

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS



- Zhou Enlai on National Policy (1957)
- The 1980s: A Promising Decade
- Rising Resistance in Kabul

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Some Basic Points on the National Question

A 1957 speech by the late Premier Zhou Enlai expounding the Chinese Communist Party's national policy was published recently for the first time. Its first instalment (Page 14) deals with the need to combat two types of chauvinism and shows why China has adopted the system of national regional autonomy rather than that of national autonomous republics.

### Modernization: Will and Way

*Renmin Ribao's* Special Commentator stresses that where there is a will, there is a way. He lists dedication, perseverance and confidence in the future as well as boldness in reform and professional expertise as the necessary qualities for leaders of the modernization march. Also reviewed are progress made and obstacles in the way of further advance. (Page 23)

### Afghanistan: Slap in the Face for Moscow

General strike and military revolts in Kabul bring into relief popular Afghan resistance and explode Soviet platitudes about friendship and assistance. Along with a commentary on these developments (Page 9), this issue carries a report from Islamabad by a Chinese correspondent who interviewed the leaders of the newly formed Afghan Islamic Union for Liberation. (Page 10)

### Three Internationalist Doctors

Honours for three foreigners who have long served the Chinese people and acquired Chinese citizenship. (Page 31)

### Book Review: Outline of Chinese Physical Geography

Is there enough land for the Chinese people to grow food on? What are China's climate, soil

and vegetation like? Won't there be an energy and water shortage as the country industrializes? These and many other vital questions about the country's natural conditions are dealt with in a book on physical geography which is the first of its kind to be published. (Page 30)

### Facets of Chinese Life

400 new construction projects completed (Page 5); wider scope for foreign investments in Guangzhou (Page 8); demands on Youth League members (Page 3); efforts to help juvenile delinquents (Page 4); graphic arts: past and present (Page 28).



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**COVER:** China is a multi-national country. Apart from the Han people, there are 55 minority nationalities living in various parts of the country. Left: Uygur students attending a class. Right: A Mongolian family on the Hulun Buir grassland going to a fair.

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**POLITICAL****Demands on Communist Youth League Members**

Han Ying, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, said recently at the Second Plenary Session of the League's Tenth Central Committee that Chinese youths should take upon themselves the task of modernizing the country.

As an assistant to the Chinese Communist Party, the Communist Youth League which has a history of nearly 60 years has a membership of 48 million.

Han Ying pointed out:

—The Youth League should organize activities to mobilize its members to be a shock force in the new Long March and to unite with other young people to work for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1980 national economic plan. He called upon young peasants to strive for a bumper harvest and young workers to produce more and better products at lower costs. P.L.A. fighters, he said, should step up training and defend the motherland, while young people working in the service trades should serve the people better and become experts in their special fields, and students should study hard and develop morally, intellectually and physically.

—The Youth League should strengthen the education of youngsters, teach them to love the motherland, study assiduously, care for the collec-

tive, and be honest, modest and polite.

—The Youth League should show concern for the vital interests of the young people, liven up their cultural activities and do a good job in publicizing late marriage and family planning among the young people.

**Selecting and Promoting Competent People**

China's education and scientific research suffered heavily during the ten tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution. Precious time was lost and hundreds of thousands of young people missed an opportunity to study modern science and technology. Urgent measures are being taken to set up a comprehensive system of training and selecting competent personnel. Unless this is done, modernization would be out of the question, for the scientists and technicians China has today are getting old while the younger generation is still incompetent to succeed them in their work.

To train the needed personnel faster, east China's Jiangsu

Province recently decided to select and promote capable personnel irrespective of seniority, in addition to improving the institutions of higher learning, television universities, spare-time schools and short-term courses for scientific and technical cadres. The gist of the decision is:

—Through examinations in different disciplines and keeping a tab on their daily work, select the best qualified scientific and technical workers and promote them to higher positions.

—Contests in single subjects will be organized for junior and senior middle school students once a year in the province. The best students may enter the colleges without sitting for the entrance examinations.

—Students who fail to get the required marks in the college entrance examinations but are particularly good at some special subjects may enter a university to receive training in the related specialty, or they may become assistants in pertinent scientific research departments or schools.



Zhou Zude, formerly a pastry-cook, has mastered the English language after long years of self-study. He was recently appointed a translator by Nanjing University.

— University students who have talent in a special course may apply for a transfer to study in the related department in the same university.

— Set up a class for juveniles in a selected university so as to gain experience in training talented personnel faster.

— Veteran experts should have assistants of their own choice.

— Active measures will be taken to help middle-aged and young scientists and technicians to continue their studies abroad.

## SOCIAL

### Save the Juvenile Delinquents

China is stepping up the publicizing of the socialist legal system with a view to making the people of the whole country understand and abide by the laws. In particular, the youngsters are made to understand how they should abide by the law and that they would be punished for criminal offences. All these are meant to raise the consciousness of the youngsters in abiding by the law.

In comparison with pre-Cultural Revolution days, cases of juvenile delinquency have increased in recent years; most of the cases involve fisticuffs and theft, while murder and rape only account for a small percentage. There are no drug addicts in China, and delinquents in trouble for excessive drinking are also rare. Why have the cases of juvenile delinquency increased since the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966?

Juveniles of today were children during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution. They were brought up in an environment in which "beatings, smashing and looting" were considered revolutionary actions," and they were taught that "rebellion is justified," unable to distinguish right from wrong and good from evil. This is a major reason why they commit crimes.

On the eve of the fall of the gang of four, the country's economy was on the brink of collapse, and the population had for years increased unchecked. This is why not all the middle school graduates can find work or continue their studies in the colleges, despite energetic efforts by the government to solve this problem.

Another factor contributing to an increase in the number of delinquents is that for a whole decade not enough attention was paid to providing proper recreational facilities for the young, and they are lacking even today.

Since the gang of four was smashed in 1976, the Party and government have paid special attention to the education of youngsters and taken proper measures to help them mend their ways.

The work done in this respect aims primarily at restoring the youngsters' self-respect and showing love and concern for them. Different methods are used in different cases.

