angered many people. During the mid-term elections in November, some of Reagan’s measures were strongly criticized. According to the recent polls, the number of those who support the nuclear arms freeze and reduction of the military budget have clearly increased.

These changes in public attitudes, especially the growing anti-nuclear movement, will certainly influence US domestic politics. According to one AP analyst, the House of Representatives voted down funds for the initial production of the MX missile because many Congressmen support the nuclear arms freeze and reduction of the military budget.

With increasing economic difficulties, more and more people in the United States will demand reductions in military expenditures. It is not surprising that Reagan’s new MX deployment plan has become the target of widespread opposition.

— Zhang Dezhen
Chinese-Type Modernization

Why a Change in Emphasis?

by Ren Tao, Zheng Jingsheng

Beginning with this issue, we will publish a series of articles on Chinese-type modernization.

The series is a response to the many letters we have received since China started its modernization drive, requesting explanations of events and present policies. We hope that this series, by the staff of the Economic Research Centre under the State Council, will help clarify the many common questions by offering analyses and related background information.

We wish to thank Ma Bin, the deputy general secretary of the Economic Research Centre, the adviser for the series and Ren Tao, a section chief of the centre, its principal author.—Ed.

Four years have elapsed since late 1979 when China began to shift the emphasis of its work to economic construction aimed at modernizing the country's industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology. Four years is only a short period in the history of humanity and yet it represents a turning point of great significance in Chinese history. Any observer of China can testify to the tremendous differences the last few years have brought. But what is the nature and direction of the change? Many have asked, Whither China after Mao?

Some China watchers assert: “Radical revolutionary slogans have been replaced by the four modernizations. Current pragmatic Chinese leaders no longer place much emphasis on the purity of ideology. The revolutionary party has become a constructional party. China is no longer a revolutionary country.”

There were many factors that encouraged this false belief among different types of people, but the important one was the distorted propaganda about revolution from the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques and their cohorts. This gang manipulated the mass media when they were in power and created much confusion about China’s ideology. They described the proletarian revolution as something mysterious, and even preached that people should “make revolution in their innermost souls.” They made many twisted expositions about socialism and even criticized the principle of distribution according to work, a principle generally recognized by Marxism, as “bourgeois right.” They spread the notion that “the poorer one is, the more revolutionary he becomes,” “what we want is poor socialism,” etc.

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company put forward these views under the banner of Mao Zedong and took advantage of his mistakes made in his later years. Genuine Chinese Marxists at that time saw through these evil deeds, resisted and struggled against them. After the gang of four was smashed, we discarded their absurd theories and began to stress economic construction. Under these circumstances, the talk abroad was that China was engaged in “de-Maoification.”

Mao Zedong’s Views

In recent years, foreign publications have often linked the slogans of modernization with the names of Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. Frequently they have forgotten or overlooked the fact that Mao Zedong also consistently advocated modernization.

On the eve of the founding of New China, Mao Zedong stated: “We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new.”
In July 1949, he emphasized: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us." He called upon the Communists to learn to do economic work from experts in this field and to esteem them as teachers.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production basically was completed in 1956, the Eighth Party Congress pointed out that a socialist system had in the main been established in China. It said that the chief task facing the nation was to concentrate all efforts on developing the productive forces, bringing about industrialization of the country and gradually meeting the people's growing material and cultural needs.

Mao Zedong said in 1957: "The large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in the main come to an end." "Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production." He called for "uniting the people of all nationalities in our country for the new battle, the battle against nature" and "make China a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture."

In 1964, in his report on government work to the Third National People's Congress, the late Premier Zhou Enlai, acting at the behest of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, formally proposed for the first time to the whole nation a magnificent programme for bringing about the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology by the end of this century so that China's national economy could take its place in the front ranks of the world.

However, it is regrettable that these correct views of Mao Zedong were not put into practice because of mistakes he committed in later years, characterized by broadening the target of class struggle and thinking in terms of absolutes, and because of the Party's failure to promptly correct the mistakes. As a result, the shift of the focus of work was delayed for over 20 years. While making an all-round evaluation of Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, the Party marked a strict distinction between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes of his later years. Indeed, our current shift of the focus of work on to modernization is exactly the correct view he had once upheld.

**Socialism Seeks to End Poverty**

Mao Zedong Thought on the relationship between revolution and construction as mentioned above fully conforms with the basic Marxist viewpoint.

Lenin once expounded the two major tasks of socialist revolution. He said: "In every socialist revolution, after the proletariat has solved the problem of capturing power, and to the extent that the task of expropriating the expropriators and suppressing their resistance has been carried out in the main, there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system superior to capitalism, namely, raising the productivity of labour." He also pointed out: "Following the seizure of political power, the principal and fundamental interest of the proletariat lies in securing an enormous increase in the productive forces of society and in the output of manufactured goods."

If one considers China's production level and its people's living standards before the revolution, it is not hard to see that a prominent and urgent problem to be solved by the socialist revolution is the latter task mentioned above by Lenin.

