BEIJING REVIEW

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

- China's Future Position in Asia
- The Hu Na Affair
- Beijing Achieves Notable Progress
LETTERS

**Congratulations and Comments**

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of your magazine, I would like to extend my congratulations to your editing department and best wishes for a bright future.

I have been a subscriber to your German edition since 1964. The journal has experienced tremendous changes in the past two decades. It reports news in a worthwhile fashion and enjoys readership because of its rich contents, including the negative side of your country. I myself cannot give it up. The magazine's realistic reports make it a valuable journal.

As a reader of many years, I owe much to all your staff. Let me express my thanks and may you continue your efforts. I'll continue to recommend this weekly to my friends and relatives.

I am pleased to notice that China adheres to an independent foreign policy and never submits to any superpower. Your articles counter hegemonism in its various forms.

I would have appreciated more criticism to the New Delhi non-aligned summit which refused to invite Prince Sihanouk, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. The Kampuchean question should not be excluded; its exclusion was sought by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. I also suggest that you give more coverage to the US and south Korean military challenge to north Korea.

**Gerd Vedemeyer**
Wiesbaden, FRG

Congratulations on 20 years of publishing *Beijing Review* in German.

The situation has changed a lot over the past two decades. People have become more sensible and conscious, and their free will has increased. As a result of rapid industrialization, nature has been seriously destroyed. In our country, fishes have died in large numbers and the forests face extinction. The peoples of the third world are suffering from more terrible disasters—their children are dying. All these are warning signals. It is time that we took steps to leave this dangerous road.

*Beijing Review* has remarkably changed since 1976. It is more attractive and no longer a magazine read only by an elite minority but also by some common folks. I appreciate particularly your reportage on the third world, as it often refutes distortions in other news accounts.

Chen Juncong's "Debates on Certain Historical Issues" (No. 6) is thought-provoking. It elaborated the achievements of the principle "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" initiated by Mao Zedong. However, some of the new viewpoints are surprising. They include the following contents: desires are the motive force in historical development of human society; full-fledged feudalism delayed the outbreak of the general social crisis; peasant wars "repaired" the feudal system; the 19th-century Westernization movement had merits as well as demerits. I don't believe these are the final words on the subjects but they move the discussion forward.

Please forward the enclosed cheque to the Soong Ching Ling Foundation as my donation.

**G. Weiershaus**
Biedenkopf, FRG

**Expands Vision**

I have been reading *Beijing Review* with interest for the last three months. I used to look at China as a paradise. After reading your magazine for the first time, I was, in many ways, amazed by your interesting articles. It gives me a clear understandable picture—especially the articles and documents. Your articles are easy to understand because you do not use unreal propaganda slogans which are unfamiliar to us.

On the other side, the magazine shows us that China is not a developed country and its people, like us in Bangladesh, are working for the future.

Before reading your weekly, I had few chances to obtain news reports about international affairs, third world countries in particular. I would like to know the customs and traditions of the Asian and African peoples as well as their ancient and contemporary histories. This may interest other third-world readers. I hope that you add history to your coverage.

**Shahidul Islam**
Khulna, Bangladesh

**Iran-Iraq War**

I enjoyed reading your analysis concerning Iran and Iraq war (No. 3). It was a realistic and thoroughgoing article.

You hit the nail on the head when you pointed out that only through unity can these countries resist the superpowers.

**Tourage J.**
Iran

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**Exciting New Release**

**DREAM JOURNEYS TO CHINA**

Poems by Stephen S. N. Liu

This astounding collection of 56 poems chronicles a voyage in the mind of a Chinese man living abroad. To the author's lonely and exiled soul, both the memories of the past and the dream-world become soothing mirages in the remote North American deserts.

Written in English this book is a must for poetry lovers everywhere.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

China's Future Position in Asia

A discussion of major foreign policy issues that China will address in the next two decades by a prominent Chinese scholar of international studies (p. 15).

China Reacts to US-Staged Farce

Following a strong protest by the Foreign Ministry to the US Government for its recent decision on Hu Na, China halted all official cultural exchanges with the United States and bilateral sports arrangements for the rest of the year (p. 4).

Hu Meets Swedish Party Chairman

General Secretary Hu Yaobang of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee discusses the question of combating superpower hegemonism and other issues with the Swedish Left Party (Communist) Delegation led by Chairman Lars Werner (p. 6).

Fruitful Third World Gathering

Participants in the Beijing South-South Conference shared common views on development strategies for the third world, on North-South negotiations and South-South co-operation (p. 11 and centrefold).

China's Policies Will Remain Consistent

The ninth article in our “Chinese-Type Modernization” series notes that China's present policies, which conform to its realities and have the support of the people, will remain consistent for a long time to come (p. 20).

Water From South to North

The plan for the first stage of a project to divert water from the Changjiang River in the south to Jining in Shandong Province has been approved by the government. The project is scheduled to be completed before 1990 (p. 8).

Beijing Achievements 1980-82

Beijing's achievements in lowering urban crime, house building, tree planting, expanding university and college enrolment and increasing industrial output value, as reported by former mayor Jiao Ruoyu to the Beijing Municipal People's Congress (p. 10).
A measured response

The adoption of strong measures by China in response to the recent US decision on Hu Na represents the righteous indigination of its people at a new instance in a series of US hegemonistic acts towards their country. China is fully justified in taking these actions, and certainly has not “overreacted” as some US officials claim.

First of all, the granting of “political asylum” was based on the false rationale that Hu Na had suffered from “persecution.” It was alleged that she was pressured to join the Communist Party against her will.

This is a ridiculous, clumsy fabrication that reveals not only the inventors' malice but their sheer ignorance.

People in China consider Hu Na nothing but persecuted. Aside from her superior living and working conditions afforded to promising young athletes, she twice received prestigious awards.

In China, as everyone knows, Party membership is a great honour which, though sought by many, is only granted to those who have proved to be the most advanced elements of the working class and other sections of the people. Never does the Party force anyone by any means to join. Anyone, including people who are much more socially notable than Hu Na, must first apply for membership on his/her own initiative if he/she wishes to join the Party. And that’s what Hu Na had done before she left for the United States in July 1982. Since her request had not yet been discussed by the Party organization, she was told that it would be considered when she returned.

In short, nothing is farther from the truth than the present US rationale. The inventors of the Hu Na incident would have made their case a little more plausible if they had stated that “political asylum” was granted to her because she had suffered from “persecution” in the form of discrimination on the question of joining the Communist Party – she had been refused admission although she had all the necessary qualifications.

Furthermore, on January 31, the China Tennis Association stated in a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz that if Hu Na should return to her motherland, she would still be chosen to participate in the international women’s tennis match to be held in Switzerland in July 1983.

So, the charge of political persecution is unfounded, nor would it arise if Hu Na should return. Thus, why grant “political asylum”?

Hu Na was stranded in the United States after the tournament in July last year in Santa Clara, California, as a result of enticement and coercion by a handful of Americans working in collusion with Taiwan agents at the connivance of the US Government.

Hu Na, as her teammates and friends know her, is a shy, quiet girl with average schooling. She could not possibly know the classical Chinese and literary style as manifested in the letters which were said to have been written by her. In addition, she has no relatives in the United States, nor can she speak English. Obviously her request for asylum was written in English by some other party, who was responsible for the sophisticated political phraseology attributed to her such as “avoiding getting involved in factional strife” and “not creating any further trouble for any government.”

People behind the scenes masterminded her actions and by finally granting her “political asylum,” the Reagan administration has proved to be an accomplice in these people’s manoeuvres.

The Hu Na case is not an isolated incident. A brief examination of the record of US actions since the beginning of this year will suffice to reveal the serious nature of the matter.

In January, the Reagan administration, which has followed a consistently discriminatory and restrictive policy in economic, trade and technical exchanges with China, announced unilateral controls on China’s textile exports to the United States when negotiations for a new agreement had not yet concluded and in spite of China’s repeated objections.

In February, rudely violating the Sino-US joint communiqué of August 17, 1982, President Reagan told the weekly Human Events that his administration would continue to “abide by” and “carry out” the terms of the “Taiwan relations act,” and later proposed quotas of arms...
sales to Taiwan for fiscal years 1983 and 1984 that would greatly exceed the level of such sales in recent years.

In March, the US State Department indicated its intention to block the entry of the People's Republic of China into the Asian Development Bank by insisting that Taiwan remain in the organization.

Now we have Washington's decision to grant "political asylum" to Hu Na in disregard of China's repeated warnings to the US Government that such a move would adversely affect relations between the two countries.

All facts show that the Hu Na case is a serious political incident deliberately created by Washington to poison Sino-US relations to the satisfaction of ultra-conservative forces at home and Reagan's friends in Taiwan.

China sincerely hopes to develop friendly relations with all countries, including the United States. More than once it has made it known that such relations can only be maintained and promoted on the basis of mutual respect of each other's state sovereignty and national dignity. But, the Reagan administration seems inclined to believe otherwise, and even expects the Chinese people to remain silent in the face of repeated outrages.

They are sadly mistaken. They should have long realized that the days when the Chinese people meekly accepted humiliation are gone for good.

—International Editor
Mu Youlin

China reacts to US provocations

The Ministry of Culture announced April 7 that the Chinese Government will halt all the remaining items of cultural exchange with the United States for 1982 and 1983. The All-China Sports Federation the same day said it had decided to stop sports exchanges with the United States for 1983. Following these announcements, the Foreign Language Publishers Delegation immediately cut short its visit to the United States and returned to Beijing.

These measures were taken to protest the US Government's granting of "political asylum" for Chinese tennis player Hu Na. It is the latest in a series of US actions that "infringe on China's sovereignty, interferes in its internal affairs and hurt the feelings of the Chinese people."

The Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a strong protest with the US Embassy in Beijing in an April 6 note reiterating that "China will never for the sake of its relations with the United States, abandon its principled stand of safeguarding its state sovereignty and national dignity."

The note said that the granting of "political asylum" to Hu Na was "a grave political incident long premeditated and deliberately created by the United States."

Hu Na, was sent by the China Tennis Association to the United States to participate in an international tournament in July 1982. According to international practice, the note said, the host country for international games should effectively ensure the personal safety of participating athletes.

However, the US Government instead "connived at the enticement and coercion of Hu Na by a handful of Americans working in collusion with some elements from Taiwan," and after eight months announced that it had granted her "political asylum," the note charged.
The note pointed out that Hu Na participated in international tournaments on many occasions. The China Tennis Association stated in a January 31, 1983 letter to US Secretary of State George Shultz that if Hu Na should return to her motherland, she would still be chosen to participate in the international women’s tennis match in Switzerland in July this year.

The note stressed that “the question of her being persecuted did not exist, nor would it occur after she returns home.”

On August 17, 1982, a Chinese leader who met with US Ambassador Arthur Hummel pointed out the gravity of the Hu Na incident, urging the US Government to proceed from the greater interests of the relations between the two countries and solve the problem in real earnest. Since then, the Chinese Government has repeatedly presented its position to the United States.

The note said that the US Government has wilfully disregarded China’s just demand. It characterized the US decision as the latest in a series of actions towards China that belied the professed US desire to develop friendly relations.

In view of the acute mental anguish suffered by Hu Na’s parents, the US action, which is “untenable from a legal point of view,” is also “condemnable morally,” the note added.

Hu Na’s parents have written to US political leaders expressing their desire for a family reunion, they told the press in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, on April 7. Hu Na’s mother, visibly shaken at the time of the interview, said that she believed Taiwan agents were involved in her daughter’s case.

A Renmin Ribao article pointed out that the letter attributed to a “communist leader” in Hu Na’s home province, which was said to have been submitted by Hu Na to the US Immigration Service as evidence that she was being forced to join the Party, was written in the kind of language and style used by the Kuomintang, not the Communist Party.

Hu meets chairman of Swedish Party

The Chinese people are determined to wage an unremitting struggle against the superpowers’ hegemonism, Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, reaffirmed on April 7 during a meeting with the Swedish Left Party (Communist) Delegation led by Lars Werner.

Hu Yaobang said: “The United States has instituted a ‘Taiwan relations act,’ persisted in its arms sales to Taiwan, connived in the enticement and coercion of Chinese athletes and students in collusion with Taiwan agents and even granted ‘political asylum.’ These are all acts of interfering in China’s internal affairs, injuring China’s sovereignty and hurting the Chinese people’s feelings, and are hegemonistic behaviour.”