In the less serious cases, neighbourhood committees, teachers and parents co-ordinate in helping the young offenders improve their behaviour. The cities of Chongqing and Wuhan are outstanding for their excellent work in this field. The Communist Party

organizations in these two cities organized thousands of retired workers, teachers, policemen and parents into teams to help problem children. The result was that over half of them have turned over a new leaf. Another effective method was to assign young workers who had gone astray to work under the model workers in the factories so as to make them improve their ways.

When a young person commits a grave offence, he is sent to a reformatory. There are several such institutions in China's major cities led by the departments of education and staffed by experienced teachers. (See *Beijing Review*, issue No. 44, 1979.)

Most of the delinquents, except in serious cases such as murder, are not sentenced to imprisonment, but are sent to penitentiaries for juveniles generally between 14 and 16. During their confinement, the youngsters divide their time between political studies and discussion of ideals and moral qualities young people should have, the study of general courses and participation in manual labour. No mention is made of past crimes so that the youngsters can start a new life. The rate of continued offences after release is only about 6 per cent; most have reformed themselves upon release and are leading a new life.

### Punishment for Apathy Towards Woman in Danger

Every Communist and revolutionary cadre must protect the people's interests and combat criminal activities. This is an unshirkable duty. Anyone who

fails to do so does not deserve to be a Communist or a people's servant. This is the comment in an editor's note in *Renmin Ribao* when it reported that disciplinary measures were taken against a Communist for his cowardice.

The incident took place in northeast China's city of Qiqihar, Heilongjiang Province. On a wintry night in December, a woman attendant was on her way home after work when two gunmen threatened her: "Follow us, or we'll kill you!" As the three were passing a shed of a tent factory, Zhang Bin, the factory director who was a Communist, and three others were coming out of the shed.

When the woman saw them, she ran up to them and pleaded: "Help, please! They're trying to abduct me. They have guns." Instead of helping her, Zhang Bin said aloud to the other three: "Come, let's go back to the shed." Emboldened by Zhang's apathy, the ruffians took the woman away and raped her. Zhang Bin was so cowardly that he stayed in the shed for quite a while before he returned to the factory under the escort of five workers.

When the people learnt about the incident, they were infuriated by Zhang's cowardice, and they demanded that disciplinary measures be taken against him and the others involved.

The Qiqihar municipal committee of the Chinese Communist Party took up the matter and approved a decision to expel Zhang Bin from the Party. He was also removed from his post as factory director. Disciplinary measures were also taken against the three others. The Heilongjiang provincial

Party committee called on the Party members in the province to draw lessons from the mistake made by Zhang Bin and the others.

As part of the education in the communist spirit, the newspapers have recently commended people who dared to wage struggles against evildoers and criticized those who were afraid to combat troublemakers or give help when needed.

## ECONOMIC

### 400 New Projects Completed

Over 400 big and medium-sized and special-purpose projects were completed and put into operation in 1979. This was a record for the past six years in the fulfilment of state plans. It was an indication of the effectiveness of the policy of readjusting the national economy which was implemented beginning from last year.

Investments in capital construction last year went mainly to agriculture and the light, textile, fuel, power and building materials industries and transport and communications services. Agriculture received 14 per cent of the total investments, as against 10.7 per cent in 1978. Of the 60 big and medium-sized water conservancy projects whose construction was begun last year, some had already been completed and put into operation.

Sugar refineries completed in 1979 in major sugar-producing provinces have boosted production capacity by 202,000 tons. The production capacity of the chemical fibres, paper and plastics industries has risen by a big margin, with 471,000 spindles added to the cotton mills.

The construction of the fuel and power industries was speeded up last year. A large number of big and medium-sized thermal and hydroelectric power generating units were put into operation, and many small hydropower stations were built in various parts of the country last



The Yuxi River water diversion project built and put in commission last year in Sichuan Province.

year. As a result, the installed capacity had increased by 5 million kilowatts.

The building of more than 80 coal mining projects was started last year. Twenty-two coal mine shafts were completed and ten were enlarged, thereby increasing the production capacity by 13.99 million tons a year.

Oil extracting capacity increased by 8 million tons, and for natural gas the increase was 1,600 million cubic metres last year.

## Factories and Communes Join Efforts

Twenty-two new-type factories have been built on the outskirts of Shanghai last year. Jointly run by state-owned factories and rural people's communes, they produce textile goods, garments, radios and other light industrial products. Facts show that they have the following advantages:

— No state investment is needed. The factories provide the techniques, equipment and part of the funds needed while the people's communes provide the land, labour power and part of the funds, too.

— Quick returns. Both parties consider these factories as their own so that the workshops are completed at an early date and are put into production quickly. The factories jointly run by a garment company and people's communes, for instance, went into production within six months, and half a year later, all the investments were recovered.

— Quality of the products guaranteed. The factory-investors sent managerial person-

nel and technicians over to guide production and they organized production according to the standards set for state-owned factories. As a result, the products are of guaranteed quality.

— They help the people's communes increase their accumulation. On the average, every factory can earn 500,000 to 600,000 yuan for the communes every year. Such a rate of increase in accumulation is inconceivable to the communes doing exclusively farm work.

— They help solve the problem of employment. These factories have already recruited nearly 10,000 workers, including many city school graduates who had gone to settle down in the countryside.

— They help rationalize industrial distribution and improve the environment. City dwellers are happy that some factories which are not suitable to be located in the city proper have moved out to the countryside. Rural commune

members are glad too, for these new factories in their villages help them improve environmental sanitation by handling waste water and waste gas which they could not properly deal with previously.

## TV Assembly Lines

• Two production lines for making 12-inch black-and-white TV sets recently went into operation in Beijing. One is entirely Chinese-made, the other uses some imported techniques. Together they will produce 240,000 TV sets a year.

• A Chinese designed production line for assembling black-and-white TV sets has gone into production recently in Tianjin. It has an annual capacity of assembling more than 60,000 TV sets of various models, ranging from 12 to 19 inches.

• Construction on four major workshops at China's first colour television kinescope plant has in the main been completed in the suburbs of Xianyang city, Shaanxi Prov-



The general assembly line of the Tianjin Radio Factory where black-and-white TV sets are made.

ince. With most of its equipment imported from Japan, the plant will, when completed, produce 960,000 colour kinescopes for TV sets with 14- and 22-inch screens every year.

## Science Promotes Farm Production

The State Scientific and Technological Commission recently issued a call to popularize the results of research in agricultural science so as to bring about the rapid development of the agricultural productive forces.