Take 1949 when New China was founded, for example. The nation had a population of
541.67 million; its total industrial and agricultural output value was 46,600 million yuan, of which only 10 per cent came from modern industry; per-capita national income was 66 yuan; there were 180,000 university graduates and 500,000 medical workers. The people suffered from cold and hunger. Whenever there was a famine, the bodies of people who had starved to death were everywhere. Shanghai was reduced to a semi-colonial city where workers could not afford to support their families. It was a common scene that the streets were strewn with the corpses of people who had frozen to death.

In 1978, 30 years after liberation, per-capita national income was only 316 yuan (US$183), roughly equivalent to 1/46 of the United States', 1/37 of Japan's and 1/11 of the Soviet Union's. (However, the method of calculation is different. China's national income doesn't include earnings from "tertiary" industries.) Chinese living costs are far lower than those of three countries'. China can only guarantee its people a basic living; it still remains one of the world's poorer countries, measured by living standards.

In recent years, China has adopted a number of significant measures for improving the people's lives. In 1981 the per-capita national income was 393 yuan; the net income per peasant was 220 yuan. Experts estimate that China's industrial and technical level lags about 20 years behind the developed capitalist countries and its agricultural production level is about 40-50 years behind.

Fundamentally, the aim of socialist revolution is to change the old relations of production which hamper the development of the productive forces, to abolish the system of exploitation, liberate the productive forces and to develop social production so as to eventually eradicate the social sources of poverty, ignorance and backwardness. In the meantime, through tempering themselves in production, a new generation of workers will emerge, with fine qualities, moral values and culture. It is utterly absurd and a slander against socialist revolution to obstinately link poverty with socialism and take pride in being poor.

True, in class society, the poor invariably want revolution because they are victims of the exploitation and oppression that constitutes a social source of poverty. Before liberation, China's proletariat was revolutionary because economically and politically it suffered from harsh exploitation and oppression and was successful because it accepted the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. After the revolution was victorious and the working class and other labouring people became masters of the country, they could be expected to shift their emphasis from revolution to building a new society, developing the economy and eliminating poverty. Under such circumstances, if anyone still preached the theory "the poorer one is, the more revolutionary he becomes," then people may ask about what need the revolution is.

The Will of the Chinese Nation

The nation's long-cherished ideal is to turn this poor and backward country into an independent, prosperous and powerful state. For this, countless revolutionaries shed their blood and laid down their lives over the past 100 years. It represents the strong will of the disaster-ridden Chinese nation to re-establish itself as a proud member of the world's nations.

China has a 5,000-year-old civilization. The Chinese nation has won the world's respect for its splendid culture and its wisdom in first inventing the compass, paper-making, printing and gunpowder. But as a result of the feudal rule which continued for 2,000 years, it gradually declined and was reduced to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, a victim of imperialist aggression and partition.

After the 1840 Opium War, almost all the imperialist powers bullied China and launched one war of aggression after another against it. But because the government was politically corrupt and the country was economically and technically backward, our soldiers were forced to put up heroic resistance with swords and spears against the enemy's modern warships, guns and artillery. As a result, all previous wars against aggression, except the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), ended in China's failure, cession of territory, payment of indemnity and forfeit of sovereignty. In their aftermaths, foreign aggressors imposed dozens of unequal treaties on China.

But in 1949, the Chinese people stood up.
The revolution’s victory led to the birth of New China. The basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in 1956 provided favourable conditions for the further economic development and the construction of a stronger national defence. But, long-term efforts are required to rid China of economic and technical backwardness.

In summing up modern Chinese history in 1963, Mao Zedong warned: “If in the decades to come we don’t completely change the situation in which our economy and technology lag far behind those of the imperialist countries, it will be impossible for us to avoid being pushed around again.”

The prospect of becoming a victim of the law of the jungle, pushed around by others — this was the stark reality that confronted China and other third world countries in the era when capitalism developed into imperialism. But history had taught the people, who in turn would not allow history to repeat itself.

Our people understand full well: It is far from enough to merely rely on political independence to invigorate the nation. We must energetically develop the economy, strive to realize modernization and use modern science and technology to equip our industry, agriculture and national defence; only by doing so can we turn China into a strong and prosperous country. That is why the Chinese people are working heart and soul for the realization of modernization.

**Revolution Yet To Be Accomplished**

Will China cease making revolution now that the emphasis of work has been changed? Certainly not. The point is that one should have a correct understanding of the implication and range of revolution.

In a narrow sense, it can be said that the tasks of the revolution have been accomplished, if they refer to the seizure of political power by the proletariat and other labouring people, to the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, to the abolition of the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes and to the liberation of the productive forces. That was what Lenin meant by “socialist revolution.”

In a broad sense, if the revolutionary tasks also include the tremendous development of social productive forces, the perfection and development of the socialist relations of production and the superstructure and, on this basis, the gradual elimination of all class differences, the elimination of all major social differences and social inequality resulting from the inadequate development of the social productive forces, and the ultimate realization of communism; then the revolution is far from being over, instead it still has a long, long way to go.