Saying that recently he had read the book The US Crusade in China by the American author Michael Schaller, who said that the United States had pursued an “unfortunate policy” towards China from 1938 to 1945, Hu said: “Some people in the US administration are willing to pursue an enlightened and friendly policy towards China. But, we will wait and see if there are a few people in the US administration who want to take the ‘unfortunate policy’ again and pursue a second ‘crusade’ in China.”

Quoting Lenin’s words that “a proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its ‘own’ nation cannot be a socialist proletariat,” Hu asked, “Could we call the large-scale armed occupation of other countries by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam acts of ‘socialist proletariats’?”

Hu expressed appreciation of the efforts made by the Swedish Left Party (Communist) to think
independently and formulate independent policies.

He said: "The relations between our two Parties are good. Continued efforts to strengthen relations between our Parties are in the fundamental interests of the people of the two countries."

He expressed his conviction that relations between the two Parties would grow smoothly.

Lars Werner said that his delegation's visit demonstrates the good friendship existing between the Communists of China and Sweden. The two Parties hold identical views on many issues, he said.

Lars Werner said that both Parties agree that the basic principles governing co-operation in the international communist movement and workers' movement also apply to co-operation between the two Parties of Sweden and China. "Such co-operation should be based on the independence of all parties and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. All parties should map out their own policies independently," he said.

After the meeting, Hu Yao-

bang hosted a banquet in honour of the Swedish visitors.

The delegation arrived in Beijing on April 5 and held talks with Qiao Shi, Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee, on the same day.

**Strong protest against Viet Nam**

The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in Beijing on April 10 strongly protesting "a growing trend of Vietnamese authorities' armed provocations against and incursions into China's border areas."

The note said that in March alone there were more than 70 cases of provocations by Vietnamese troops, who fired over 4,000 rounds of shells and bullets and killed or wounded 14 Chinese border inhabitants.

In the same period, the note said, armed Vietnamese personnel intruded into Chinese territory three times to engage in harassment.

The note said that the Vietnamese authorities have repeatedly publicized their intention to normalize relations with China. But in reality they have intensified armed provocations in Chinese border areas. Such duplicity only exposes their complete lack of any sincere desire to improve Sino-Vietnamese relations.

The Chinese Government demanded that the Vietnamese authorities "immediately stop such provocations and other

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**NPC delegation visits Sri Lanka, Nepal**

Upon invitation of the Sri Lanka Parliament and the Nepalese National Panchayat, a delegation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China headed by Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Vice-Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, paid a goodwill visit to both countries March 17-28.

In Sri Lanka, the delegation was received by Sri Lanka President Junius Richard Jayewardene and Speaker of the Sri Lanka Parliament Bakeer Markar.

Hosts and guests on many occasions expressed the desire to make further efforts to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the National People's Congress of China and the Parliament of Sri Lanka and to consolidate and strengthen the friendly and co-operative relations between the two countries.

On March 23-28, the delegation became the first Chinese NPC delegation to visit Nepal. King Birendra, Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa, National Panchayat Chairman Marich Man Singh and Vice-Chairman Gopal Chandra Singh Rajbanshi met with the delegation.

Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme said in one of his speeches that the relationship between China and Nepal was based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and is therefore a fine example of bilateral relations. He wished the Nepalese Government and people under the leadership of King Birendra fresh achievements in building their country.

Vice-Chairman Rajbanshi said that the visit by the Chinese NPC delegation had contributed to the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding between the two countries.
anti-China activities in those areas."

"If the Vietnamese authorities act wilfully and let the trend develop further, they must be held responsible for the grave consequences arising therefrom," the note concluded.

Netherlands gives unsatisfactory reply

Reiterating the Chinese Government's position in regard to the Netherlands Government's approval of the agreement on opening air services between the Netherlands and Taiwan, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that such services were by no means purely non-governmental, commercial activities as alleged by the Netherlands side.

The official said this in an interview with Xinhua correspondent on April 9 when asked to comment on the Netherlands Government's reply to the Chinese Government's March 14 note of protest to the Netherlands Government.

With regard to the readiness of the Netherlands Government to discuss any subject in consultation with the Chinese Government as expressed in its note of reply, the spokesman said that the so-called consultation as suggested by the Netherlands side was intended to ask the Chinese side to accept the fait accompli created by the Netherlands side. That, the spokesman said, was unacceptable.

In order to make the consultation between the two countries fruitful, the Netherlands side must stop implementing the agreement on opening air services between the Netherlands and Taiwan. Otherwise, the consultation would be devoid of any basis and meaning.

The spokesman also said that it has been pointed out to the Netherlands Charge d'Affaires to China that the matter at issue concern the sovereign right of a state and must be handled in all seriousness. It was hoped that the Netherlands Government would give serious consideration to the position of the Chinese Government. Should the Netherlands side continue to act wilfully, the Chinese side would have to make a further response.

Diverting a great river to the north

An ambitious project to divert water from the mighty Changjiang River to the drought-ridden north will soon be underway.

The government recently approved a plan for the first stage of the project submitted by the Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power.

The project, originally proposed by the National People's Congress in 1978, was developed under the auspices of the Chinese Hydraulic Engineering Society which began holding meetings to study various feasibility plans in 1979.

Clearly a more even distribution of China's water resources would benefit the country.

South China's annual rainfall is more than 1,000 millimetres, while the north China plain gets only 500-600 millimetres and still less falls on the plateau of northwest China. Three-quarters of the nation's runoff water fills the Changjiang River and its tributaries and other rivers in its south, but only 3.8 per cent runs into the basins of the Huanghe, Huaihe and Haihe Rivers together.

Furthermore, nearly 1,000,000 million cubic metres of water swell the Changjiang annually, while its nearly equally long northern neighbour, the Huanghe River carries less than 50,000 million cubic metres.

Thus, the first stage of the project will concentrate on opening a route between the
CHINA

Changjiang and the Huanghe Rivers.

Key to this stage is reconstruction of the middle section of the original Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal.

The reconstructed canal will move water to Jining in Shandong Province south of the Huanghe River.

The first stage is expected to be completed before 1990. By that time, the annual amount of water diverted from the Changjiang River for cities, factories and mines along the route and for navigation will reach 2.100 million cubic metres. The percentage of water supply to an irrigation area of 1.4 million hectares of land will be increased from 50-90 to 75-95. The total area sown to rice will rise from the present 670,000 hectares to 830,000 hectares.

At the same time, the section of the Grand Canal from Yangzhou to Jining will be open to navigation all year round. Shanxi's coal can be shipped to Jining through Xinxiang and Heze and then to Shanghai by the Grand Canal. Meanwhile, coal in Xuzhou, Zaozhuang and Zouxian County will be shipped south by water.

China has a long history of building successful water conservancy works. The 2,000-year-old Dujiangyan irrigation system in Sichuan Province is to this day a boon to the local people. The 1,700-kilometre-long Grand Canal dug over 1,000 years ago is an engineering wonder in the same league as the Great Wall. The diversion of the Changjiang River water to the north is one of the most magnificent undertakings in China's water conservancy since the founding of New China in 1949.

Baoshan 2nd phase gets green light

The State Council has decided to go ahead with the second-stage construction of the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex near Shanghai. Previously this decision had been put off due to China's financial difficulties.

The Baoshan Complex, equipped mostly with Japanese machinery, began construction at the end of 1978 and the first-stage project was to have been completed in 1982. However, the department concerned revised the construction schedule and put off the date for completion of the first-stage project and a decision about the second phase was deferred. This was necessary because in 1980 China had a financial deficit and an adverse international balance of payments. The government had to readjust the national economy by reducing the scope of capital construction. Subsequently China agreed to compensate Japan for its losses in this project.

China's economy has developed and reserves of foreign exchange increased, so the building of the Baoshan Complex is going to move ahead. A work conference was held in mid-March in Beijing to discuss the state of the project. It decided that the first phase of the project will be completed by September 1985 and after that 3 million tons of iron, 3.12 million tons of steel and 0.5 million tons of seamless steel tube will be produced annually. At present, 70 per cent of the first phase of construction has been completed. The second phase of the project will move forward and preparation work is beginning. The Baoshan Complex will be China's first modern integrated complex with advanced technology of the 1970s.

The main items of the second phase of the project include a large-scale sintering machine, a blast furnace, coking ovens, continuous ingot casting machines, a continuous strip steel hot-
rolling mill with a 2.02 m. diameter roller, a continuous cold-rolling mill with a 2.03 m. diameter roller, and some supplementary equipment for public utilities.

After the whole project is completed, China will have two blast furnaces each with a capacity of 4,063 cubic metres and three oxygen top-blown converters each with a capacity of 300 tons. By that time, the Baoshan Complex will produce 6 million tons of iron and steel respectively every year and the whole production process will be automatically controlled by computers.

In 1982, China produced 37.15 million tons of steel and 28.90 million tons of rolled steel and by 1985 due to construction at Baoshan production of steel will be 39.00 million tons and rolled steel will reach 29.30 million tons.

Beijing achieves good progress

Beijing has one of the lowest urban criminal incidence in the world. In 1982 offences were committed only 1.2 per thousand in this city of 9 million people. This low rate was achieved over three years beginning in 1980, reported Jiao Ruoyu, the former Beijing mayor, to the First Session of the Eighth Beijing Municipal People’s Congress.

Other accomplishments were:
— Beijing saw 12.5 million square metres of housing go up in the last three years, twice the total built in the 10-year “cultural revolution” and equal to the total residential space of Beijing before 1949.
— In greater Beijing, 3.29 million trees have been planted and 2.17 million square metres of land covered with grass while 80,000 hectares of mountainous areas have been forested and 64 million trees planted in rural areas.
— The municipality has reopened 51 institutions of higher learning which enrol 100,000 students. The municipality has spare-time universities and cultural and technical courses which serve one million people. In addition, 189 research institutes employ 13,600 researchers.
— The total industrial output value in 1982 reached 22,870 million yuan, with an annual growth rate of 5.6 per cent in the last three years. The proportion of the light industrial output value increased from 36 per cent in 1979 to 45.7 per cent in 1982.
— Beijing has opened 16,300 new service centres and 107 free markets and rural fairs.
— New employment was provided for 371,000 youths. The average per-capita income of residents of Beijing proper in 1982 was 24.8 per cent greater than that in 1978, while that of peasants rose to 354 yuan.
— The total saving deposits climbed to 2,180 million yuan, 96.6 per cent more than 1979.
— Beijing is a 800-year-old cultural centre. Its Great Wall is

(Continued on p. 14.)
INTERNATIONAL REPORTS AND COMMENTS

South-South Conference

Fruitful third world gathering

A(n) atmosphere of unity and co-operation prevailed as the four-day Beijing South-South conference closed on April 7.

Delegates found much agreement on the three main discussion topics — development strategies for the third world, North-South negotiations and South-South co-operation — said Huan Xiang, Adviser to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences who was one of the two co-chairmen of the conference.

The 68 scholars and statesmen who attended the meeting shared the view that the real criterion for the success of a development strategy is the level of socio-economic growth it achieves, particularly in raising living standards. Generally this only can be accomplished through balanced development of agriculture and industry, they agreed.

The conferees were in accord that in North-South negotiations, the North countries must accept primary responsibility for the present underdevelopment of the South nations. Prof. A.K. Sen of India, who teaches at Oxford University, was a cogent defender of this view in a speech about the long history of colonial exploitation suffered by developing countries at the hands of industrialized nations.

The conference refuted the view that economic development of the South depends upon economic recovery in the North and subsequent northern aid. The establishment of a new international economic order depends on the efforts of South countries, conferees said. The third world countries must work for the opening of global negotiations as soon as possible, while finding specific approaches to specific problems they face, they said.

Rice Institute Awarded

On the opening day of the conference, the Third World Foundation conferred the Third World Prize for 1982 on the Philippines International Rice Research Institute. On behalf of the foundation, Premier Zhao Ziyang presented a citation and plaque to Director-General of the institute Dr. M.S. Swaminathan.

The institute was established in 1960 and was one of the first centres for international agricultural scientific research. Housed at the University of the Philippines at Los Banos, it employs about 60 senior scientists and over 2,000 staff members from 18 countries. Its goal is to increase rice and other grain output through the application of agricultural science.

Over the two last decades, it has developed many high quality rice strains that not only markedly increase yields, but also resist plant diseases and insect pests, have shorter maturation periods and save water. Today more than 30 per cent of the world’s rice fields are sown with seeds developed at this institute.