The call pointed out that experience gained over the years has proved that the growth of agricultural production depends, first of all, on the correctness of the Party's policies in mobilizing the peasants' initiative for socialism and, secondly, on the popularization and application

of the results of scientific research.

As a result of the implementation of the Party Central Committee's decision on accelerating the growth of agriculture, farm production has in the past two years taken a turn for the better. Last year, discussions on the guidelines for agriculture in the newspapers sparked a keen response, and reforms were introduced in many areas so that farm work corresponded by and large with the natural and economic laws. Attention was also paid to the question of ecological equilibrium. (See *Beijing Review*, p. 20, No. 4, 1980.) In this way, it is now possible to make use of the results of scientific research to bring about an all-round development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupation and fishery. The fact is that once an advanced technique is popularized, such as new techniques in paddy-rice plant-

ing, in selecting good cotton strains, in fish or earthworm breeding, output will increase by a big margin in a relatively short period.

The State Scientific and Technological Commission has called upon its sub-commissions in various places to select a number of advanced techniques which can and should be popularized this year, and in the course of popularizing them, give serious consideration to the suggestions and opinions of local agro-scientists and agro-technicians.

## General Administration Of Customs Set Up

The State Council has decided to set up the General Administration of Customs to bring the work of the various customs units, including the composition of their personnel, under unified leadership.

The General Administration of Customs was set up soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and was under the direct leadership of the Administration Council at that time. Later in 1960, it was renamed the Administration Bureau of Customs. It is now decided to set up the General Administration of Customs once again for the purpose of reforming the existing system of management and giving full play to the powers and functions of the customs.

The decision pointed out that the customs, exercising the power of supervision and management at points of entry



Huang Yaoliang (right), an associate research fellow of the Guangdong Academy of Agricultural Science, and his colleagues have bred a new strain of short-stalk paddy-rice called *Gui Chao* which has given high yields on 5 million *mu* of farmland.

and exit, implements the government's import and export policies and relevant laws and decrees.

The principles, policies, laws, decrees and regulations concerning customs will all be worked out by the General Administration. The decrees and regulations that are still effective must be strictly observed and implemented. Local customs regulations should be submitted for approval by the State Council or by departments with its authorization.

### Circulation of Foreign Currencies Prohibited

With the exception of places approved by the State Council, such as hotels catering exclusively to foreign guests and shops in the airports, no place is permitted to mark prices in foreign currencies or accept foreign currencies as payment. Black-marketing of foreign currencies is strictly forbidden. This was made known in a circular recently issued by the State Council aimed at safeguarding state sovereignty and maintaining financial order.

The circular said that with the issuance of foreign exchange certificates by the Bank of China, places which are allowed to directly accept foreign currencies should also mark prices in Renminbi (Chinese currency) and accept foreign exchange certificates rather than foreign currencies.

The Bank of China is to strengthen its foreign exchange work at all ports of entry and be ready to issue travellers cheques and foreign exchange

certificates for the convenience of overseas Chinese and foreign tourists and businessmen.

Interflow with foreign countries has been expanding and the number of foreign tourists and businessmen coming to China has been increasing. In view of this, it is necessary to reaffirm and enforce the policy that Renminbi is the sole legal tender in the country.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Wider Scope for Foreign Investments in Guangzhou

"We will offer facilities and preferential terms to foreign investors so that they can make money. Our city, being at the country's southern gate and with extensive ties abroad, will make full use of the favourable conditions to promote economic growth."

This was said recently by Yang Shangkun, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Guangzhou.

Guangzhou is the largest city in south China, with a population of 2.9 million, 600,000 of them being industrial workers. In accordance with a decision of the Party Central Committee and the State Council last year, Guangzhou has begun to adopt special policies and flexible measures in its economic dealings with businessmen overseas. These include the development of foreign trade, the absorption of foreign investment and the introduction of sophisticated technology. Last year the city received more than 400 businessmen overseas

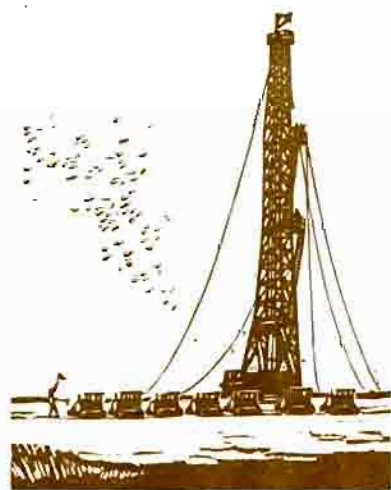
and signed some 600 contracts for joint ventures, compensatory trade, and the assembling and processing of products with parts or raw materials supplied by these businessmen.

Referring to the city's future, Yang Shangkun said, "Our goal is to turn Guangzhou gradually into a modern city with the light and textile industries as its principal undertakings, coupled with a certain amount of heavy industry." The city will concentrate on developing some 60 kinds of major textile and light industrial products.

The potentially rich natural resources in the vicinity of the city are favourable to the development of the petrochemical, non-ferrous metal, cement, ceramics and glass industries.

The city must first develop its transport and communications systems, telecommunications, and the power and building materials industries, Yang added. The city is also planning to build container wharves and superhighways.

"In all these fields," he added, "there are opportunities for co-operation between us and foreign businessmen and those from Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao)."





## Rising Resistance in Kabul

**T**O protest the Soviet occupation of their country, Kabul's citizens began large-scale demonstrations and strikes on February 21. They kept this up for several days despite brutal repression by the Soviet aggressors. Reports from Kabul said that a large number of Afghan government troops, refusing to fire on the demonstrators, had turned their guns on the occupation forces. In the evenings, large numbers of citizens would shout "Russians be damned!" from the rooftops. All this shows that the Afghan people's just struggle against the Soviet control has been markedly developing.

**Suppression.** The momentous struggle has greatly alarmed the Soviet occupationists. They hurriedly sent troops to crack down upon the demonstrators and Afghan army men who had risen against them. Terror gripped Kabul as, amid the sound of shooting and artillery fire, Soviet military planes circled low overhead and tanks and armoured cars roared up and down the streets. The official radio kept broadcasting an order to hand in arms. The curfew now began at 20:00 instead of 23:00. Any gathering of people above four was banned. It should be pointed out that these fascist measures have revealed the feeble nature of the social-imperialists who are now in a quagmire.