Some foreign friends are worried that the disadvantageous side effects of Western modern-
1982, a Year of Mounting Troubles
by Li Ning

- The year that has just passed witnessed a world in greater turbulence than the year before.
- An economic crisis, the worst since World War II, battered the entire capitalist world. The Soviet and East European economies were in bad shape.
- Worldwide economic difficulties led to sharpening international contradictions. US-Soviet rivalry became fiercer. North-South relations were strained. Frictions among the United States, Western Europe and Japan increased. The Iran-Iraq war continued. Two separate regional wars broke out in the Middle East and South America.
- Both Washington and Moscow were further weakened in their ability to control and influence international events.
- Most third world countries, while experiencing economic troubles, pushed forward their struggle against hegemonism, imperialism and colonialism in order to maintain national independence and develop their national economies. Third world solidarity and co-operation was strengthened.
- In this complicated, tumultuous international situation, China enjoyed stability and unity, pursuing its modernization programme. By following an independent foreign policy, China helped promote third world unity, oppose hegemonism and maintain world peace.

World Economy Goes From Bad to Worse

Starting in 1980, most countries have been in the grips of an economic crisis or serious economic difficulties. The situation became worse in 1982. Many Western observers became alarmed that the world was on the brink of a great depression similar to that of the 1930s. In fact, the crisis in the capitalist world is the longest, most extensive and most profound since World War II. Moreover, the developing
countries are bearing the brunt of the crisis because of Western efforts to shift it to them.

The Western economic crisis also affected Soviet and East European economies, aggravating their difficulties. International economic relations as a whole became strained and uneasy.

1) Economic growth decreased.

Western countries were bogged down in "stagflation" following the 1973-75 economic crisis. Since 1980, their production has steadily declined. The annual growth rate of the gross national product of the 24 member states of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) averaged 1.3 per cent in 1980, 1.2 per cent in 1981 and 0.2 per cent in 1982 (estimated figure). Some even have registered a negative growth for two consecutive years.

US production slumped twice in three years, a phenomenon unprecedented in postwar US history. President Reagan admitted on November 20 last year that the US economy was in a mess.

Japan developed rapidly in the postwar years, achieving an average annual economic growth rate of 8.2 per cent between 1950 and 1979. But its production growth plummeted to 2.7 per cent in 1981 and a further drop is expected when the 1982 figures are released.

The crisis forced the governments of all Western countries to adjust their economic policies. Britain and the United States raised interest rates, tightened controls on money supply, cut taxes and slashed government spending. France and some other countries maintained policies aimed at expanding demand and stimulating investments. But all these policies, old and new, proved ineffective and had to undergo some changes in the course of their implementation.

As the crisis deepened, unemployment and bankruptcies skyrocketed. More than 30 million are jobless in the West, with the unemployment rate of the United States and Western Europe at 10 per cent or higher. In many countries a postwar record number of enterprises have gone out of business. Among the failed companies were some large firms within rising industries and some reputable banks.

Meanwhile, these countries' finances deteriorated. Some of them had planned to reduce or even wipe out deficits, but failed. The US Government's 1982 deficits were a record high of US$110.7 billion. Japan's astronomical deficits forced the Suzuki cabinet to declare the country's finances in a state of emergency. The tide of red ink inevitably led to deepening inflation. Some countries eased inflation by tightening control on the money supply and cutting budgets, but the results were hard to maintain for long and risked causing an adverse effect. In short, Western countries in 1982 failed to get rid of the "stagflation" inherited from the previous economic crises. On the contrary, they let it become worse, in a vicious circle.
The developing countries’ economic growth has been poor for four consecutive years. It averaged 0.6 per cent in 1981, the lowest in 20 years, and it would probably show an even lower average in 1982. Quite a few experienced negative growth in production. Most had higher inflation and unemployment rates than the developed countries. Some developing countries’ economies were close to bankruptcy. One half of the African states that belong to the rank of the world’s poorest countries found their economies in serious danger.

Latin America suffered its first economic slump in more than 10 years. Brazil and Mexico, once regarded as economic miracles, also deteriorated rapidly.

Many Asian and Pacific countries had a reduced economic growth rate. The once better-off oil-exporting Middle East countries slowed down production because of a surplus in oil supply and the oil price had been pushed down. Negative economic growth was also observed for the first time in some third world countries that are engaged in processing industries and exporting processed products.

1982 also was the worst postwar year for the Soviet Union and other East European countries in terms of economic development. Their economic growth had slackened for several years, the 1982 decrease being the biggest. The 1982 Soviet industrial output value was projected to increase only 2.8 per cent over 1981, the lowest increase rate since World War II. No wonder Yuri Andropov, in his first comprehensive policy speech after he took office, listed the drawbacks and difficulties in all the Soviet economic sectors. Furthermore, Soviet economic reform was retarded by extensive resistance and compounded by heavy military spending and external commitments. According to Western estimates, the 1982 East European economic growth rate might be less than 2 per cent and showed few indicators for quick recovery.

2) World trade shrank and international financial relations were unstable.

For many years before 1981, the total world trade volume increased at a faster pace than the total value of world production. But in the past two years, world trade has dwindled. The 1981 actual trade volume decreased by US$30 billion from 1980, and that of 1982 was estimated to be US$50 billion lower than 1981. The overwhelming majority of countries experienced a drop in imports and exports. Even Japan, which depends on external trade, experienced a 5 per cent reduction in imports in 1982. The US high interest rate policy exacerbated world trading difficulties and upset international financial markets.