Under Dr. Swaminathan’s leadership, it is making outstanding contributions to the

Premier Zhao Ziyang presents the 1982 Third World Prize to Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, Director-General of the Philippines-based International Rice Research Institute.

April 18, 1983
economic development of the third world.

**Atmosphere of Unity**

Altaf Gauhar, a secretary-general of the conference, said that although the number of participants was small, it was significant. The participants were either acknowledged scholars or economic policy makers and negotiators.

At this unofficial conference, participants could discuss issues too delicate to be touched upon in a more formal international conference.

L.K. Jha, Chairman of the Economic Administration Reforms Commission of India, said: “Although we cannot make any decisions, we can influence those who make decisions.”

The fruitful results of Beijing conference are a new contribution to strengthening South-South co-operation and establishing a new international economic order.

— Ren Yan

**Geneva**

**A new round on Euromissiles**

A NEW round of disputes between the two superpowers over the issue of Euromissiles has been touched off following a short period of silence.

**Propaganda Campaign**

In West Germany, the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union, which supported NATO’s deployment of US missiles in Europe and the “zero option” proposal, won the March general election. Thus, Moscow’s attempt to win over West Germany and cancel Washington’s deployment plan has suffered a setback.

The Soviet Union has launched a propaganda campaign against the West since mid-March. Moscow has complained of the revival of the reactionary revanchist forces in West Germany, and has warned that if US Pershings and cruise missiles are deployed in Western Europe, Moscow will adopt effective retaliatory measures.

An article in Pravda said that the Soviet Union will not only increase the number of missiles in Europe, but also will deploy missiles near the US border. N.V. Ogarkov, Chief of General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, said the Soviet Union will retaliate not only against targets in Western Europe, but also directly against US territory if it is attacked with European-based cruise and Pershing missiles.

Washington has refused to back down. US President Reagan made public his plan for developing an anti-ballistic missile defence system in a televised address on March 23.

Washington explained that what Reagan is trying to do is to develop a retaliatory capability against the Soviet strategic nuclear missile threat. Through US newspapers, the White House even threatened that US Pershing II missiles would be deployed in Alaska, a US state near the Soviet border.

**Interim Agreement**

The Reagan administration has been under strong pressure from its Western allies. At a NATO nuclear planning group meeting held last month, West European countries urged Washington to put forward a new proposal. A large-scale anti-nuclear movement is spreading in the West. The US House of Representatives has recently passed a resolution calling for a nuclear freeze on both sides. This will limit Reagan’s nuclear arms expansion plan and possibly halt the deployment of new US missiles in Europe.

The Soviet Union will certainly make full use of these factors and put pressure on the Reagan administration. But in late March Reagan made repeated statements and speeches claiming that the United States and its allies are being threatened by the Soviet nuclear arms expansion. He further defended US global strategic policy and its decision on the Euromissile question. He also put forward a new arms reduction proposal as a “flexible,” “fair and comprehensive” alternative to the “zero option” plan. Reagan said Washington is prepared to pursue an interim nuclear disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union in which the United States would substantially reduce its planned deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in some West European countries if the Soviet Union reduces its warheads on longer-range intermediate nuclear missiles to an equal level on a global basis.

**Moscow Rejects Reagan’s Proposal**

Soviet media said that Reagan’s new proposal was nothing more than a revised version of the “zero option” plan.

Speaking at a news conference on April 2, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko cited three points in rejecting
Argentina

First Anniversary of Malvinas War

THE Argentine Government and people held meetings in Buenos Aires on April 4 to mark the first anniversary of the war to recover sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

President Reynaldo Bignone, commanders-in-chief of the three armed services, and cabinet ministers attended a meeting held in a church in the capital. Members of the Military Commission reviewed a military parade and awarded decorations to the relatives of those fallen in the war and to the flags of those units that had rendered meritorious service.

The Army Command in a statement of April 1 said that Argentina would press its case in "relevant international organizations." Naval Commander Ruben Franco said in a message: "No matter how long it takes, the moment will come when an Argentine hand will raise our flag once and for all" on the islands.

On April 2, more than 1,000 demobilized army men and young people paraded in the capital and burnt British and US flags.

Reagan's proposal. Gromyko argued that the proposal left out the British and French nuclear weapons and that it did not consider several hundred US aircraft which are capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

West European countries, which almost unanimously reacted favourably to Reagan's new proposal, are now putting pressure on Moscow. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the Soviet ambassador to Bonn recently that NATO would go on with its planned deployment of US missiles in West Germany if the United States and the Soviet Union fail to reach an agreement on medium-range missiles in Geneva this autumn.

However, Moscow immediately countered. Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Ustinov warned that for most of the West European countries in which US nuclear weapons are to be deployed, a Soviet retaliatory strike would be devastating.

Nuclear Arms Race

This new round in the struggle over Euromissiles shows that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union sincerely wants to take part in the Geneva talks. Neither wants to reduce its nuclear strength; each simply wants to expand its nuclear arsenal and gain nuclear superiority over the other. The Reagan administration is determined to gain its lost military superiority while Moscow is trying to retain its military superiority in the arms race and strengthen its favourable position by reducing its civilian budget. It will be very difficult for the two sides to sign an agreement for reducing their nuclear missiles unless a great deal of outside pressure is applied. The escalating US-Soviet nuclear arms race must force people all over the world to realize the dangerous reality of this mad contest.

— Mei Zhengmin
EEC

To bolster internal market

The first summit meeting of the 10 EEC member countries, held in Brussels last month, reaffirmed the decision to improve the EEC internal market. The meeting asked the EEC Council of Ministers to continue their discussions and attempt to reach agreements before the second summit meeting in June this year.

Copenhagen Programme

The decision to improve the internal market, made at the summit meeting of the community held in Copenhagen last December, has been called the Copenhagen Programme.

When the EEC was established, it laid special stress on the internal European market. It stipulated that internal tariffs among member countries would gradually be reduced and ultimately eliminated, and that measures for the free circulation of commodities, capital and labour would be implemented.

However, these measures have not been fully realized. Especially in the economic crisis of recent years, to raise exports and to solve their unemployment problems, the member countries have erected trade barriers gravely threatening the free flow of trade within the European market. Some 57 trade obstacles now exist affecting member countries. To improve the internal market these artificially imposed obstacles on trade will have to be eliminated so that a genuine unified common market may emerge.

The report on "improving the internal market," prepared by the EEC commission for the first summit meeting, pointed out that in the 1960s the volume of trade among member countries increased seven times while EEC trade with other countries increased 3.5 times. But since the 1970s, trade relations among these nations has developed slowly and the proportion of trade among member countries to that with non-EEC states has decreased. At the same time, capital outflow has increased and investment within the EEC countries has decreased. Subsequently, the problem of improving the EEC internal economic situation has become more acute.

Though many think it is very important to strengthen the EEC internal market, this will not be easy to achieve because the member countries will resist sacrificing their immediate interests in the present climate of economic crisis.

Obstacles

According to the Copenhagen Programme, the internal market can only be improved if a number of current problems are solved. At the meetings of the EEC Council of Ministers on February 1 and March 1, 1983, the question of the certification of third world products has still not been resolved. There are still big differences on the issues of reducing customs formalities and of supervising and implementing "unified rules" for trade among the member countries. The member countries also hold differing views on the problem of how to improve EEC market conditions.

It remains to be seen what decisions on the above issues will be made at the second summit meeting to be held in Stuttgart in June.

— Lin Jun and Yao Li

(Continued from p. 10.)

world famous, its palaces (Summer Palace and Forbidden City in particular) are magnificent and its scenic and historical sites are numerous.

In order to build Beijing into a more beautiful city, the report said, the municipal people's government has decided to earmark substantial funds for repairs.

Efforts will also be made to decrease pollution, to build or expand large power plants and gas works and to gradually replace coal with electricity and gas. Today, 40 per cent of the Beijing residents still use coal for cooking and heating, thus affecting air quality. Leaded gasoline will also be phased out step by step.

In the next few years Beijing will build 12 refuse handling stations within the city limits. A system of cleaning streets daily is being implemented. More than 3.1 million trees will be planted in Beijing's urban and suburb areas; 1.5 million square metres of land will be planted with grass; 50 streetside parks will be opened and 10 parks built or expanded. In addition, Beijing is going to increase its daily water supply capability by 360,000 tons, open 42 new bus routes and add 1,000 buses and trolleys. Two hundred and twenty thousand new apartments will be built and 3,000 beds added to hospitals. By 1985 the population growth rate will be kept below 14 per thousand and unemployment basically solved. In 1985, 10,000 hotel rooms will be available in Beijing providing accommodations for one million foreign tourists annually.
China’s Future Position in Asia

by Pei Monong

The following paper is an outline of the author’s presentation to the April 12 symposium of Chinese and Japanese scholars on the topic “China’s Future Position in Asia,” sponsored jointly by the Tokyo Colloquium and the “Yomiuri Shimbun” in Tokyo, Japan. — Ed.

The future position and role of China in Asia will be determined by internal developments within China itself and by the unavoidable influence of external international events, especially by changes in Asia. Thus it might be useful to first of all examine those aspects of the question that involve China’s own internal developments in the remaining years of the century. But I would like to focus here on some of the foreign relations aspects of this question.

1. International Significance of the Realization of China’s Modernization. As you know, China’s economic construction is now in a process of stable development. The real growth rate of the total value of industrial and agricul-tural production for 1982 reached 7.2 per cent, greatly exceeding the planned goals of 4 to 5 per cent. The confidence of the Chinese people that the total value of industrial and agricul-tural production will quadruple by the end of the century, that the blueprint of the four modernizations can be realized, has thus been further verified by this fact. Although the annual average per-capita income by the year 2000 will still be only US$1,000 and China as a nation will not be rich, the material and cultural life of the people will have reached a new and higher plateau, with a corresponding rise in expecta-tions and buying power. China’s foreign trade will have increased several fold and the domestic market will have expanded greatly. A modernized, politically stable socialist China with consistent policies, in addition to strengthening its international ties, will bear even greater responsibilities and duties for upholding the peace of Asia and the world and for promoting the progress and prosperity of mankind.

2. The Return of Taiwan to the Motherland so as to Realize the Country’s Peaceful Reuni-fi-cation. This is one of China’s three great tasks for the 1980s. Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of China, on September 30, 1981, offered the well-known nine-point proposal for the peaceful reunification. It included the sugges-tions that after the realization of reunification Taiwan could be a special administrative district enjoying a high degree of autonomy, including the retention of its own armed forces, that the current social and economic systems would not change, that the life-style would not change, that Taiwan’s foreign economic and cultural relations would not change, that there would be no violation of the private ownership of personal property, homes, land or enterprises, nor of the legal rights of inheritance and foreign investment. These considerations represent a reasonable solution of the special circumstances prevailing in Taiwan.

There are at present two major obstacles to the reunification. The first is that although the Reagan administration in the United States has expressed appreciation for the nine-point proposal of Ye Jianying, it has continued its large-scale sale of arms to Taiwan and has obstructed the progress of peaceful reunification in many ways. The other is that the Taiwan authorities, with American backing, still refuse to hold talks on this issue. Removal of the foreign obstructions to the peaceful reunifi-cation of Taiwan and the elimination of US in-tervention in China’s internal affairs are essen-tial to the peaceful solution of the Taiwan question.

I am optimistic about the prospects for Taiwan’s return to the motherland. With the progressive realization of modernization and rise
in the economic and cultural levels of China, if only the foreign meddling can be eliminated, the strong desire for unification by the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits will make it possible to ultimately resolve this problem.

3. The Recovery of Sovereignty Over Xianggang (Hongkong). Xianggang is inherently Chinese soil and sovereignty over it resides with China. The Chinese Government has already announced that when the conditions are ripe the whole area of Xianggang will revert to China. China's guideline for solving the Xianggang question, as I personally see it, might be "recovery of sovereignty and maintenance of prosperity." The major premise is sovereignty because no nation can sacrifice sovereignty for prosperity. The question of sovereignty is not negotiable; there is no room for bargaining. After Xianggang reverts to Chinese sovereignty, the question of how to maintain its prosperity is one of management of policy. In line with the above-mentioned nine-point proposal for the peaceful reunification of Taiwan, I would expect that China would adopt special policies for Xianggang designed to maintain its prosperity. Such policies might include: the establishment of a special Xianggang administrative district, administered by the local Chinese people; no changes in the current social and economic system, or in life-style; preservation of its status as a free port and centre of international finance; maintenance of Xianggang's foreign economic and cultural relations, etc. China and Great Britain are currently in the process of holding negotiations on this question. I believe that through consultations this question can be solved satisfactorily. I think that China will recover sovereignty over the whole area of Xianggang within an appropriate period of time, no later than 1997.