**Moscow's Lies.** While the Soviet invaders were suppressing the Afghan people's struggle, Moscow was spreading

the lie that the patriotic mass movement against the Soviet occupation in Kabul was an "undeclared war" jointly launched by the United States, China and Pakistan. This, however, could not help the aggressors extricate themselves from the predicament. On the contrary, it tells people that Moscow is making up an excuse for engaging in an even larger-scale suppression of the Afghan people's resistance and for dispatching more troops to the country to put it under permanent military occupation.

The Soviet Union had wanted to use Afghan government troops to suppress their own countrymen and let Afghans kill Afghans. However, large numbers of officers and soldiers in the government forces have turned their guns, not against

their own people, but against the Soviet invaders; more and more are fighting alongside the guerrillas. This has put the Soviet Union into a more unsavoury situation.

**Reaping the Whirlwind.** The demonstrations and strikes by the urban people have now turned the cities, on which the Soviet invaders depend for their control, into dangerous places for them. The Soviet troops, by suppressing and murdering the Afghan people, can only arouse their deeper hatred and stronger resistance.

No matter how many aircraft, tanks and troops the Soviet Union may send to Kabul, and no matter how brutal its suppression may be, the raging fire of Afghans' intense hatred of the foreign invaders can never be extinguished!

— by Xin Ping



Some Soviet women stand outside a closed shop in Kabul. Most of the shops were closed in the general strike against Soviet occupation.

## Afghan Liberation Union Founded



ON January 27, a joint press conference was held in Rawalpindi by leaders of the six Afghan Moslem organizations which are heroically resisting the Soviet aggressors. They officially proclaimed that they have united into an Islamic Union for Liberation of Afghanistan.

How will these organizations operate within the alliance? What are their immediate plans and intentions? With these questions in mind, I recently interviewed their leaders.

First of all, I saw that they were very busy. Coming and going from their offices were a stream of Afghans, some obviously guerrillas just back from the front.

**Supreme Council to Be Set Up Soon.** Since the beginning of February, leaders of the six organizations have been meeting almost daily, discussing questions about establishing a supreme council of the Islamic Union for Liberation of Afghanistan, working out a charter, policies and so forth. They are working on a common programme. The council is scheduled to be set up in March as the policy-making body as well as the supreme organ of power.

The six organizations are currently the largest mass organizations in Afghanistan leading the Afghan people to fight for the independence and freedom of their country against the Soviet invaders. Even before the Soviet armed invasion, several organizations were al-

ready working together. The invasion has brought about greater and wider unity. Fighting in co-ordination, they are attacking the invaders throughout the country. In spite of their divergent views and policies on certain matters, differences in strength and areas of operations, leaders of these organizations unanimously hold that the Soviet Union is their common enemy. They all give priority to driving the Soviet aggressors out of Afghanistan, overthrowing the Soviet-installed Karmal regime, and establishing a genuine and independent Islamic Republic in Afghanistan. They have no differences over this fundamental issue; they share the same goal.

**Soviet Brutalities.** The crimes committed by the Soviet invaders have made them implacable enemies in the eyes of the Afghan people. S.A. Jailani, leader

of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, said that since Taraki, supported by the Soviet Union, took power through a coup d'etat in April 1978, tens of thousands of innocent people — men and women, old and young — have been killed. Such a thing had never happened before in the history of Afghanistan, he added. Julbuddin, Chairman of the Afghan Islamic Party, said that the Soviet invaders are extremely bestial and ruthless. Over the past 20 months, 110,000 people have been killed, many of them were buried alive. M. Hussain, member of the Cultural Committee of the Party, stated that in one village in Kunar Province, about 1,000 people were killed by the invaders and 700 shot dead in another village.

Afghan guerrilla fighters are hitting at Soviet aggressors throughout the country. According to the Union leaders, the Soviet Union has deployed nearly 100,000 regular Soviet combat troops in Afghanistan, including infantry, armoured and air force divisions. The guerrilla fighters,



Guerrillas in Badakhshan Province with their captured Soviet tank.

on the other hand, have only home-made and obsolete weapons, and some modern weapons captured from the enemy. They are fighting under very difficult conditions. However, this does not shake their will to fight and their confidence in victory. Leaders of the Union point out that the Afghan people are a nation with a glorious fighting tradition and have never been subjugated by foreign aggressors. They are determined to overcome all dif-

iculties and fight on until the last Soviet invader is driven out of Afghanistan.

At the moment, the Soviet aggressors hold only the big and medium cities as well as some main communication lines. The guerrillas operate without letup in the countryside and mountainous areas. There is no peace for the Soviet army even in the cities.

— *Xinhua Correspondent Li Jiasheng*

Pakistan-Indian relations are particularly worthy of attention.

**Pakistan-U.S. Relations.** The two countries had signed an agreement on bilateral defence co-operation in 1959, but for some reasons the agreement did not fulfil the role it was supposed to and the bilateral relations turned a shade cooler. The U.S. attitude underwent an obvious change after Afghanistan. During Brzezinski's visit, he talked with President Zia ul-Haq and fundamental agreements were reached on a series of questions. The United States reaffirmed its firm commitment to Pakistan's independence and security, while Pakistan expressed its trust in the United States. American economic and military assistance was discussed.

**Pakistan-India Relations.** Despite its unhappiness over the United States' proposed military assistance to Pakistan, Indira Gandhi's government is also worried about the Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan and the serious threat this poses to South Asia. It reiterated that any military intervention in a sovereign country in the international community was unacceptable. It also said that it would try to persuade the Soviet Union through diplomatic channels to pull out its troops from Afghanistan. During the Indian Foreign Secretary's visit to Pakistan, the two sides reached agreement on a number of questions through negotiations which they affirmed were "beneficial." They also said that they would continue to exchange opinions. Many international far-sighted people have pointed out that under the present situation the

## Pakistan

### Developments in Foreign Relations

SINCE the Soviet armed occupation of Afghanistan, diplomatic activities in Pakistan have been unprecedentedly brisk. Government officials and newsmen of various countries flocked to Islamabad. A few days after the close of the extraordinary session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, the Australian Foreign Minister, the U.S. President's National Security Adviser, the Indian Foreign Secretary, a delegation of U.S. Congressmen and a West German Parliamentary delegation visited Pakistan. They either entered into discussions with Pakistan government leaders or went to Peshawar and Khyber Pass for on-the-spot surveys. The Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) started a twice-a-week shuttle between Islamabad and Peshawar.