Under the impact of the economic recession, Western countries leaned to protectionism and high-interest policies. These measures, coupled with a big drop in the raw material prices, seriously affected the developing countries’ foreign trade. Many incurred huge debts they were unable to repay, thus causing a worldwide credit crisis. Seventeen countries defaulted in 1981 and 26 defaulted in 1982.

Nor did the Soviet Union and other East European countries perform well in international payments. All were short of foreign exchange and in debt, with debts to the West totalling $80 billion or more. Poland and some other East European countries had to rearrange schedules of debt payments they could not meet. These countries’ troubled external economic relations were further aggravated by the high Western interest rates and other protectionist policies, as well as by the US sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland.

Sluggish world trade and the unstable international credit market, in turn, adversely affected economic growth in all the countries. The gloomy picture of the 1982 world economy, caused by the difficulties within each country and among nations, became the No. 1 international concern. The 37th Session of the UN General Assembly, in a departure from the tradition of concentrating on issues of war and peace, focused its attention on world economic problems. In many multinational and bilateral talks, economic issues received much attention. Even the October 1982 meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers expressed “grave concern” about “the sharpening world economic problems.”

Economic crises directly affected the political situation in many countries, throwing their societies into disorder. People became increasingly discontented with rising unemployment, spiralling prices and falling living standards, and
In the West, the anti-nuclear armaments and anti-war movement was on the upswing, the society was in disorder and the crime rate climbed.

In some developing countries, social riots and mass struggles increased, leading to political crises.

With ailing economies and grumbling peoples, the ruling groups in many countries were locked in intensified internal strife, causing an epidemic of changing governments in 1982. Ten West European countries reshuffled their cabinets last year and in some of them, like Italy, new governments came and went in rapid succession. In West Germany, the longstanding Social Democrat government was forced to quit, and in Japan the Suzuki cabinet was replaced by Nakasone. Helmut Schmidt and Zenko Suzuki, said the Western press, were victims of economic difficulties.

In those countries where elections were held, ruling parties, in most cases, were defeated. Opposition parties concentrated their fire on the ruling parties' economic policies while they themselves could not put forward any better ones. In short, the economic crisis overshadowed all fields of endeavour in most countries.

The worldwide recession aggravated contradictions and conflicts between states, plunging the international situation into greater tension and turbulence. In this situation, the rivalry between the two superpowers for world domination took on some new characteristics.

Soviet-US Rivalry Intensified

RIVALRY between Moscow and Washington became fiercer in 1982. At the beginning of the year, the Soviet Union launched a "peace offensive" with continued efforts to promote detente and proposals for limiting the nuclear arms race. The United States responded positively, despite its hardline policy. By mid-1982, US-Soviet disarmament talks had been held through a number of channels, and an initial agreement on a summit meeting even had been reached. But later, relations became strained because of a series of US moves—backing the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, extending economic sanctions against Moscow, insisting on deploying new missiles in Europe, and open statements by Reagan and Shultz to help communist countries realize their demand for a change of the present state of affairs at home. Disarmament negotiations made no progress, and the plan for a summit was shelved.

Brezhnev, speaking at a meeting of Soviet army and naval leaders on October 27, bombarded the US policies. The Soviet press let out word that Soviet-US relations could not improve while Reagan was in the White House. These were indications that Moscow, while continuing to keep its hold on the detente banner, had put up a hardline facade to counter the tough US measures. After Brezhnev's death and Andropov's succession as the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, both sides softened their attitude. But it is not yet clear how Soviet-US relations will develop.

The US-Soviet scramble for world domination in the past year was marked by the following features:

1) Both were in a worse predicament than before.

The Soviet Union was confronted with a series of headaches. Its economy was in bad shape. Poland still was problematic. The change in the leadership in Kremlin could not but have some impact on Soviet domestic and foreign policies. Continued Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and its support of Viet Nam's aggression in Kampuchea increasingly...

Bull-headed. by Gen Hua
isolated Moscow in the international community and weighed it down like two heavy burdens.

Reports say Soviet assistance to the East European countries and to Viet Nam and Cuba—nine in all—amounted to US$20 billion. Moscow was increasingly unable to satisfy the emergent needs of Poland, Viet Nam and Cuba. Last year it reportedly stopped supplying Poland with badly needed hard currency. Soviet exports to Poland were reduced by 15 per cent in the first half of the year, and Moscow failed to keep its promise of providing Poland with some materials. It cut its assistance and subsidies to Viet Nam and Cuba and reduced its aid to Ethiopia and South Yemen. Other reports said that it seemed unlikely that in 1982 Moscow would fulfil its plan to increase military spending by 4-5 per cent annually.

Beset with these difficulties, the Kremlin could not but restrain itself a little in pursuing its expansionism. It looked on in impotent fury as Washington displayed aggressiveness in certain regions and on some issues. An outstanding case in point was its inability to take action during Israel's invasion of Lebanon, which caused disappointment and resentment among the Palestine Liberation Organization, Syria and other hardline countries. Some Western press said the Lebanon crisis was a disgrace to the Soviets comparable to the Caribbean missile crisis in 1962. During the British-Argentine conflict over the Isles Malvinas (Falkland Islands) issue, Moscow also failed to take any important action. These indicated the Soviet Union's weaknesses.