In passing, I also expect that China will recover sovereignty over Aomen (Macao) within a suitable period of time.

Of course, China's sovereignty over islands of the South China Sea will also be recovered in the process.

The fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks will make it possible for China to step into the 21st century, a modernized and fully unified socialist nation.

I N dealing with China's relations with the neighbouring countries of Asia, I think that China will address the following tasks:

1. Greatly Strengthen Sino-Japanese Relations of Friendship and Co-operation. China plans to quadruple its foreign trade before the end of this century, from the present US$40,000 million to US$160,000 million. By then, trade between China and Japan plus other economic items, especially such items as the exploitation of energy resources and communications and transportation, will reach a scale of unprecedented volume. The three principles of economic cooperation, "peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefits, and long-term stability," have already made possible the gradual expansion of relations between the two nations in all fields and have become the three principles covering the whole development of Sino-Japanese relations. All relations between the two countries, from official to people-to-people relations, from political and economic to technological, cultural and sports relations will grow much richer and varied in both content and form.

I believe that there are good foundations for the establishment of long-term stable relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Japan, such as:

1) Geographically, as neighbours separated by a stretch of water, the two countries share closely related security interests. If your next-door neighbour's house goes up in flames, your own house will almost certainly suffer as well. The Chinese have a saying, "a faraway relative is not as good as a nearby neighbour," which expresses well the closeness of the relationship between the two countries.

2) Culturally, the peoples of the two nations have enjoyed a wealth of contacts and exchanges for more than 1,000 years, and have already formed powerful bonds. Warm
Today, I am most pleased and honoured to have this opportunity of inaugurating the Beijing South-South Conference — Strategies of Development, Negotiations and Co-operation and presenting the Third World Prize of 1982.

First of all, please allow me, in the name of the Government of the People's Republic of China, to extend our congratulations on the convocation of the symposium and the presentation of the prize, to express our appreciation of the efforts the Third World Foundation has made to this end and to warmly welcome the distinguished guests from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Beijing South-South Conference is convened at a time when the world economic situation is extremely grim and the developing countries are seeking ways to cope with it. In recent years, the developed Western countries have been in the grip of the gravest economic crisis since the 1930s. Under its impact the economic growth of the whole world, and the third world countries in particular, has been seriously hampered. Many countries face stagnation or decline of production, worsening of trade terms, huge deficits in their balance of payments and an imminent foreign debt servicing crisis. This not only adversely affects the economic recovery and growth of the third world countries, but also aggravates instability and turbulence in the international situation. It constitutes a conspicuous economic and political issue of the world today. It is most timely and meaningful for the Beijing South-South Conference to explore and address itself seriously to such important issues as the development strategies of the developing countries, North-South negotiations and South-South co-operation.

The third world countries have made great headway in their national economic development since the end of World War II. They are now continuing 'their explorations and sum-

ming-up of experience as well as practical endeavours. Their common task is to formulate and implement development strategies in the light of, and suited to, their conditions — strategies that can activate all positive factors and achieve optimum economic results so as to increase their capability for self-reliance and promote the concerted development of the national economy, science and technology and the society as a whole. Of course, conditions vary from country to country. Development strategy suited to one country may not necessarily be suitable to another. Each country should take its road independently in the light of its own characteristics and strong points. However, as a Chinese saying goes, "Rocks from other hills may serve to polish the jade of this mountain." We will definitely be enlightened by and benefit from exchanges of experience and mutual consultations.

The attainment of the goals of the third world countries' development strategies depends not only on domestic factors but on certain necessary external conditions as well. Above all, it calls for the fundamental restructuring of the unjust and inequitable old international economic order. Indisputable facts and statistics show that the developing countries are the immediate victims of the old international economic order and that the current world economic crisis has imposed an even heavier burden on them. It is obvious that the struggle of the developing countries to expand their national economies must be closely integrated with the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order. This is a most arduous struggle. The superpowers either stubbornly reject the idea of restructuring the old international economic order or take an indifferent attitude towards it. Therefore, it becomes all the more necessary for us third world countries to strengthen our unity and co-operation and carry on unremitting struggles. The
The establishment of the new international economic order is a historic task of the third world countries and an essential condition for the development of national economies and the consolidation of political independence. China is ready to join other third world countries in uniting with all the developed countries willing to improve North-South relations for a common endeavour to bring into effect the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the International Development Strategy for the Third International Development Decade adopted by the United Nations.

Global negotiations are desirable for reaching a comprehensive and overall settlement of the problems existing between the North and the South and a good means for establishing a new international economic order. They are especially necessary in the present world economic situation. The third world countries have done a great deal towards this end, and the parties concerned have carried out repeated consultations. We fully support the efforts to increase consultations between the developing countries and the developed countries in a joint endeavour to remove the obstacles and launch the global negotiations.

Plagued by grave economic difficulties, the developing countries, and especially the least developed countries, are now confronted with some urgent problems calling for solution. We consider it necessary to link, properly and closely, the long-term task of establishing a new international economic order with the solution of these current urgent problems. It is desirable for the third world countries to put forward some urgent and feasible projects through full consultations in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences and coordinate their actions in various fora of North-South negotiations.

The Seventh Non-Aligned Summit held recently has adopted the Economic Declaration. Declaration on Collective Self-Reliance Among Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries and the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation and put forward many important proposals. All this is of positive significance to the promotion of North-South negotiations and strengthening of South-South co-operation. The Sixth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held in Belgrade in June this year will be an important session for North-South Dialogue in recent years. We hope that the major developed countries concerned will take a constructive attitude and make the session a fruitful one.

We are glad to note that some progress has been made in the economic and technical co-operation among third world countries: Various regional and specialized economic organizations have grown in strength, trade exchanges have been on the increase, and co-operation in the fields of energy, financing, labour service as well as joint ventures and technical services has expanded. We are also pleased to note that many suggestions put forward by third world countries for strengthening South-South co-operation have gradually been substantiated and made more specific, suggestions with regard to global and regional arrangements as well as co-operation in the fields of tariff, trade, money and finance, technology transfer, industrial and agricultural production.

People have come to see more and more clearly the importance of South-South co-operation. The third world is vast in area and rich in natural resources. Quite a few of the third world countries have acquired fair industrial, scientific and technical capabilities. What is more important, they had a similar lot in the past and are now faced with similar problems. Thus, their co-operation has from the outset embodied the principle of equality and justice and has been characterized by mutual help and mutual benefit. Therefore, South-South co-operation will increasingly demonstrate its great vitality. It has a bright prospect. Strengthened South-South co-operation will help the third world countries to enhance their economic capabilities, strengthen their position in North-South negotiations and play a great strategic role in breaking up the old international economic order and establishing a new one.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. The Chinese Government has unwaveringly taken as the cornerstone of its foreign policy the strengthening of unity and co-operation with other third world countries. The Chinese people and other third world peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in their common struggles.

The Chinese Government values and supports South-South co-operation, and strives to strengthen its economic and technical co-operation with other third world countries. During my tour of 11 African countries not long ago,
I stated that the Chinese Government is ready to work to explore ways and means to develop its economic and technical co-operation with African countries on the principles of "equality and mutual benefit, stress on practical results, diversity in form and achievement of common progress." These principles also apply to China's co-operation with the developing countries in Asia, Latin America and other regions. China is ready to contribute more to South-South co-operation along with its steady advance in socialist modernization.

In order to gradually promote South-South co-operation, many third world countries have advocated the principle of "the poor helping the poor" so that all the participants will benefit from the co-operation while efforts will be made to look after the special difficulties of the least developed countries. We appreciate this principle very much. I am fully confident that, so long as we proceed along this line, South-South co-operation will develop daily and yield fruitful results.

All the participants here are celebrated scholars and experts with rich experience in the field of economic development and co-operation in the third world. This conference will provide you with a forum for an exchange of views and experience. I believe that with your active participation, valuable views and proposals will be put forward. I sincerely wish the conference a complete success.

I now perform with pleasure the honourable mission entrusted to me by the Third World Foundation of conferring the Third World Prize for 1982 on the Philippines International Rice Research Institute.

Since it was set up in 1960, the Philippines International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) has attained a series of major scientific achievements and won high prestige in the third world. This institute has developed many good rice strains to help developing countries increase rice yield and improve its quality. These strains not only can increase the yield markedly, but also can resist plant diseases and insect pests, shorten the maturing period and save water. The institute has made important advances in rice genetics, physiology, soil science, etc. Its achievements have been spread far and wide in the third world.

IRRI has provided valuable experience for co-operation among third world countries in agriculture, food, science and technology. It is rightly chosen by the Third World Foundation to be awarded the Third World Prize for 1982. IRRI fully deserves the prize. Please allow me to extend my warm congratulations and high tribute to Dr. Swaminathan, Director-General of the institute, and through him to all the scientists, experts and workers at the institute. I wish them still greater successes and contributions to the third world in the days to come. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to IRRI for its friendly co-operation with the organizations concerned in China. I hope such co-operation will develop further.

Co-chairmen's Summary of Conclusions

Introduction

1. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies jointly convened the South-South Conference in Beijing from 4 to 7 April 1983 to enable eminent third world statesmen and scholars to meet in their individual capacities for frank intellectual exchange on important issues relating to the social and economic development of the third world. The discussions involved a critical and objective appraisal of (a) development strategies, (b) the causes of the stalemate in North-South negotiations and (c) prospects and opportunities for effective South-South co-operation. The list of participants is annexed (deleted).

2. The Third World Prize for 1982 was presented at the Inaugural Session. Present at the ceremony were members of the Prize Selection Committee and the delegation of the Philippines-based International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), the recipient of the prize.

April 18, 1983

This is the summary of conclusions by the co-chairmen of the Beijing South-South Conference, S.S. Ramphal, Chairman of the Third World Prize Selection Committee, and Huan Xiang, Adviser to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. — Ed.
3. His Excellency Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, delivered the inaugural address of the conference, presented the Third World Prize to Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, Director-General of IRRI, and met with the participants. The conference expressed its deep appreciation of the presence of HE Premier Zhao Ziyang at the Inaugural Session and of his inspiring address of welcome and encouragement. It recorded its gratitude for the support given by the Chinese Government to the conference and to third world co-operation and development in general.

4. The deliberations of the conference were conducted throughout in an atmosphere of unity, friendship and sincerity. The participants presented a variety of views and put forward many useful suggestions on the questions under discussion. Not every participant should be taken as subscribing to each and every sentence of this summary, but it represents overall the general approach of the conference to the issues discussed. The conference proved highly fruitful.

5. The discussions underlined the central importance of South-South co-operation in any Southern strategy for development, negotiations and co-operation, aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order.

6. The participants noted that the Beijing conference was held when the world as a whole and the countries of the South — the developing countries — in particular, were gravely affected by the global economic crisis, which was a symptom of the structural inadequacies and failure of the existing international economic order. The continuing crisis was marked by a decline in world production, a sharp increase in the number of the unemployed, a contraction in world trade and disarray in the international financial system. This had exposed the world economy to a situation which had never been more dangerous since the 1930s. The situation was aggravated by the failure of major developed countries to agree on measures to deal with the crisis.

7. The worst sufferers had been the third world countries. In recent years, their exports had been falling; the prices of primary commodities had collapsed to a level which was only slightly above the lowest level of the 1930s. their terms of trade had deteriorated sharply, and exports of manufactured goods had declined as a result of protectionist policies of the North and curtailment of import capacity of the South. Most developing countries faced acute balance of payments difficulties. Their debt servicing burden has risen sharply as a result of the upswing in interest rates, shortening of maturities, near-collapse in private capital flows and reduction of exports. The economic situation of the least developed countries had become acute. The glut in the world oil market in recent years had caused a drop in oil prices and reduced the earnings of oil-exporting countries. The majority of them were now suffering from severe balance of payments pressures.

8. The major industrialized countries must accept primary responsibility for the crisis and must not be permitted to shift the main burden of adjustment to the developing countries. The North had an obligation to adopt positive measures, in co-operation with the South, to relieve the crisis and initiate world economic recovery on a sustained and equitable basis.