What does the Soviet control of Afghanistan mean? It means the Soviet Union has pushed its frontier south to border on Pakistan, a Pakistani official pointed out. In other words,

Soviet combat troops are now 120 miles from Islamabad as the crow flies; 250 miles from Lahore, capital of Punjab Province, the granary of the sub-continent since ancient times; 300-odd miles from the natural naval port of Gwadar in Baluchistan Province on the Arabian Sea; and only 300 miles from the Strait of Hormuz, the vital thoroughfare of the West. They are all prizes the Soviet Union seeks to capture to attain world hegemonism. Afghanistan is only a launching pad to seize these objectives.

Because of this, many countries are very worried about Pakistan's independence and security. They praised Pakistan's humanitarianism in settling 500,000 Afghan refugees, expressed sympathy for its present difficulties and supported its people's just struggle to defend their country's independence and sovereignty. They also promised to render economic and military assistance to Pakistan. In this respect, recent Pakistan-U.S. and

buildup of Pakistan's defensive capability is also to the interests of India. It is in the interest of peace and stability in the region for Pakistan and India to strengthen their co-operation after both sides reach a mutual understanding through seeking common ground while reserving differences, they noted.

Following the extraordinary session in January, Pakistan is making preparations for an Islamic foreign ministers' conference in April. Domestically,

it is also taking measures to strengthen national unity. It is reported that advisory committees from the central down to the local levels are to be organized. They will absorb people from all walks of life so that the present government will have wider representation. Lately, Baluchis and Pathans have voiced their determination to defend Pakistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity at any cost.

—“*Renmin Ribao*” Correspondent Li Yunfei

## Will Turmoil Overtake Lebanon Again?

**I**n early February Syria suddenly announced that it would withdraw its troops from certain parts of Lebanon, including its capital, Beirut. People were worried that this would create a “vacuum” in Lebanon. A meeting of the department of general staff was called immediately by President Elias Sarkis of Lebanon to study ways to deal with the situation. It is reported that before and after Syria's announcement, bloody clashes occurred again and again in Lebanon.

Why have these clashes broken out? Does this indicate that Lebanon will be thrown into turmoil again? It is worthwhile to recall how Syria had deployed its troops in the country.

**The Stationing of Syrian Troops.** There are numerous political parties and religious sects in Lebanon with a population of 3 million. But the population falls broadly into two big groups, Christians and Moslems. After their armed conflict in Jordan with the

Jordanian authorities in September 1970, the armed forces of Palestine moved into southern Lebanon. Al Fatah, Popular Front and Democratic Front are among the large commando organizations. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon number over 400,000, one-seventh of Lebanon's population. Therefore, class and social contradictions in Lebanon are quite acute. Superpower meddling and instigations have further intensified these contradictions and led to armed strife.

In April 1975, armed conflicts occurred between the two big sects in Lebanon and the fighting lasted for 19 months. Various political parties, armed forces and Palestinian commandos were more or less involved. During the civil war, over 20,000 people were killed, some 50,000 wounded and thousands of shops and enterprises damaged. The economic activities were almost paralysed. According to available statistics, total losses in property exceeded 10,000 million U.S. dollars, nearly three times Lebanon's annual gross national product before the war. Fearing that

Israel would take advantage of the opportunity to intervene in the country, Syria in 1976 sent its troops as a part of the Arab peace-keeping force to Lebanon to bring about a ceasefire between the various sects. Thus, the situation was temporarily stabilized.

### Decision to Withdraw Troops.

Why the sudden Syrian announcement of a troop withdrawal from Lebanon? DPA quoted President Hafez Al-Assad of Syria as saying that he did not want his troops to police the streets. A Lebanese paper attributed the decision to a real lack of confidence between the leaders of Lebanon and Syria. Many foreign newspapers viewed the decision in the light of Foreign Minister Gromyko's activities in his recent visit to Damascus. They say that Syria's move has diverted attention in this region away from Moscow's military invasion of Afghanistan to the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement orchestrated by the United States.

**Repercussions.** Syria's decision has caused strong repercussions. The Lebanese Government has instructed its troops to take all emergency and necessary measures to take over the areas and important departments evacuated by Syrian troops. The government also issued a statement rejecting the stationing of any troops on Lebanese soil except those legal troops—the Lebanese army, the Arab deterrent forces and Lebanese security forces.

The Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese Left-wing National Movement are strongly opposed to the Lebanese Government's statement, denouncing it as tantamount to denying the “legality” of Palestinian troops stationed in Lebanon. They also hold that the

Lebanese army is biased towards the Christians. It is reported that the two organizations have reached an agreement and will, if necessary, take over positions evacuated by the Syrian troops or even fight for them at all costs.

Israel has declared that after the Syrian troop withdrawal, if the Christians are attacked, it "will not stand by with folded arms." Public opinion in the

Middle East sees this as an indication that Israel is trying again to exploit the unstable situation in Lebanon to realize its fond dream of splitting the country.

In short, the situation in Lebanon has aroused worldwide concern. Should there be chaos again, then it would be very difficult to maintain peace and stability in the Middle East.

—Gao Changyun

## Unrest in West Sahara

THE situation in West Sahara, northwest Africa, underwent rather big changes last year and has aroused worldwide concern and attention. The changes, as we were able to learn in north Africa, are largely manifested in the following three aspects:

**1. Armed Conflict Building Up.** The confrontation in West Sahara is mainly between Morocco and the Polisario (West Sahara People's Liberation Front). The conflicts have been growing wider since Mauritania pulled out of the dispute over West Sahara, especially since last November, when Morocco sent out a force of 7,000 men to launch a large-scale "mopping-up" operation. Western agencies say that this was the biggest military operation launched by Morocco against the Polisario since the conflicts started in 1975.

**2. Mauritanian Withdrawal From West Sahara.** Mauritania and Morocco officially partitioned West Sahara after Spain's pullout in February 1976. Afterwards, the Polisario directed attacks chiefly against Mauritania, inflicting crippling financial and economic losses on that country.