The United States was not in an any better position. The deepening economic crisis made it impossible for President Reagan to beef up US military forces or to increase military spending as much as planned.

Other domestic factors also restricted the US ability to challenge the Soviet Union militarily. One was the mounting anti-nuclear arms movement, which brought great pressure to bear on the Reagan administration. The outburst of the anti-war movement last June was among the largest in American history. More than 600 US cities and towns voted to freeze nuclear arms at their present level. Some leading political, military and academic figures, as well as the US Catholic Church also proposed a nuclear freeze and said that first use of nuclear weapons should be outlawed.

The Democrats utilized these popular sentiments as well as the failure of Reaganomics to improve their position through the mid-term elections.

Washington's practice of trying to force others to follow its Soviet policy drew strong resentment from its West European allies and Japan. Furthermore, the United States put itself in opposition to the third world by favouring Israel and the South African authorities on all issues, by exporting economic crisis and adopting protectionist measures in trade, by maintaining an obstinate position in the North-South dialogue regarding aid to developing countries and by rendering support to Britain during the Malvinas Islands conflict.

Reagan originally planned to wrest concessions from Moscow by resorting to tough measures. However, impeded by domestic and foreign factors, he could not help adjust his tactics. He did not dare to drive things to extremes. Instead, he allowed room for compromise with the Soviets, and was especially cautious about leaving open channels for negotiations and private contacts.

2) Both sides endeavoured to consolidate their spheres of influence and maintain their vested interests.

Moscow augmented its occupation forces in Afghanistan from some 90,000 in 1981 to about 100,000 in 1982. But at the same time, in order to reduce the financial burden of its hegemonism and extricate itself from isolation, it also attempted political manoeuvres to settle the Afghanistan problem favourably to its interests. It also built up its military forces in the Asian and Pacific region, supported Viet Nam's intensified aggression in Kampuchea, and reinforced its military bases in Indochina. It tried to stabilize the situation in Poland, opposing US and other Western countries' attempts at political subversion there. It fought US economic sanctions against Poland and itself.

Similarly, Washington backed and abetted Israel's invasion of Lebanon in a bid to drive out Soviet influence in the Middle East and keep its superiority in the area. It increased support for South Africa and tried to expand its influence throughout the African continent.

It stepped up work in Latin America. Exploiting economic difficulties of Central American countries, it formed, to the exclusion of Cuba and Nicaragua, an organization for the
promoters of peace and democracy in the region. It dished out a package plan for aiding the Caribbean region while bringing pressure to bear upon Cuba and Nicaragua in order to isolate the two countries. The Cuban and Nicaraguan Governments repeatedly expressed interest in a rapprochement with Washington, hoping it would lift the embargo against Cuba and resume economic relations with Nicaragua. The White House, however, took the opportunity to ask them to halt support for the guerrilla forces in other Central American countries, and to ask Cuba to withdraw its forces from Angola.

3) Both sides sought to weaken each other.

Last year Washington made an extraordinary effort to publicize Soviet difficulties. Reagan said that since his election, the Soviets "haven’t expanded into an extra square inch." This propaganda campaign derived from US political needs. Washington regarded Poland and the economic troubles of the Soviet Union and other East European countries as Soviet weak spots, and wanted to make use of them to cripple Moscow. The 1983 US defence report said that the United States should not necessarily meet Soviet aggression with a direct counterblow where the Soviets had invaded, but instead that it could respond by taking actions in Eastern Europe.

Washington also waged “economic warfare” against Moscow. It limited trade with and credits to the Soviet Union, hoping thus to augment the Kremlin’s technological and financial difficulties. The purpose, Washington said, was to force Moscow to restrain itself in its external relations and to make a choice between “guns and butter” at home.

At the same time, the Reagan administration tried, by persuasion and coercion, to make other Western countries follow its lead. The OECD last September listed the Soviet Union as a comparatively rich country. The higher classification permitted the organization to raise the average loan interest rate to the country to 12 per cent, compared with 8.5 per cent the previous year. The OECD also reduced its total Soviet and East European loan by two-fifths after December 1980 and shortened the repayment period from 8 to 5-6 years. In November Reagan announced that his administration had reached an agreement with its allies on tightening controls on giving preferential credits and selling high technology to the Soviet Union.