9. Recent developments had shown, however, that the developing countries could not extricate themselves from their difficulties and put their national economies on a path of steady development and prosperity merely by waiting for the economic recovery of the developed countries. We live, it is true, in an interdependent world. But that does not mean that the South should rely passively on the fortunes of the North. The South must act in unity and rely on its own human and economic resources for its growth and development. It is the responsibility of statesmen of the third world to continuously review their policies and to evolve new and more effective strategies for economic development, negotiations and co-operation and to adopt effective measures and instrumentalities for their implementation. To make this possible, the peoples of all countries, including their scholars must be creatively involved with this process.

10. The conference recognized the positive significance of the conclusions of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit held recently in New Delhi, including those embodied in the Economic Declaration: the Declaration on Collective Self-Reliance Among Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries and the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation. It looked forward to the conclusions of the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 currently being held in Buenos Aires. The conclusions of both meetings would play a major role in third world action in coming months. In relation to both North-South negotiations and South-
South co-operation, they deserved support and encouragement throughout the third world. People, statesmen and scholars of the third world, through their intellectual efforts and mobilization of support, could effectively contribute towards the implementation of strategies and programmes adopted at those meetings.

Development Strategies

11. The developing countries so far had formulated and implemented different kinds of socio-economic development strategies based partly on different economic theories. The real criterion of the success of a development strategy is the level of socio-economic development of a country, particularly the extent to which the people benefit from it. The developing countries have achieved progress to varying degrees in their socio-economic development. As they seek to make further adjustments in their strategies to cope with their present problems, two questions must first be answered: what are the strategic objectives, and how are they to be attained?

12. Developing countries must, of course, formulate their development strategies in the light of their national conditions, which were different from region to region, even country to country. But the overall strategic objectives of all the developing countries were common: the attainment of economic independence, increased production and a better life for the people. These were interdependent and mutually complementary. To attain these objectives, it was essential to pursue a policy of self-reliance and to mobilize all the resources and creative potential of the people. Internally, it was necessary to strive for co-ordinated development of all sectors of their economies by vigorously developing agriculture while promoting industry. It was also necessary to achieve all-round socio-economic development and, in particular, to ensure the improvement of the people's standard of living, including provision of better medical, educational, scientific and cultural facilities.

13. Developing countries would encounter great obstacles and difficulties in their struggle to attain these objectives. The important thing was to ensure that the people should participate in the formulation of development strategies and policies so that they would see the close relationship between the development strategies and their vital interests. If this was done, it would be easier to overcome difficulties.

North-South Negotiations

14. The conference expressed deep concern over the stalemate in the North-South Dialogue and felt that this could reverse the process begun since the 1970s to establish the new international economic order through negotiations. It was imperative for the third world to formulate common measures to reactivate and advance the dialogue.

15. The main obstacle in the way of North-South negotiations was the rigid attitude of the United States administration and the governments of a few other developed countries determined to preserve their advantage and vested interests. Their ideological positions had also been a significant factor in blocking the negotiations. But the deteriorating international economic situation and the manifest malfunctioning of the international economic system had led perceptive leaders in some developed countries to recognize that improvement in North-South relations, promotion of the economic growth of the developing countries and restructuring of the existing economic order would be conducive to the recovery of the economy of their own countries and of the world economy, and would contribute to world peace and stability. The developed countries should respond meaningfully to the developing countries' call for urgent negotiations with a view to adoption of immediate measures to initiate world economic recovery.

16. In order to get the best results from the North-South Dialogue, it was necessary to aim at a comprehensive and integrated settlement of North-South economic issues by launching the Global Negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations. At the same time, immediate measures should be adopted to initiate world economic recovery. The Global Negotiations and negotiations on immediate measures in specific areas should be treated as mutually complementary and must lay the basis for fundamental reform of the existing international economic system.

17. The most urgent problems and issues now facing the developing countries were:

(a) The balance of payments gap which was forcing a large number of countries into contractionist policies. The recent measures (expansion of the IMF and General Arrangement to Borrow and Special Action Programme of the World Bank) could
help, but they were insufficient to meet the needs and their effectiveness will be below potential as the role of the developing countries in the allocation of funds and implementation of programmes is inadequate. A large issue of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) for the benefit of the threatened countries would be the most effective means of bridging the gap, with active participation of developing countries on decision-making. Inflationary fears of SDR issue were unjustified in light of the depressed state of the world economy and surpluses of grains, other food, oil, metals and most other raw materials and manufactures.

(b) The need for debt reorganization, including long-term funding of the short-term debt, and renegotiation of the rates of interest on a large part of the debt, i.e., where they are now at unsustainable levels in real terms.

(c) The need to undertake special measures to assist the least developed countries in order to liquidate their payments arrears and thus widen their import capacity, and improve their agricultural output. The issue of SDRs would help improve their payments position. Cancellation or reduction of some classes of their debt would be necessary and feasible.

(d) A programme of removal of obstacles to access of the developing country products to the markets of the developed countries, with a first set of measures to be applied in the course of the next 12 months.

18. The conference was of the opinion that the existing international monetary and financial system had failed to meet the needs of the world economy, and its failure had most adversely affected the developing countries. It was imperative to reform the system in the interest of the revival and growth of the world economy. The proposal recently endorsed by the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit to convene an international conference on a universal basis to bring about a comprehensive restructuring deserved full support. (Proposals for reform had also been made by many statesmen and experts in developed countries.) An early decision to hold the financial and monetary conference and to set in motion the preparatory work was vital for success of this complex task.

South-South Co-operation

19. The conference examined the question of South-South co-operation from various angles. There was unanimous agreement that increased co-operation had become a matter of paramount importance in view of the emerging trend in the world economy, the potential size of developing country markets and the slowdown of growth in developed countries.

20. Through mutual co-operation the third world countries can promote the growth of their economies on the one hand, and augment their economic strength and enhance their negotiating positions, on the other. Their objective should be to gradually free themselves from economic dependence on developed countries.

21. Increased South-South co-operation did not preclude or replace the development of North-South economic relations. They were determined by the mutual needs of the two sides, which were likely to grow. The developing countries could promote progress in North-South negotiations by strengthening their economies through co-operation as well as by coordinating their positions and by closing their ranks, always remaining vigilant against attempts to undermine their unity.

22. South-South co-operation must be based on equality and mutual benefits, with each country benefiting therefrom while contributing its share. The objective should be to achieve common progress through mutual assistance and by making up for each other's deficiencies so that the developing countries should be able to consolidate their political independence by means of their economic independence.

23. The present offers an opportune moment to advance South-South co-operation vigorously: there exist significant economic complementarities in the developing countries in various fields as they possess a variety of natural resources; and they are increasingly able to meet a growing range of their own demands from their production and through mutual trade as their economies are becoming diversified. They can take advantage of a more rational division of labour among themselves in the light of their respective natural, social and historical conditions. Technical exchanges among them would also prove economical, practical, and easy to assimilate.

24. The strength of the South lies in the fact that it consists of over 120 countries, making up two-thirds of the world's population. Among the countries of the South, there are major exporters of key raw materials, including oil and
metals, and a number of industrializing countries which have attained the world's highest productivity in certain branches of production which used to be the preserve of the North. Countries of the South occupy most of the world's land for agricultural development, although major efforts are needed to harness this potential. Some countries of the South have emerged as major investors internationally. Finally the scientists of the South have begun to make significant contribution to the technological progress of mankind.

25. The South can utilize these resources for its own autonomous advance through diverse forms of co-operation in finance, trade, energy, raw materials, technology, food and other fields. Co-operation among the developing countries — bilateral, subregional, regional and global — could all develop actively in a mutually complementary manner.

26. A practical orientation must be given to South-South co-operation, identifying actual needs and existing conditions, giving play to the strong points and potentials of the countries concerned so as to attain good economic results. In working out plans for co-operation and arranging co-operation projects, they should proceed from the specific conditions of each region and each economic field and take concrete measures to tackle the issues one by one, from small and easy ones to major and difficult ones, so as to accumulate experience and augment the achievements.

27. Co-operative action in finance deserves high priority. It should be conceived not only in terms of increased flows of concessional finance, but also as providing opportunities for surplus countries to diversify their investments with reasonable returns and security and minimize the risk of concentrating their financial holding in a few fluctuating currencies. It would help close several key gaps in the international financing structure, which have adversely affected the developing countries over years. The existing financing institutions have not found it possible to fill these gaps. A co-operative financial institution would enable the developing countries to assure financing of programmes whose benefits would be widely shared among them, such as commodity stabilization finance; it would help strengthen the bargaining strength of developing countries in their relations with transnational corporations, particularly in projects involving natural resources, by providing an independent source of finance; it would assist in diversification efforts by providing export finance, particularly needed in case of manufactures; it would directly promote their trade co-operation by helping support payments arrangements where necessary; and it would assist in collective stabilization efforts by providing support to regional and subregional reserve credit schemes. The effect would be an improvement in the terms of trade of developing countries, more value added domestically, increased trade co-operation and gradual lessening of dependence on outside sources of credit for balance of payments support. Proposals advanced in the Group of 77 for a bank for developing countries are of major importance and the necessary feasibility studies should be urgently completed.

28. Co-operation in trade is an important component of South-South co-operation. The developed countries are beneficiaries of a production and market structure which leads to excessive dependence of many developing country exporters of primary products on a limited number of developed country buyers. The result is depressed prices over long periods, sometimes below the costs of production. At the same time, the developed countries have adopted an array of discriminatory policies to limit the imports of manufactured goods from the developing countries.

29. In this grim situation, it is of the greatest importance for the developing countries to strengthen their trade co-operation and to expand the markets within the third world. The organizations of raw material producing and exporting countries, the organizations of regional and semi-regional economic co-operation set up by developing countries since the 1950s and a number of global measures for promoting trade among the developing countries are available to promote South-South co-operation in trade.

30. No less important it is for the South to realize how important it is as a market for producer goods and consumer goods, technology and investments to countries of the North. By concerted action the South can get these goods and services at better prices, reduce its dependence on the North for them and have the leverage it has been looking for in its negotiations with the North.

31. The developing countries should strengthen regional and global co-operation in their energy research and development as well as the exchange of information. They should set up joint scientific research centres in order to co-ordinate the efforts of various parties, and
enhance their capacity for collective self-reliance in the field of energy and help in exploring and developing new and renewable sources of energy in the non-oil developing countries.

32. There are other areas for co-operation in the field of energy, such as conservation and protection, exchange of information on balanced exploitation of energy and the role of energy conservation measures, joint projects for the development of energy substitutes and investment in such projects, mutual assistance and co-operation in oil exploration and production management, development of trade in energy and payments facilities so as to expand trade in energy commodities among the developing countries. These areas should be fully explored.

33. There are broad vistas open for South-South co-operation in the field of food and agriculture. First, great efforts should be made to strengthen technical co-operation. Items such as specialized study tours, academic symposia, joint research, technology transfer, technology consulting, technical training and exchange of scientific and technical information as well as specimens could be carried out through bilateral channels. Technical co-operation could also be conducted through multilateral channels such as the various international agronomic research centres. A world grain reserve system might be difficult to establish in the foreseeable future. The developing countries should therefore explore other arrangements in order to establish their own system of food security.

34. The need for effective organization and adequate technical support machinery for the South in order to undertake systematic research and strategic planning has been limited in scope and character. What is not being adequately realized is that the world is on the threshold of technological revolution which will supersede and be more far-reaching than the industrial revolution. Even if nothing like a third world secretariat may be within the realm of practical policies, the need for constant contact and collaborative research between national institutions, governmental and non-governmental, should be reorganized, the machinery and opportunities for it strengthened.

Further Work

35. There was a growing recognition throughout the third world that among the major needs of the South was a sustained intellectual effort to identify all the impediments and problems, and to keep under constant review all the events and developments likely to have an effect on the future welfare and growth of third world countries. The conference recognized that there were many paths to this goal and that among them was the process of third world consultation at the level of eminent persons supported by on-going professional work. It was important that such consultations be broadly based as Beijing 1983 itself had amply demonstrated. The continued identification of the Chinese people and scholars with the cause of the third world was immensely valuable.

36. The conference, including the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, expressed support for a continuing process of consultation between third world scholars, with Beijing 1983 becoming South-South 1 — the first in a series of regular consultations linked by programmes of work at a variety of levels. Such consultations could be held every three years in a different third world capital until the goals of the third world in development, negotiation and co-operation have been met. The conference welcomed the indications that the Third World Foundation would contribute to such a process and encouraged it to continue to play a catalytic role in the development and implementation of effective follow-up action in support of Beijing 1983.