President Moktar Ould Dadah was toppled. Declaring that it wanted to settle the dispute by peaceful means, the new Mauritanian regime signed a peace agreement with the Polisario in Algiers last August. Mauritania pulled out of the West Sahara war and renounced all claims over the area.

**3. Changed Attitude of International Organizations.** International organizations used to adopt a neutral or wait-and-see attitude towards the West Sahara dispute, but since last year, things have been changing. The 16th O.A.U. summit conference adopted a proposal calling for an immediate ceasefire and the realization of the West Sahara people's rights to self-determination through a referendum. This was followed by the 8th Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries adopting a declaration explicitly "welcoming" the Algiers "peace agreement" and expressing regret over Morocco's takeover of the territory in West Sahara evacuated by Mauritania. On November 20 last year, the United Nations General Assembly also adopted similar de-

isions demanding the Polisario's participation in solving the West Sahara issue.

The increasingly tense situation in West Sahara places heavy military and economic burdens on the countries concerned and hampers their national development. It also affords the superpowers, the Soviet Union in particular, the opportunity to interfere in northwest Africa and to scramble for this strategic area through providing munition and the dispatch of military experts. This grave situation cannot but arouse the vigilance and anxiety of the countries concerned and lead them to consider ways to solve the problem reasonably through peaceful consultations. Algerian President Chadli has expressed his country's wish to see the West Sahara issue settled through political means and to have the co-operation of all countries in this region, Morocco included.

While making clear that Morocco would not abandon its claims to West Sahara, King Hassan II has called for an end to the present situation through peace and reconciliation. Leaders of other African countries, one after another, have also expressed similar views.

The West Sahara issue is a problem left over from history through long years of colonial domination. Major differences exist among various parties over how to settle the issue and patient and painstaking efforts are needed to arrive at a peaceful solution.

— "Renmin Ribao" Correspondents in Algiers Ke Yuelin and Zhang Qichang

# Some Questions on Policy Towards Nationalities

Zhou Enlai

The following is a detailed summary of a speech by the late Premier Zhou Enlai on nationality work. It was made at a forum held in Qingdao in east China's Shandong Province on August 4, 1957. The following year, when "Hongqi," a theoretical journal of the Party's Central Committee, started publication, comrades of the Premier's office suggested that "Hongqi" publish this speech. Comrade Zhou Enlai, approving the idea, wrote up the records of the speech into an article. However, because of the obstruction of Chen Boda, editor-in-chief of the journal, and a leading member in the Party's Central Committee who was then in charge of theoretical work, the article failed to appear.

Last October, the editorial department of "Hongqi" hunted out the script of this article, which had been suppressed for over 20 years. That journal and all China's major newspapers published the article in full around New Year's Day. This article, which expounds the national policy of the Chinese Communist Party, is a Marxist work of immediate significance. — Ed.

## I. On Opposing Two Types of Chauvinism

We oppose two types of chauvinism, namely, big-nationality chauvinism (in China chiefly Han chauvinism) and local-nationality chauvinism, with particular attention to combating Han chauvinism. Both types of chauvinism are manifestations of bourgeois nationalism.

In opposing the two types of chauvinism, we must proceed from the common objective of building a powerful socialist country. Only with the development of all the nationalities, which number over 50, can this objective be achieved. We cannot rely only on the Han

people. Areas inhabited by the minority nationalities are not developed; without the assistance of the various nationalities, especially of the Hans, none of them can promote its own development alone.

WE oppose two types of chauvinism, namely, big-nationality chauvinism (in China chiefly Han chauvinism) and local-nationality chauvinism, with our attention to combating Han chauvinism in particular. Both types of chauvinism are manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. On the one hand, if there is the wrong attitude of Han chauvinism among the Han people, its development will lead to discrimination against other nationalities; on the other hand, if there is the wrong attitude of local-nationality chauvinism in the fraternal nationalities, its development will cause tendencies towards national splitting. In a word, both the wrong attitudes and tendencies, if allowed to develop unchecked, will not only be detrimental to unity among our nationalities but also give rise to confrontation and even splitting of our nationalities. How can this question be solved? In our view, with the exception of just a few cases, these two wrong attitudes and tendencies on the nationality question fall within the category of contradictions among the people. They should be solved according to the principles for the handling of the contradictions among the people, that is, proceeding from the desire for national unity and, through criticism and struggle, arriving at a greater unity of our nationalities on a new basis—a formula put forward by Chairman Mao.

Here the question arises: What is the new basis?

The new basis is that all the nationalities want to build a modern socialist country. This is the common basis of the unity of all the nationalities. In opposing the two types of chauvinism, Han chauvinism and local-nation-

ality chauvinism, our common objective is to build a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture. Such a socialist country is not exclusively owned by any single nationality but is shared by our over 50 nationalities, by the whole people of the People's Republic of China.

Since nationwide liberation in 1949, through eight years of hard work we have united together all the nationalities of the country, brought into being the First National People's Congress and adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which all the nationalities must observe. The Constitution states that we shall build China, which has won independence and which has over 50 nationalities and a population of 600 million, into a powerful socialist country. To this end, we must oppose the two types of chauvinism. Both Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism are hindrances to strengthening the unity among the nationalities on a new basis.

In opposing the two types of chauvinism, we must proceed from the common objective of building a powerful socialist country. For instance, when criticism is directed at the tendencies of local-nationality chauvinism among the fraternal nationalities from the stand of the most populous Han nationality, the error of national discrimination is apt to occur. As most of the fraternal nationalities are still relatively backward in economy and culture, Han comrades, in making criticisms, are prone to condemn the objectively existing backward phenomena. That would become national discrimination. If one proceeds from the common objective of building a socialist country, one will view those objectively existing backward phenomena as the consequences of economic and cultural retardation rather than as erroneous tendencies. What one ought to do is to help the fraternal nationalities to bring about economic and cultural development and not to regard these objective phenomena as tendencies towards local-nationality chauvinism among the fraternal nationalities. Even if there are such tendencies, efforts should be made to find out their causes. Many of the causes are objective ones and once they are removed, they will cease to exist. For instance, as fraternal nationalities in outlying regions do not know the conditions in the interior of our country and the progress and development there, they have doubts about these and are not aware of the Han people's attitude towards the fraternal nationalities. What is more, because Han-reactionary rulers in the past had oppressed and exploited



The late Premier Zhou with minority nationality representatives.

the minorities, the minority nationalities naturally view the Hans with suspicion. That is why it is not right to brand the suspicion and distrust, resulting from historical, social or economic causes, as a tendency towards local-nationality chauvinism. We should not criticize certain local-nationality chauvinistic tendencies in an over-simplified way, but instead, we should sincerely help the fraternal nationalities to understand the root cause of these tendencies and remove their suspicions. Of course, their suspicions can be eradicated only by sustained efforts to develop the economy and culture of all the nationalities of the country. This, however, needs time and work. Sweeping criticism without any analysis is of no avail in this respect. This is one aspect of the matter.