On the Soviet side, it focused on exploiting contradictions between the United States and other countries, especially the sharpening conflicts between Washington and its European allies. Reagan opposed West European deals with Moscow on the Soviet natural gas pipeline project, but decided to sell large quantities of US grain to Moscow. This contradictory policy angered the West European countries. Seizing this opportunity, Moscow on the one hand made a number of offers to West European nations and, on the other hand, stepped up construction of the pipeline project at home, in an attempt to hold Western Europe tightly to its side by the lure of energy supply and to widen rifts in the Western alliance. It also applied pressure on the West European countries from other directions. For instance, on the issue of reduction of armaments in Europe, especially on deployment of US medium-range missiles in the region, Moscow used the European anti-nuclear armaments and anti-war movement to intimidate and divide West European countries. In addition, judging that the tumultuous Central America was increasingly becoming a hidden menace to the United States, the Soviet Union increased its military presence in the area. Since 1981,
Moscow has steadily increased its military supply to Cuba, and its 1982 effort was the biggest in 20 years. It also shipped Mig-23 planes and other military material to the Caribbean island of Grenada. Obviously, these actions were designed to threaten the United States. One Soviet military commentator said that American strategic discretion in other parts of the world depends on its discretion in the Antilles. If Washington should deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe, Soviet officials said, Moscow has the capability to take actions close to the United States.

Facts and Figures

Administrative Divisions of the People’s Republic of China

This year, “Beijing Review” will introduce basic facts about China and publish major figures on its economic and social development. In this issue, we present China’s administrative divisions. — Ed.

The People’s Republic of China is organized into three levels of administrative divisions: the province, the county and the township (commune). Established after liberation in 1949, these divisions have remained, with minor alterations, virtually unchanged since then.

The population figures in the facing page table are from the national census conducted on July 1, 1982 and all the other data were updated as of the end of 1981. The area figures with “+” are rounded numbers.

The 208 administrative units at the prefectural level include 168 prefectures, 30 autonomous prefectures, one administrative area and nine leagues. (The autonomous prefectures are organs of state power; the prefectures, administrative area and the leagues are all representative agencies of the provincial or autonomous region governments.) In the forthcoming local administrative reform, the administrative departments at the prefectural and city levels in more economically developed prefectures will be merged.

Of the 2,136 administrative units at the county level, there are 2,001 counties, 69 autonomous counties, 54 banners, three autonomous banners and nine other administrative units at the county level.
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Xianggang and Aomen
5,378,627
Servicemen
4,299,210

January 3, 1983
CHINESE PRESS OPINION

COMMENT

A certificate of detention

CHINESE peasants commonly display New Year paintings, certificates of merit and other propitious objects, but people are surprised that Liu Xuetong, a young peasant who resides in Jilin Province, hung a detention certificate on the wall of his new home.

In April 1980 Liu was preparing to build a house but did not have enough lumber. One night he stole publicly owned timber from a river and upon discovery was detained for 15 days by the city public security bureau for violation of state law. He recognized his mistake while at the house of detention and when he was released, he mounted his certificates of detention and release in one frame and hung them up.

There is a Chinese saying that “a feeling of shame is next to courage.” It is courageous to recognize one’s mistake and determine to correct it. It is even more commendable to acknowledge one’s error publicly, for this testifies to a determination to reform.

Since Liu was released, he has been working enthusiastically and conscientiously and thus regained the trust of fellow commune members. The “self-examination mirror,” i.e., the certificates, spur him on and educate others. Since his unlawful act, no similar action has occurred in his production brigade.

—“Renmin Ribao”

LIFE

Young women’s ideals for mates

In the 300 forms filled out by female registrants at one match-making service, the young women unreservedly expressed their wishes for marriage partners since their identities are strictly kept confidential.

A 26-year-old middle school teacher desires a partner who is “upright, broad-minded, cultured, honest, capable but not showy, physically fit, able to bear hardship and hard working.”

A textile worker hopes that her match is “devoted to his work, has ideals, lofty aspiration, a strong desire to learn and make progress and is not a mediocre person who muddles along aimlessly.”

A purchaser demands that her companion be “honest and tolerant, capable of sharing life’s joys and sorrows, respectful of parents and loving of younger siblings and refraining from drinking and smoking.”

In this item about the “Requirements for Partners in Marriage,” girls expressed their different expectations in young men. Girls numbering 114 list as a requirement that their partners be “honest and upright in their ways and of fine moral character”; 105 prefer those who “love study, are willing to delve into a special subject, are devoted to their work and are enterprising”; 98 expect the young men to “have regular features and good health”; 65 hope to marry those who are “honest and considerate”; 35 seek husbands who have “a certain educational level and broad interests,” and 26 require that their future partners “have a bright and cheerful disposition.”

The above shows that most young women do not have excessive demands on their partners’ appearance, occupations and income but give primary consideration to the young men’s 

Chen Lunjuan, a young woman worker of Shanghai, remained devoted to and married her fiance who got a serious burn in his face and hands in a traffic accident.
ideological and moral merit, educational level and devotion to work. The young women want their partners to be honest, tolerant and capable of sharing joys and sorrows because they know that life has its ups and downs.

— "Zhongguo Qingnian Bao" (Chinese Youth Paper)

LIFE

Lin Sen, where are you?

At the beginning of 1982, Hefei Evening News reported that Tian Qiuxia, a salesgirl in a grain shop, had for many years delivered grain to Cai Shiping, a childless woman in her eighties. Soon afterwards, someone named Lin Sen started mailing money to the old woman monthly. Cai, who lives on state relief, was disturbed to receive money from a stranger. She asked the neighbourhood committee to uncover who Lin Sen was. Failing to discover any clues in the neighbourhood, the committee placed a notice in the newspaper. The announcement "Where are you, Lin Sen?" instead of discovering Lin Sen, inspired more Lin Sens.