37. All those who participated in this conference regarded it as a unique, stimulating and valuable occasion. It has helped to sharpen their individual perception and to deepen their collective resolve. And their experience of sharing ideas with Chinese scholars has confirmed the immense possibility that arise from China's active association with the struggle of all developing countries for the realization of the New International Economic Order. In the final analysis, there is only one world whose bounty must be shared by all its people on a just and equitable basis. Only through social and economic justice worldwide can there be peace and prosperity for any one. All countries and peoples had an ultimate interest in the cause of the third world and must contribute to its fulfilment. Through deepening South-South co-operation, more constructive North-South negotiations and truly effective development strategy the third world can in fact help to lead mankind away from the dangers that now threaten its future on the planet. Despite current frustrations, therefore, Beijing 1983 and the work of South-South co-operation that lies ahead represents not only a continuing struggle but a source of sustained hope for the future of the third world and the peoples of all countries.
friendships continue to be handed down from generation to generation.

3) Economically, China and Japan share mutually complementary conditions by which they can clearly benefit each other. Japan needs China's energy and natural resources and markets. China needs co-operation with Japan in such areas as technology, capital investment and managerial methods.

China and Japan have different social and political systems, and thus it is quite normal that they have different views on some issues. If both sides will but deal correctly with the historical experience and lessons of the relations between the two nations, will value the mainstream of their historical contacts and strengthen consultations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, long-term stable co-operative relations between the two countries will steadily develop. The quality of the relationship between the two nations will affect not only the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries but will also inevitably influence changes in Asia and the Pacific region and in the international situation worldwide.

2. Promote the Peaceful Reunification of Korea. The artificial division of Korea must be resolved sooner or later. The northern and southern parts of Korea should be unified in some appropriate form. Not only would this conform to the fundamental interests of the Korean people, it also would eliminate the source of tension in this region and greatly enhance the peace and stability of northeast Asia. Chairman Kim II Sung has already proposed a plan which conforms to the realities of Korea. The Korean war ended 30 years ago, but US troops are still stationed in southern Korea, intervening in Korean domestic affairs. This is the major obstacle to the peaceful reunification of north and south Korea. The only correct path is for the US troops to leave southern Korea, for the US to stop intervening in the internal affairs of Korea so that the two parts of Korea, northern and southern, can sit down together and discuss a means to resolve the question of peaceful reunification. China will not agree to any proposal that would seat both northern and southern Korea in the United Nations. China will not do anything which would imply recognition of two separated Koreas, which would perpetuate or make permanent the division between north and south. Any such action would be inimical to the interests of the Korean people, would sow the destructive seeds of long-term tension and instability in Korea, and would not benefit any of the concerned parties.

3. Firmly Oppose Viet Nam's Attempt to Gain Hegemony Over Southeast Asia. Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea is just the first stage in its expansion into Southeast Asia. It is certainly not the final conclusion of a "special relationship" Viet Nam has established with Laos and Kampuchea. If all the presently concerned states will but oppose and isolate Viet Nam and strongly support the just struggle of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Viet Nam will ultimately be forced to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. The Chinese Government has repeatedly announced that it looks forward to the future establishment of an independent, neutral, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea, that China harbours no designs of self-interest concerning this matter, and has no intention at all of regarding Kampuchea as lying within its sphere of influence. If Viet Nam will withdraw its troops from Kampuchea, China is willing to join the other concerned states in a joint guarantee not to intervene in Kampuchea's internal affairs in any way, to respect the independent, neutral and non-aligned position of Kampuchea, not to use Kampuchea as a base from which to invade or intervene in any other country, and to respect the results of UN supervised truly free elections by the Kampuchean people. As soon as Viet Nam announces that it will withdraw all of its troops from Kampuchea unconditionally and actually withdraws its first contingent of troops, negotiations between China and Viet Nam can be restored and, as Viet Nam's troop withdrawal continues, Sino-Vietnamese relations will gradually improve. It is clear that China's stand on resolving the Kampuchean issue is reasonable and just and that China genuinely desires to restore normal relations with Viet Nam.

One tendency among some countries involved should be kept from developing further: the notion that recognition of Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea as a "fait accompli" is an exchange for Viet Nam freeing itself from the Soviet Union, and that it will halt China's so-called "advance southward." This is a very dangerous point of view. China has absolutely no expansionist intentions. If such a supposi-
tion is actually incorporated into the policies of the countries concerned they will be cheating and deceiving themselves. I can state categorically that, as the Chinese saying goes, they will be dropping a boulder on their own toes, that when the time comes, those who are hurt most by such a policy of appeasement will not be China but those nations which promote the policy.

4. Firmly Demand that the Soviet Union Withdraw Its Troops From Afghanistan. The future of Afghanistan will be determined by the progress of the struggle of its own people against the Soviet invasion and by the support of the peoples of all nations for their struggle. The demands of the struggle will compel all parties in the resistance movement to join forces, and the support of all countries for the Afghan people will further isolate the Soviet Union and force it to negotiate the withdrawal of its troops, to establish and fully guarantee the neutral and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. It is highly significant that the nations of south Asia, especially India, stand on the side of the Afghan people.

5. Solve the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian Border Problems Respectively. All of China's neighbours who have had border disputes with China, with the exception of the Soviet Union and India, have resolved them. The fact that today only the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian border issues remain unresolved clearly indicates that the responsibility does not lie with China. The Sino-Soviet border question must be resolved, but to prepare the way for resolving the border issue both sides must first hold intensive discussions to solve and eliminate the three major obstacles obstructing the normalization of relations.

Since the restoration of official level talks between China and India in 1981, several discussions on the Sino-Indian border issue have taken place in which both sides have expressed the desire to seek solutions to the outstanding issues. Since there are no serious conflicts of fundamental interests between the two countries, progress should be possible on this issue.

6. Develop Relations With the ASEAN Countries. China has consistently supported the proposals of the ASEAN countries concerning the establishment of a region of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia. China will continue to work with the ASEAN nations to maintain the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. ASEAN opposition to Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea, its demands for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and its call for Vietnamese implementation of UN resolutions on the solution of the Kampuchean problem, will continue to receive China's support.

China is delighted to see the increasing prosperity and stability of the ASEAN nations. China sincerely hopes that the truly successful progress of ASEAN, as a form of regional co-operation of developing countries, will offer its experience to South-South co-operation, will strengthen the North-South dialogue, and contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order. China will strengthen its relations of friendship with all of the ASEAN countries and develop mutual economic ties. China opposes foreign intervention in its own internal affairs, and will not intervene in the internal affairs of other nations. China hopes that the South China Sea will become a sea of peace, friendship and prosperity.

China will consistently pursue a policy of friendship with her neighbours. China is determined to work towards living in peace with all her neighbours and towards concentrating her resources on successfully achieving her own construction. A modernized, fully unified socialist China will be able to contribute even better to the attainment of peace in Asia and the world in the next century.

III

The basic guideline of China's foreign policy will remain one of opposing hegemonism and upholding world peace, the main starting point of which will continue to be strengthening third world unity and co-operation. Before the end of this century, a number of new and complex circumstances may appear, but I do not think the struggle between the two superpowers for world hegemony will diminish. The third
world countries, including China, are the main victims of this struggle. This contest between the two superpowers remains the main source of international tension and disorder. Thus I do not think there will be any basic change in the above-mentioned direction of Chinese foreign policy.

In comparative military strength, the Soviet Union and the United States will still remain quite evenly matched. Neither side is willing to bow to the other, each wants to gain superiority. Thus, although both sides continue to talk of arms control, they cannot disguise the fact that their military arsenals continue to grow. We must be warned by the fact that for the sake of their temporary advantage their talks do not rule out the possibility of selling out the security interests of a third country.

Though the contest between the Soviet Union and the United States extends throughout the entire globe, it is still focused on Europe. Since the mid-70s, the Soviet Union has not given up any of the ground it had gained, and the US has not made any inroads into the Soviet sphere of influence. The Reagan administration has taken the initiative in some regions such as the Middle East and won some apparent gains. But it would probably be an error in judgment to regard the temporary Soviet restraint in tactics as indicating a change in strategy.

It is not impossible to delay or prevent a large-scale war. US and Soviet troop buildup and military preparations are still limited to gaining superior influence over each other, and the two sides will still avoid direct confrontation. Both countries have their own problems, and their abilities to control their own allies and manipulate the world situation are gradually weakening, a trend which will continue. Yet another important element is the fact that the peoples of the third world nations whom they have hurt and of the entire world, including the people of their own two countries, are all opposed to war. Thus the US-Soviet confrontation which is sometimes militant and tense, sometimes a reserved standoff, is very likely to continue through the end of this century.

While opposing their hegemonism, China at the same time maintains and develops relationships with them based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China will seek to normalize relations with the Soviet Union only if the Soviet Union will eliminate its threat to China’s security. The normalization process will depend on Soviet actions. The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations would be beneficial not only to China and the Soviet Union, but would add to the peace and stability of Asia and the Pacific region, and would help reduce international tensions worldwide.

The major obstacle to Sino-US relations is the US attempt to impose its “Taiwan relations act” on China, its continued sale of arms to Taiwan and intervention in China’s internal affairs. If the US does not change this policy, not only will it be difficult to maintain or improve Sino-US relations, they could well stagnate and deteriorate. Intelligent Americans and America’s allies clearly hope that this will not happen. They realize that if Sino-US relations revert to the hostile phase of the 50s and 60s the result would be very serious and unpredictable for the Asian and Pacific region and for other areas of the world.

China has repeatedly stated that it follows an independent foreign policy, that it does not rely on any other great power, that it will not submit to pressure from any other nation. In its relations with the Soviet Union and with the United States, China will not play any “Soviet card,” nor will it play any “American card,” and of course they had better not think of playing any “Chinese card.” In opposing hegemonism, China stands on principle and determines its own policies depending upon the developments of the situation and the merits of the issues themselves. Although China is not a member of the conference of non-aligned nations, it is a truly non-aligned state and will not ally itself with any one nation against another. China will always strive for world peace and for human progress.

If by the end of the century events proceed as I expect, if China continues to develop its various actual and potential domestic resources, if the search for peace in its foreign policy continues to produce results, if Sino-Soviet relations are normalized, and if Taiwan is reunited with the motherland, and the obstacles to improved Sino-US relations are removed, then we shall have given the next generation a new era of glad tidings.

April 18, 1983

19
**Ensure the Continuity Of the Present Policies**

by Ren Tao

Four years ago, when China decided to shift its focus of work to economic construction, some foreign commentators expressed doubts about the stability of this change.

They described New China’s history in terms of a “policy cycle” swinging from a stress on ideology (class struggle) to practice (economic construction).

Today, these observers claim, “pragmatists” have the upper hand, but in the future “aggressive theorists” could negate the present policies.

As time has passed, such comments gradually have dwindled, but doubts have not been dismissed. Whenever we take a major new step to expedite the modernization drive (such as shifting the focus of economic readjustment, personnel changes or the campaign to crack down on economic criminal activities), some people always speculate about its meaning in terms of political struggle and doubt the durability of our present policies.

Our previous articles have described the direction for Chinese-type socialist modernization and have outlined blueprints for our development by the end of this century. Thus, it is now of practical significance to discuss the question of a “policy cycle.”

A policy’s endurance does not depend upon who formulates it, but on whether it is based on the nation’s conditions, whether it conforms to historical development and whether it meets the people’s fundamental interests and gains the support of the people.

**Current Principal Contradiction**

While shifting the focus of its work to socialist modernization, China also abandoned the slogan of “taking class struggle as the key link,” which had been pursued for quite a long time. This is the most important and most fundamental change in our policies and also a logical development following the Party’s re-establishment of the Marxist ideological line of integrating theory with practice and seeking truth from facts.

This great change shows that in our view, the principal contradiction in China is no longer a contradiction between classes (class struggle), but the contradiction between the people’s increasing demands for material and cultural well-being and the backward social productive forces. This view was first put forth at the Party’s Eighth National Congress in September 1956 and was reaffirmed by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978.

This viewpoint conforms to China’s actual conditions.

From a Marxist viewpoint, classes and class struggle are related to certain stages of historical development. The exploiting classes develop with the development of private ownership and the accompanying system of exploitation. But they are eliminated with the elimination of that ownership and that system.