Now let us deal with the other aspect of the matter. When criticism is levelled at Han chauvinism among the Han people from the stand of the minority nationalities, confrontation is apt to occur if our common objective is not taken as the starting point. As the actual inequalities in economy and culture which were left over from history still exist today, the consequences of the oppression by the reactionary rulers in history still exist. If the minority nationalities pay attention only to these historical traces in their relations with the Han people, the tendency towards national confrontation is liable to arise. "I do not trust you." "You have a much larger population, which is invariably to our dis-

advantage." "As you are in the majority and are more developed economically and culturally, you will always take advantage of your superiority in development to continue the same discrimination and oppression which we suffered in the past." In this way, the psychology of mistrust will increase and they may even feel that things are not much different from before. This is apt to foster the tendency towards national splitting and disunity. In view of this, we hope that comrades of minority nationalities should proceed from our common objective when criticizing Han chauvinism among the Han people. That is to say, they should help bring about a gradual change in the present real inequalities in the economy and culture of the various nationalities and work for the common cause of building a socialist country. This calls for unity among the nationalities and for making criticism out of a desire for unity. If the tendency towards Han chauvinism and the error of national discrimination do exist among some Han comrades, then criticism should be directed at specific people in connection with specific matters. There should be no sweeping charges without analysis. Neither should there be mistrust or doubt of the Han people as a whole. Otherwise, the tendency towards national splitting will be encouraged and unity among the nationalities disrupted.

Historically, China has been a multi-national country but in ancient times it was not entirely unified. According to historical records, the various nationalities frequently fought and committed aggression against each other. With regard to the mutual invasions of the various nationalities, we must admit on balance that the Han nationality committed incursions against other fraternal nationalities on more occasions and for longer periods. Historically, the Han were also attacked by fraternal nationalities on many occasions and ruled by them for not a short time; for instance, the Northern Dynasties (386—581 A.D.), Liao Dynasty (916—1125 A.D.), Jin Dynasty (1115—1234 A.D.), Yuan Dynasty (1271—1368 A.D.) and Qing Dynasty (1644—1911 A.D.). However, viewing history as a whole, we find that the Han nationality invaded fraternal nationalities on more occasions. Considering matters from their own position, the fraternal nationalities are prone to think of these traces of history, which have left a very deep impression on them. Unless the fraternal nationalities direct their thoughts to the common objective of building a socialist country, the tendency of local-nationality chauvinism is liable to arise,

which is to the disadvantage of the unity among the nationalities and the unification and development of the country. The various fraternal nationalities should therefore be aware that even though history has left us such scars, they are after all things of the past. These things did exist before the founding of New China. After the birth of New China, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, our Constitution and state policy provide for national equality. In our big family of nationalities which is based on equality and fraternity, to build a powerful socialist country is the common objective of all of us. But this objective cannot be achieved in a short time. It calls for concerted efforts.

In the world today we'll be bullied by the imperialists if we don't become powerful and build a modern socialist country. Of course, with liberation we have stood up and been freed from bullying. However, this does not ensure that we shall never be bullied again. We cannot have this assurance unless our socialist country is truly powerful. Living in a world where imperialism still exists, we have to heighten our vigilance and lay particular emphasis on the unity of our nationalities so that we can concert our efforts to build a socialist country. Otherwise, even though this multi-national country of ours has stood up, it may meet with setbacks or again become a backward and impoverished country bullied by others.

To rid China of its poor, backward state, our 50-odd nationalities must work in co-operation and we cannot rely solely on the Han people. The Hans are greater in number and are more developed in economy and culture but in the regions they inhabit there is not much arable land left and the underground resources there are not as abundant as in the regions inhabited by fraternal nationalities. The exploitation of the natural resources in the regions inhabited by fraternal nationalities will provide a powerful backing to the industrialization of our country. However, the natural resources in the regions of the fraternal nationalities have not yet been exploited; with the scarcity of labour force and insufficient technology, none of them can promote development by itself without the assistance of the other nationalities, especially that of the Han people. For this reason, all the nationalities must help each other in building our country. In this way, the errors of the two types of chauvinism will gradually be reduced and the