One day, a "never-met-before granddaughter" came to the old woman’s home. She helped with house cleaning, washing clothes and preparing dinner. She bought salt and soap with her own money. Cai grasped the girl’s hand, suspecting that she was Lin Sen herself. The girl said, "What I am doing is poles apart from what Lin Sen did. I am just learning from him/her."

The neighbourhood committee confirmed that she was not the original Lin Sen, rather her name is Wang Min, and she is a young worker in the kindergarten of the post and telecommunications office in Hefei city. She had read the notice "Where are you, Lin Sen?" and realized that the meaning of life is to make other people happy.

People did not forget Lin Sen. Before National Day, deputy chairman Wang Shaowei came to visit the old woman. Wang spotted a girl preparing chicken, but she was not Wang Min. The deputy chairman stepped forward and asked, "Are you Lin Sen?" The girl explained hurriedly, "No, I am a commune member from the countryside. Lin Sen is my model."

Lin Sen still remains anonymous. The sum arrives monthly mailed from different locations. After receiving the money, Cai never fails to ask, "Good person, where are you?"

— "Gongren Ribao" (Workers’ Daily)

TIDBITS

‘Yongle Encyclopaedia’

A VOLUME of the Yongle Encyclopaedia which spent 20 years in England is now in the History Museum of Sichuan University.

The Yongle Encyclopaedia, compiled in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), was originally composed of 11,095 volumes. The encyclopaedia had only one original and one duplicate and over hundreds of years it was not always well maintained. The original is now entirely non-existent. The duplicate was dispersed in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). In 1900 when the eight-power allied forces invaded Beijing, some of the volumes were destroyed by fire and others carried away to England, France, Japan and the United States.

The volume at Sichuan University is a manuscript from the Ming court. It was taken away to Britain in 1900. Fortunately, a British friend got it and sent it back to the Museum of the Huaxi Xiehe University (predecessor of the present-day History Museum of Sichuan University) in 1922.

— Sichuan’s "Historical Knowledge"
Gymnast Li Ning

At the 9th Asian Games in November 1982, 19-year-old Li Ning won the title in the men’s all-around event and gold medals in the rings and the pommelled horse. In October, at the 6th World Cup Gymnastics Competition, he stole the limelight by taking the top honours in the men’s all-around event and in five individual events except the parallel bars. Thus he has established his prominence in international gymnastics.

Restless by Nature

A black-haired, round-eyed boy was born into a music-loving family in Liuzhou city in south China’s Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in 1963. Wishing him to become a musician and an intellectual, his parents gave him the name “Ning” which means peaceful and quiet. However, this boy was restless and soon loved somersaulting. As he grew older, he would take advantage of his parents’ absence to spread his quilt on the floor and do somersaults and handstands.

Neither his father’s harsh scolding nor his mother’s patient persuasion altered Li Ning’s active disposition.

After he entered primary school, he worshipped the school’s gymnastics team. Whenever the team practised, he peeped through a window and tried to remember every movement. Afterwards he would go to the school’s jumping pit to practise what he had witnessed and in the evening his bed was his training site. His dedication finally convinced the school’s physical education instructor to enrol him though he was still under age.

Soon afterwards, Liang Wenjie, coach of the Guangxi autonomous regional gymnastics team, came to Liuzhou to select young talents. Liang quickly settled on Li Ning from among more than 100 children because the boy was quick, bold and strong. But unfortunately he was too young, only eight years old. The coach decided to train him as an unofficial team member.

A Strong-Willed Boy

Two years later, 10-year-old Li Ning captured the championship in the floor exercise and ranked fourth in the parallel bars at the 1973 national children’s gymnastics competition. Shortly thereafter, he suffered epiphysitis in his right elbow, and a fall from the parallel bars hurt his left elbow. He had to stop training.

Three years elapsed before Li Ning reappeared in front of his coach Liang Wenjie. Determined to make up for lost time, he went to the gymnasium early every morning and returned again as soon as school was over.

A year later, he took second place behind veteran gymnast Li Yueju in the floor exercise at the 1977 national gymnastics competition with a gravity-defying performance. At the 1980 national championships he placed third in the men’s all-around event.

A Mature Athlete

At the end of 1980, 17-year-old Li Ning was enrolled on the national team. He strictly adhered to the training plan drawn up by coach Zhang Jian and soon mastered some extremely intricate moves. In 1981, Li Ning made his debut in international competitions, capturing gold medals in the floor exercise, pommelled horse and rings at the 11th World University Students Sports Meet. Four months later, he and his teammates took third place in the men’s team event at the 21st World Gymnastics Championships.

After a short period of intensive training this year, Li Ning mastered several difficult movements which laid the basis for his stunning performance at the World Cup Competition.
EXHIBITION

Chinese ceramics in Chicago

Porcelain and other ceramics are so closely associated with China that for English speakers, the word “china” has become synonymous with fine pottery. But it is rare for people outside of China to have an opportunity to see the scope of work that 5,000 years of creativity has produced.