After the socialist revolution won victory in Russia in 1917, the exploiters’ political power was overthrown and the working class gained control of the means of production. In 1923 Lenin stated: Because of this fundamental change “we must admit that a radical change has taken place in our whole outlook on socialism. This radical change lies in that formerly we placed, and had to place, the main weight of emphasis on the political struggle, on revolution, on winning power, etc. Now the weight of emphasis is changing and is being shifted to peaceful, organizational, ‘cultural’

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work” (On Co-operation). The “cultural” work Lenin talked about was similar in content to our present socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

In 1956, some years after the people seized political power, the public ownership of the means of production was realized and the socialist system was basically established in China. China's situation then was very similar to that in the Soviet Union in 1923 as Lenin described it.

The Party's Eighth National Congress made a timely call to shift the focus of the Party's work to economic construction. But later, due to deviations in the Party's guiding thought from the principles set by the Eighth Party Congress, this task was not accomplished.

The late Premier Zhou Enlai twice proposed the task of building a modern, powerful socialist country at the National People's Congress in 1964 and 1975. Again, because the Party's guiding thought had not been set right, the task did not become the objective of the whole nation.

Although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, our society still has hostile elements of all shades and class struggle will exist within certain limits for a long time to come. These hostile elements have lost the economic and political basis which the exploiting classes used to rely upon for existence. Furthermore, it is impossible for them to form an integrated class so they can only exist as the remnants of the historical exploiting classes in the economic and political spheres. Therefore, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in socialist society.

**A Profound Historical Lesson**

Our practice over the last 22 years since 1956 has proved that the principle of “taking class struggle as the key link” under socialist conditions totally goes against the reality of class struggle in our society, against the objective laws governing the development of a socialist society and against the strong desire of the people to build a modern socialist country.

As a result of “taking class struggle as the key link,” numerous contradictions among the people and problems unrelated with class struggle (such as the contradictions between the state, the collective and individuals, the contradictions between the leadership and the masses, the contradictions between the advanced and the less advanced, the contradictions between different academic viewpoints, etc.) were viewed and dealt with as class struggle.

This practice created confusion in our own ranks and obscured the demarcation line between the enemy and ourselves. Furthermore, bad persons took advantage of this error to attack good people, just as the Lin Biao and
Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques did during the “cultural revolution.”

The practice of “taking class struggle as the key link” also plunged the nation into incessant political turmoil and thus made shifting the focus of our work to socialist modernization impossible. Each political upheaval in the last two decades or so was, as often as not, accompanied by a rash economic advance followed by the necessity to make major readjustments. The losses thus inflicted on the country's material production and living standards are incalculable.

As a result of implementation of the principle “taking class struggle as the key link,” injustices done to people during the previous political movements could be found practically everywhere across the country. These involved state leaders, veteran revolutionaries, cadres, ordinary intellectuals, workers and peasants. The minds of many young people were poisoned and social values corrupted. The Party and the people endured untold suffering and paid a heavy cost. This profound historical lesson will never be forgotten by our people and will be passed on to our future generations. The people will never allow such a historical tragedy as the “cultural revolution” to be repeated. Any attempt to turn back the clock will be futile.

The Will of the People

In the last four years since our focus shifted to economic construction, the Party and government have made great efforts to set right our work in all fields. Since the founding of the People's Republic, many problems left over by history and many new problems arising from the realities of life have been solved. A situation of stability and unity now prevails in the country and the national economy is improving. During this period, the government has formulated and implemented a series of new economic policies that are commensurate with socialist modernization and conform to China's special conditions. They include:

— implementing the rural policy centring on the contract system of responsibility for production;

— extending the decision-making powers of enterprises and stimulating the national economy;

— readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy with the emphasis on improving overall economic results:

— adhering to the principle of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation;

— comprehensively implementing the principle of material interests among the state, enterprises (collective) and individuals;

— allowing the existence of diverse economic sectors on the basis of the socialist economy:

— paying equal attention to economic construction and the improvement of living standards so that each promotes the other, and

— opening to the outside world, importing advanced technology, using foreign investment and expanding economic and technological exchanges with other countries on the basis of independence and self-reliance.

These policies have greatly activated the initiative of the masses of people and endowed the various economic undertakings with unparalleled motivation and energy. Our national economy which suffered from prolonged and serious imbalances has embarked on the road
of proportionate development of (in priority order) agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

The ratio between accumulation and consumption is being rationalized and economic results have been constantly improved. The urban and rural markets are brisk, and living standards have increased markedly.

During the four years between 1979 and 1982, the peasants’ average per-capita income doubled and the average per-capita consumption level of the urban workers’ and staff’s families increased 31 per cent (the factor of price rise is excluded).

Most prominent are the development of agricultural production and the improvement of the peasants’ lives. Tremendous changes have taken place over the last few years in previously poverty-stricken areas like Anhui’s Chuxian Prefecture and northwest Shandong Province where in the past, peasants could hardly eke out a living.

Recently, the peasants of Chuxian Prefecture raised enough funds through local efforts to buy 200 trucks at one time. These peasants said that they believe the Party’s present policies will bring prosperity to the country and benefits to the people. Highly elated, they described the present rural situation as desirable as the “second golden age” since the co-operative movement. Their only worry was whether these policies will be reversed.

The peasants were filled with joy when the Party’s 12th National Congress declared that the present policies will remain unchanged for a long time to come. This shows that the Party’s policies are in accord with the will of the people and enjoy popular support.

Choosing Competent Successors

Correct policies require leadership from competent cadres. The choice of leaders and successors is decisive to the consistency of our policies.

At present, as the problem of the aging of our cadres becomes increasingly serious, many leading bodies are replacing old leaders with younger ones. The Party has established the principle that we must appoint leading cadres who are more revolutionary, better educated, professionally more competent and younger in average age. This conforms to our past principle that leaders should be both socialist-minded and vocationally proficient.

After the joint selection by the leadership and the masses, a large number of middle-aged and young people who have resolutely carried out the Party’s policies, adhered to the socialist road and acquired professional knowledge and the ability to lead have been promoted to leading bodies at various levels. They are working in co-operation with the old cadres who they will gradually succeed.

At the same time, principles have been established to keep out of the leading bodies those who oppose the present policies or who stick to the past “Left” mistakes and attempt to reverse the wheels of history.

The succession of the old by the new at the central level was conducted smoothly at the Party’s 12th National Congress in September 1982. The Secretariat of the Party Central Committee headed by General Secretary Hu Yaobang was formed. Made up of people who are in their prime, the Secretariat handles the Party Central Committee’s day-to-day work under the leadership of the Political Bureau. Except for a few venerable and experienced revolutionaries of the older generation such as Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying who still remain in the leading organs of the central authorities as required by work, some of our elder statesmen have joined the Central Advisory Commission and others have retired.

(Continued on p. 25.)
**Facts and Figures**

### General Survey of China’s Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number of Industrial Enterprises (thousand)</th>
<th>Total Industrial Output Value (according to 1980 constant prices; million yuan)</th>
<th>Number of Workers and Staff in State Industrial Departments (thousand)</th>
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<td>National total</td>
<td>381.5</td>
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<td>(1) According to ownership:</td>
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<td>State-owned industry</td>
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<td>Commune-run industry</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>Chemical fertilizer</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>10,286</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical pesticide</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic chemical</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>11,956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals for daily use</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4,813</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Machine-building</td>
<td>104.1</td>
<td>107,995</td>
<td>10,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of which:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm machinery</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6,394</td>
<td>1,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial equipment</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>19,001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport equipment</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>12,420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other production machinery</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>8,103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11,886</td>
<td>1,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal ware for daily use</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9,617</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Building materials (excluding daily-use glass and ceramics)</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>19,507</td>
<td>1,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of which:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement and cement products</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>7,235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick, tile, lime and others</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>8,442</td>
<td>1,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ceramics &lt; 0.5 &lt; 572
Non-metal minerals &lt; 2.1 &lt; 1,075
8. Forestry
Of which: Timber cutting and transport &lt; 17.5 &lt; 10,490 &lt; 1,318
Of which: &lt; 1.7 &lt; 3,908 &lt; 999
9. Foodstuffs
Of which: Grain and edible oil &lt; 24.8 &lt; 20,398
Salt &lt; 0.8 &lt; 1,981
Slaughter and meat processing &lt; 2.5 &lt; 11,797
Canning &lt; 0.5 &lt; 2,119
Sugar refining &lt; 0.8 &lt; 3,645
Tobacco &lt; 0.3 &lt; 10,051
Alcohol and wine &lt; 8.3 &lt; 5,259
10. Textiles
Of which: Chemical fibres &lt; 0.2 &lt; 5,346 &lt; 207
Cotton &lt; 5.1 &lt; 51,791
11. Paper and stationery
Of which: Paper-making &lt; 4.7 &lt; 6,940 &lt; 490
(Based on 1981 figures.)

(Continued from p. 23.)

The old cadres have actively supported the newly promoted middle-aged and young cadres and have passed on their experience. This smooth succession of the new to the old is of epoch-making significance in China's history and sets an example for the personnel change of the leading bodies at various levels under the Party Central Committee.

The average age of the newly formed leading bodies of the various ministries and commissions under the Party Central Committee and the State Council is 4-6 years younger than their predecessors. The number of ministers and vice-ministers of the 38 ministries and commissions under the State Council has been reduced by 67 per cent. In the reorganized leading bodies, the newly promoted middle-aged and young cadres account for 32 per cent and the number of people with a higher educational level and more professional knowledge has increased.

Leading bodies at the provincial level have held elections since the beginning of this year. The size of the provincial Party committee consisting of the secretary and deputy secretaries in Sichuan, the most populous province, dropped from 14 to five. The average age of its members fell from 62.6 years to 57.1 and the number of people with college-level educations rose from 28.6 per cent to 60 per cent. The new provincial Party committee secretary, Yang Rudai, is 56 years old. Tan Qilong, the province's previous chief leader, has withdrawn from the "frontline" and has become the chairman of the provincial advisory commission.

The new mayor of Beijing, Chen Xitong, is 53 years old. The number of deputy mayors in the capital dropped from 13 to 6; the group's average age is 57 against the original 65; and four out of the seven members have college-level educations.

The election of the new Party committees and governments of all the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (excluding Taiwan) will be completed soon.

Today, we are guided by correct lines and policies and have a large number of younger and competent cadres to lead our hundreds of millions of people to advance on the socialist road. Although we face many difficulties on our road forward and we may have this or that shortcoming or mistake in our work, the general objective has been set and the plan for the years before the end of the century is gradually becoming popular, conscious, nationwide action. Both the leaders and the masses are on guard against significant turmoil or the repeat of history.

The masses of people are the makers of history. The Chinese people's support for the present policies is the most reliable guarantee for the consistency of our policies.
PEOPLE

Crippled young woman

ZHANG Haidi laughs a lot. Listening to her animated description of her experience, people find it hard to believe that she has been confined to the wheelchair for most of her 28 years.

A native of Shandong Province, Zhang had a spinal tumour when she was five. Over the next five years, she underwent three operations, during which six sections of her backbone were removed. She was left paralysed from the chest down.

In spite of this, Zhang has taught herself medicine, music and foreign languages and has done much for others. For these she was cited as an outstanding member of the Communist Youth League at a recent national forum in Beijing.

Zhang could not go to school. With her parents’ help, she learnt pinyin (Chinese phonetic system) and then, with a dictionary beside her, she began to read.

Son of the Working Class by Wu Yunduo* and How the Steel Was Tempered by the Soviet writer Ostrovsky impressed her deeply. She, too, could make a contribution to the cause of socialism, she thought.

In 1970, when Zhang was 15, her family moved to the Shanglou Production Brigade in Shexian County. There she noticed that peasants who fell ill had trouble getting medical care. She saved what money she could and bought medical books, a clinical thermometer, a stethoscope, and an acupuncturist’s model of the human body. She studied entirely on her own, practising the placement of the needles on her own body.

One by one, Zhang worked her way through all the college medical texts available to her. When she felt she was ready, she offered her services to the peasants in the village.

Geng Qiyuan was one of her patients. Geng suffered from cerebral thrombus and had been paralysed for three years. But after a period of treatment by Zhang, Geng was able to walk again.

Soon patients were pouring in from neighbouring villages. Zhang sometimes saw as many as 50 people a day; in less than three years, she treated more than 3,000 patients.