A current exhibition in the United States presents a unique selection of 87 representative works dating from 2200 B.C. to the early 20th century. On display at Northwestern University’s Mary Leigh Block Gallery in the Chicago suburb of Evanston, the pieces were assembled from 19 public and private collections in and around the Chicago area.

Chai Zemin, China’s Ambassador to the United States was named the exhibition’s honorary patron.

The exhibition, “Chinese Ceramics From Chicago Collections,” highlights useful wares — bowls, plates, ewers, incense burners — rather than figurative works. Each object was fashioned to suit Chinese tastes; works intended for Western export trade were not included, according to Kathy Foley, the gallery director.

The works were selected from among hundreds of vessels for their variety of shapes, glazes and decorations. They illustrate the interest in technical perfection over the centuries and show the range of Chinese expertise with earthenware, porcelain and stoneware.

Among the highlights of the exhibition are a “hill jar,” an incense burner whose shape alludes to the magic mountain of Taoist belief; articles made for tomb burial, such as a stove model decorated with pictures of cooking utensils; and a Cizhou ceramic pillow.

The earliest work in the exhibition is a Gansu pot from pre-Shang times (thus, before 1500 B.C.).

Northwestern University provost Raymond W. Mack described the exhibition as “especially noteworthy” because of the university’s formal student exchange programme with Fudan University in Shanghai, one of the first programmes that enabled US undergraduates to spend a year at a Chinese university. Northwestern also hosts one of the largest groups of visiting students and scholars from China to the US, he said.

The exhibition will be open until January 16.

January 3, 1983
New Paperbacks

Panda Books

Edited and published by “Chinese Literature”

Distributed by China Publications Centre (Guoji Shudian), P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China


To date, 12 English-edition Panda Books have come off the press.

One is Autumn in Spring and Other Stories, by the celebrated novelist Ba Jin, who is now Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association. It includes Autumn in Spring, a novelette, and three short stories The Heart of a Slave, A Moonlit Night and When the Snow Melted. Some of these works portray progressive young intellectuals' resistance to the old society and quest for love, freedom and democracy; others describe the trauma and struggle of the labouring people.

The Border Town and Other Stories is a collection of stories written in the 30s by the well-known contemporary novelist Shen Congwen. The Border Town, one of his representative works, portrays the sentiments and destinies of an old ferryman and his granddaughter as well as the people around them.

Written by Lao She, one of China's most revered contemporary writers, who died in 1966, Beneath the Red Banner is sort of an autobiography set against Beijing of the early 20th century. The story is couched in a lively style, rich with sincerity and sympathy for the labouring people.

Seven Contemporary Chinese Women Writers includes short stories and reportage, with each piece giving a glimpse into a segment of Chinese society in the late 1970s. In a realistic, bold and sensitive manner they bring to life the gap between the new and the old generation, the cynicism and the unquenchable quest for knowledge and technology among the young as well as the difficulties and problems confronted by the middle-aged.

One of the Panda Books features excerpts from The Three Kingdoms, a novel about the rise and fall of the Wei, Shu and Wu states in the century from 184 A.D. to 280 A.D. It also includes Pilgrimage to the West, which tells the vivid story of the adventures of Tripitaka and his three disciples on their crises-ridden journey to the Western Heaven in search of the scriptures, and Flowers in the Mirror, a novel that pokes fun into the social mores of China in the early 19th century.

Selected Tales of Liaoehai features 17 stories written by Pu Songling (1640-1715) of the early Qing Dynasty. They express the author's resentment against the Qing rulers through portrayal of various strange spirits who mete out rewards and punishments to good or erring mortals.

Selected Stories of Xiao Hong collects nine of the stories written in the 30s. With a pen that is at once subtle and heart-stirring, they mirror the lives and struggle of the people in northeast China under the heels of the Japanese imperialists.

Beijing Legends, by Jin Shoushen, sings the praise of the labouring people—their industriousness, bravery and wisdom, their strong desire for a beautiful life and their burning hatred and opposition against evil forces. These legends picture the ins and outs of Beijing's scenic spots and places of historical interest and the city in its earliest days.

A long narrative poem written by the famous poet Ai Qing in 1954, The Black Eel extols the love between the young fisherman Chen Quan and the Black Eel and criticizes the evil forces which try to force them apart.

Stories from the Thirties, to be published in two volumes, features novelettes and short stories written around the 1930s by 15 famous writers such as Ye Shengtao, Xu Dishan, Wang Tongzhao, Rou Shi, Luo Shu and Wu Zuxiang. Soon to be released are The Selected Stories of Wang Meng, which describes the lives of intellectuals, workers and peasants of contemporary China, The Butterfly and Other Stories by Jiang Zilong and A Small Town Called Hibiscus, a novel by the young writer Gu Hua.
Hebei folk paper-cuts

Natives of Hebei Province in north China call paper-cuts "window flower," because they paste them on the windowpanes at festive times.

Common motifs include characters from popular dramas and flowers, birds, fish and other animals which are either traditional symbols of auspiciousness or puns (in Chinese) on good omens. Paper-cuts are cheerful and vital expressions of the people's aspirations.
FLIGHT SCHEDULE
(Effective until March 31, 1983)

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BW = Biweekly