She tried to learn to paint, but failed. Then she tried music. This time she succeeded, learning to play the accordion, pipa (a plucked string instrument with a fretted fingerboard) and guitar.

At the same time, she began to teach herself English and overcame all difficulties she met.

After eight years, she could read English books and newspapers. Since then, she has translated an English novel of about 130,000 words and has begun to study Japanese, German and Esperanto.

“Though I am crippled,” Zhang Haidi said, “I have a will to serve the people and I want to be a person useful to society.”

*Wu Yunduo, while working in an arsenal during the War of Resistance Against Japan, lost his four fingers and left eye and both his legs were wounded. Despite his confinement to bed, he persisted in his studies. Son of the Working Class records his own experience.

Zhang Haidi talks to newsmen in Beijing.
In 1981 Zhang was assigned to the county broadcasting bureau as a repair worker and now she is a professional writer of the art and literature federation of Liaocheng Prefecture, Shandong Province.

—"China Daily"

OPINION

Northwest is full of promise

CHEN Changdu, an associate professor at Beijing University, wrote that China’s northwest is a land of treasures.

(1) China’s oil industry first developed in the northwest. Xinjiang and Qinghai still seem to have the greatest potential for crude oil. In addition, this area has abundant water, solar and wind energy resources. The problem of ecological disequilibrium, which has existed for a long time, can be solved if these energy sources are tapped, trees not felled wantonly and the vegetation cover not destroyed.

(2) Agriculture and animal husbandry have bright prospects. Xinjiang has much reclaimable wasteland, plentiful thermal energy and sufficient water. The Manas and Tarim River valleys have already become important cotton-growing centres. The acreage sown to grapes in Turpan and sugar beets in northern Xinjiang can be enlarged further.

(3) Northwest China comprises one-third of the country’s territory; its population is one-fifteenth of the nation’s total. It will certainly provide suitable room for activities.

—"Guangming Ribao"

April 18, 1983

Desert transformed

SHAPOTOU, a village in Ningxia’s Zhongwei County, was once referred to as China’s “sand capital.” But today it has been transformed into an oasis.

According to historical records, the desert in this area advanced 29 kilometres southeast in two centuries. When the sands came, people evacuated their land and villages were destroyed.

In the mid-1950s, a railway linking the two newly developed industrial cities of Baotou and Lanzhou needed to cross Shapotou village. Therefore, a battle was launched to control the moving sand dunes.

In 1978 and 1981, the United Nations organized two training classes there on deserts and people from 12 countries took part. Some third world scientists are unanimous in their view that the railway sand-fixing project in Shapotou sets an example for the whole world in controlling shifting sand dunes.

The method which was developed through experimentation was the result of work done by desert research personnel in the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Railway Sand-Fixing Forest Farm of Zhongwei County.

The project was supported by the local populace. They studied the scientific methods and worked together with the scientific personnel.

Now, the ecological conditions there have been improved. The number of birds and animals has increased, the soil has improved, and soybean, peanut, cotton and tomato are grown.

In the past few years, Zhongwei County opened up and improved nearly 80,000 mu of sandy land and sold 3,500 tons of grain to the state. Peasants who had been forced to leave their home towns by advancing sand now have returned. New houses have been built and the village electrified.

—"Wen Hui Bao"
Man and biosphere

The Man and Biosphere exhibit which was held last month at the Museum of Natural History provided a comprehensive course on conservation to Beijing museum visitors.

The exhibition is a multi-purpose educational tool of UNESCO's Man and Biosphere (MAB) Programme, an international, intergovernmental, interdisciplinary research programme. The display was translated into Chinese and augmented with material about China's own conservation efforts. The Beijing showing was co-sponsored by the Chinese commission of MAB and UNESCO.

There are more than 10,000 scientists involved in the MAB programme and about 1,000 projects. MAB preserves are located in 58 countries.

China joined the MAB Programme in 1972 and was chosen as a council member. In 1978, the State Council of China established the China National Commission of Man and Biosphere affiliated with the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The China National Commission of MAB has undertaken 23 research items, of which 10 have been field research projects of the UNESCO's MAB Programme. In 1981, three Chinese natural preserves (the Changbai Mountains, Wolong Region and Dinghu Mountain) joined the international network of protected areas.

To study the low yielding saline soil which is subject to drought and waterlogging, the Beijing Agricultural University set up a permanent station in Quzhou, Hebei Province, testing 6,000 mu of land. This study of the local water and salt movement yielded a comprehensive control method. Now several years of experiments have turned the original single-crop economy in that locale into a diverse programme of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. And the per-mu yield of grain has shot up from 139 kilograms in 1972 to 591 kilograms in 1982.

The Lanzhou Desert Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences established a station in Zhongwei County in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. Years of research yielded knowledge of desertification...
process in north China, enabling scientists to predict desert expansion and work out control measures.

The Yunnan Tropical Plants Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences has drawn conclusions from its investigations on the artificial ecosystem in Xishuangbanna, Yunnan Province. Rational interplanting of rubber trees and tea plants enjoys higher stability than just trees, and tea cultivation can be increased without reducing rubber output. This yields 40-50 per cent increase in the land utilization ratio.

In the Wolong Natural Preserve, Chinese and US naturalists collaborate on a study of the ecological and biological characteristics of the giant panda. Their efforts facilitate the protection and propagation of this rare animal.

In addition, China has also researched desalination of seawater, ecological engineering and forest, aquatic and grassland ecosystems.

**AGRONOMY**

*Antimycin 120*

Chinese scientists have developed a new kind of antibiotic that is effective against several crop diseases and has no harmful effects on humans or livestock.

Antimycin 120, the new antibiotic, has a powerful inhibitive or lethal effect on fungi of cucumber, wheat and flower powdery mildew and other diseases.

Powdery mildew is common in the rural areas in northern China. It can reduce the yields of cucumber and other vegetables by more than 50 per cent and sometimes even destroy the plants completely. For years, peasants used the pesticide topsin to prevent and treat powdery mildew. However, its effectiveness has decreased in recent years.

Comparative experiments indicate that antimycin 120 exceeds topsin in curing powdery mildew. Antimycin 120 destroys 90 per cent of fungi on contaminated cucumber plants when it is timely applied.

On 17 experimental plots in Shandong and Hebei Provinces, antimycin 120 eliminated 70 to 80 per cent (90 per cent in some cases) of wheat rust, a disease which drastically reduces wheat harvests.

Experiments were also conducted to test the toxicity of antimycin. A two-week dose of antimycin 120 given to rabbits did not cause any abnormal functioning of their hearts, lungs, kidneys, livers or digestive tracts.

Antimycin 120 was first developed in 1957 by the Institute of Soil and Fertilizer under the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Experiments to spray diseased plants with this antimycin began in the 1970s.

**ARCHAEOLOGY**

*Relics of China's earliest dynasties*

Pottery vessels and shards dating from the earliest three Chinese dynasties (Xia, Shang and Western Zhou) were uncovered in a recent archaeological survey for cultural relics in Yichang, Hubei Province.

Professor Yu Weichao of the History Department at Beijing University, one of the participants, said that the potteries dug up in this part of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River valley are similar to those of the same period found in the Huanghe (Yellow) River valley but have local characteristics. The survey has shed some light on the historical sequence from the primitive culture to the culture of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). Yichang, the locale of the findings, is near Yingdu, the ancient capital of the Chu State which was founded about 3,000 years ago.

Among the discoveries were a sandy, olive-shaped pottery jar, another jar with decorations around the rim and a stemmed bowl, all from the Xia Dynasty. A large-mouthed wine vessel known as zun, a thick-walled jar, a broad-shouldered jar with a slender neck, and a footed bowl with a matching shallow plate are estimated to be from the Shang Dynasty. A li tripod, a jar, a vessel for steaming food known as yan, a deep basin known as yu and stemmed bowls with folding plates, all in the style of the Chu State, are from the Western Zhou period.

More than 20 years of archaeological research has shown that the Chu State culture of the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods in the Changjiang River valley was an important component of ancient Chinese civilization.

The excavations in the Ju-zhang River valley, the key area of the Chu State culture, were carried out by Hubei archaeologists under the guidance of the scholars of Beijing University. The archaeologists found many relics of the Xia, Shang and Western Zhou Dynasties in Zhijiang, Yidu and Dangyang Counties in this area.
An Outline History of China

Edited by Bai Shouyi
Published by the Foreign Languages Press, Beijing
Distributed by China Publications Centre (Guoji Shudian)
Price: hard cover RMB 5.65 yuan, paper back RMB 4.95 yuan

An Outline History of China, edited by historian Bai Shouyi, was well-received by readers when it was first published in Chinese in 1980. Subsequently, the Foreign Languages Press published English, Japanese and Spanish editions.

This comprehensive Chinese history book is remarkable in its conciseness. The major events and periods from Yuanmou Man 1.7 million years ago to the eve of 1919 May 4th Movement are handled with clarity.

The introductory chapter outlines China's geography, nationalities and historical periods. Chapters II and III covers ancient societies, sites, cultural relics, myths and legends. The slave states of Shang and Zhou Dynasties (c. 16th century—771 B.C.) mark the beginning of recorded history in China and their development is reconstructed in the fourth chapter. Chapter V is about the period of transition from slavery to feudalism, the early Eastern Zhou Dynasty, Spring and Autumn, and Warring States Periods (770-221 B.C.). The history of feudal society unfolded in the next four chapters: the growth [Qin and Han (221 B.C.-220 A.D.)], the earlier ascendency [Three Kingdoms, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang (220-907)], the later ascendency [Five Dynasties, Song and Yuan (907-1368)] and the twilight of feudalism [Ming and Qing (1368-1911)]. Each chapter introduces the economy, culture and politics of the period under discussion, and the major events and personages are related and analysed. Chapter X, the final chapter, details the period of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism and history of the old democratic revolution. It portrays the political events and economic and cultural alterations from the beginning of the 1840 Opium War to the May 4th Movement in 1919.

A feature of this history book is the classification of different stages of China's feudal society. Few Chinese history books give explicit accounts of the growth and changes of the landlord class over the 2,000 years of feudal society. The author devotes much space to the changing status of the landlord class, the alternation in the ruling strata of the landlord class during different historical periods — hereditary landlords, landlords of families of power and influence, landlords with official ranks and gentry landlords.

As to the peasant uprisings from Chen Sheng and Wu Guang of the Qin Dynasty to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of the mid-19th century, the writer points out the peasant's opposition to feudalism and their modulating of status in different historical periods. These variations of the social status of the landlord class and the peasants reveal to the readers a clear picture of the process of Chinese history and the law governing it.

China is a country with many nationalities, whose combined experiences comprise Chinese history. It is necessary to include the roles of national minorities in China's historical development. While many texts have been inadequate in this regard, An Outline History of China devotes two sections exclusively to feudalization of areas where different nationalities lived in compact communities and feudalization in the border regions. The writer maintains that feudalization of the former is "of great significance to the development of Chinese history," that it is one of the landmarks in the steady progress of feudalism, thus fully testifying the role national minority areas played in China's historical development.

The author evaluates the role of the Jesuits in the late Ming Dynasty. Others have regarded the Jesuits missionaries as the introducers of Western modern sciences. But Bai Shouyi maintains this does not tally with the facts. Modern natural sciences is a science emancipated from theology; the Roman Catholic Church was an enemy of natural sciences. The Jesuits missionaries did not bring modern sciences to China.

The author is not vociferous in his presentation of his viewpoint, but he is explicit, precise and scientific. He avoids jargon, rather he presents facts.

The book is of some 500 pages and has 133 well-chosen plates to illustrate the text. The book includes genealogical tables of the successive dynasties since the Shang Dynasty and an index of the names of persons, geographical names, the nationalities and major events mentioned in it.

—Wen Ling

Beijing Review, No. 16
Lin Yong’s dance sketches

Tibetan dance.

Tales of the Silk Road
(a Chinese song and dance drama).

Born in 1942 in Chaozhou, Guangdong Province, the artist is a graduate of the traditional Chinese painting department of the Guangdong College of Fine Arts where he majored in figure painting. After graduation, he worked in the county cultural centre and the provincial literary and artistic creation studio. He is now on the faculty of the Guangdong College of Traditional Chinese Paintings.

Thai dance.

Xinjiang dance.

Indian dance.
"TEMPLE OF HEAVEN" CANDLES

Select ingredients, bright flame, smokeless, odourless, tearless, wide assortment of sizes and multitudinous colours.