## Population and Major Areas of Distribution of Chinese National Minorities

National Minorities	Population	Major Areas of Distribution	National Minorities	Population	Major Areas of Distribution
Mongolian	2.6 million	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, and Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Gansu, Qinghai Provinces	Gaoshan	300,000	Taiwan, Fujian Provinces
Hui	8.4 million	Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, Gansu, Henan, Hebei, Qinghai, Shandong, Yunnan Provinces, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Beijing, Tianjin	Lahu	270,000	Yunnan Province
Tibetan	3.4 million	Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan Provinces	Shui	230,000	Guizhou Province
Uygur	5.4 million	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region	Dongxiang	190,000	Gansu Province
Miao	3.9 million	Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan Provinces, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Sichuan, Guangdong Provinces	Naxi	230,000	Yunnan Province
Yi	4.8 million	Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou Provinces, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region	Jingpo	80,000	Yunnan Province
Zhuang	12 million	Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Yunnan, Guangdong Provinces	Khalkhas	90,000	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region
Bouyei	1.7 million	Guizhou Province	Tu	120,000	Qinghai Province
Korean	1.6 million	Jilin, Liaoning, Heilongjiang Provinces	Daur	70,000	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Heilongjiang Province
Manchu	2.6 million	Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hebei Provinces, Beijing, Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region	Mulao	70,000	Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region
Dong	1.1 million	Guizhou, Hunan Provinces, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region	Qiang	80,000	Sichuan Province
Yao	1.2 million	Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangdong, Guizhou Provinces	Bulang	50,000	Yunnan Province
Bai	1 million	Yunnan Province	Salar	50,000	Qinghai, Gansu Provinces
Tujia	770,000	Hunan, Hubei Provinces	Maonan	30,000	Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region
Hani	960,000	Yunnan Province	Gelao	20,000	Guizhou Province
Kazakh	800,000	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Gansu, Qinghai Provinces	Xibe	40,000	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Liaoning Province
Dai	760,000	Yunnan Province	Achang	10,000	Yunnan Province
Li	680,000	Guangdong Province	Tajik	20,000	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region
Lisu	470,000	Yunnan Province	Nu	10,000	Yunnan Province
Va	280,000	Yunnan Province	Uzbek	7,000	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region
She	330,000	Fujian, Zhejiang Jiangxi, Guangdong Provinces	Russian	600	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region
			Ewenki	10,000	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Heilongjiang Province
			Benglong	10,000	Yunnan Province
			Baoan	6,000	Gansu Province
			Yugur	8,000	Gansu Province
			Jing	5,000	Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region
			Tartar	2,000	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region
			Drung	4,000	Yunnan Province
			Oroqen	3,000	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Heilongjiang Province
			Hezhe	800	Heilongjiang Province
			Pumi	20,000	Yunnan Province
			Monba	40,000	Tibet Autonomous Region
			Loba	300,000	Tibet Autonomous Region
			Jinuo	10,000	Yunnan Province

By May 31, 1979, 55 national minorities had been identified and confirmed. The listed population is based on 1978 statistics.



Left: One of the slaves of Yi nationality in Sichuan Province working in the field before liberation.



Right: Distributing land to emancipated Yi slaves during the land reform in Sichuan Province.

tendencies of both national discrimination and national splitting will also be reduced. For instance, to build Baotou in Inner Mongolia into an industrial base of China, the iron ores there must be integrated with the coal of Datong in north China. At present, the Baotou Iron and Steel Company is under construction and will become a big industrial centre in the future. This calls for the concerted efforts of the various nationalities and first of all those of the Mongolian and the Han peoples. With the common, positive goal of development, it is possible to overcome the passive, discontented sentiments of antagonism. Likewise, we can assume that the building of an industrial centre in Xinjiang in the future including the Karamay Oilfield and Urumqi region cannot succeed without the combined efforts of the various nationalities in Xinjiang and the Han people in the interior. To begin with, no railway can be built. Even if there is a railway, development cannot be promoted without sufficient labour force and funds. This will call for assistance from the whole country. These two examples I have cited fully illustrate the matter in question. To achieve the great objective of joint development, we must gradually reduce the deviations arising from the prejudices of the various nationalities and conscientiously overcome the errors of both Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism.

## 2. On the Question of National Regional Autonomy

One basic policy towards the nationalities adopted after the founding of New China has been to institute national regional autonomy. China has not adopted a system of national autonomous republics, because its many nationalities developed in regions interlocking with each other. In the historical process, a number of nationalities have come to live in a conglomeration, with relatively few, or even very few examples of a nationality living in a compact community by itself. This situation allows for national co-operation and national regional autonomy.

National regional autonomy properly combines national and regional autonomy, economic and political factors.

This system is new, a creation hitherto unknown in history.

The basic policy for dealing with the question of nationalities followed after liberation has been to institute national regional autonomy. This is written in our Constitution. Why has our country introduced national regional autonomy instead of a system of national autonomous republics? Autonomy in our country takes the form of what are known as autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties and national *xiang*; in the Soviet Union it takes the form of autonomous republics, autonomous provinces and national dis-

tracts. These represent not merely differences in name, but differences in the system, that is, differences in their nature. Their differences do not lie so much in the question of whether there is autonomy or no autonomy. The autonomous republics in the Soviet Union give the people of various nationalities the right of autonomy, so does our national regional autonomy. But the regional division in the Soviet Union is quite different from that in our country and this is where the difference lies. The specifications on the rights and limits of authority for the autonomous republics in the Soviet Union are also somewhat different from those in our country. These differences, which result from differences in the course of historical development in the two countries, also derive in part from the fact that China's situation differs from that of Russia at the time of the October Revolution.

By the 19th century, Russia had already developed into a capitalist country, though still tinted with marked feudal traits. On the one hand, it was backward compared with the capitalist countries of the West; on the other, it had already become an imperialist country in possession of colonies. All the nationalities around Russia were then under the sway of the tsar who represented the Russian regime, which was a kind of colonial rule. Moreover, each nationality in Russia at that time by and large lived in a separate compact community of its own.

Historically the situation in China was entirely different from that in tsarist Russia. In China the nationalities developed in such a way that the areas they inhabited became interlocked; this was especially so in the interior. The Hans for a long time dominated the Chinese Central Plains, making incursions into regions inhabited by fraternal nationalities; but there were also quite a few fraternal nationalities who came to the interior and dominated the Central Plains. This resulted in the phenomenon of various nationalities living together in the same area, with relatively few or even very few examples of a nationality living in a compact community by itself. We often say that Xinjiang is a place where minority people are concentrated, but Xinjiang has 13 nationalities, not one. Tibet is comparatively unmixed, but this is only in the area under the jurisdiction of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, whereas in other places the Tibetans also live among other nationalities.

In the course of China's historical development, a situation in our big family of nationalities has come about in which a number of nationalities live together in the same place. Because there were many periods in which the various nationalities lived together, quite often they influenced one another and became assimilated. The Hans are so numerous simply because they have assimilated other nationalities. Another instance is the Manchus. They came from the area of the Changbai Mountains in northeast China, and numbered only several hundred thousand when they moved down to the Central Plains; they had increased to 4 or 5 million by the time when the Qing Dynasty reached its zenith. After the fall of the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus still existed as a nationality. They had absorbed the Han culture, first the written Han language, and later, as time went by, the spoken language, discarding their own spoken and written Manchu language. So they appeared very much the same as the Hans, although actually the Manchus and the Hans still belonged to two different nationalities. Intermarriage between Hans and Manchus was never completely banned even in Qing Dynasty times. It became more common after the Revolution of 1911 so that no more insurmountable barriers really stood between the two nationalities. After liberation, the Manchus were recognized as a nationality. When filling out the national registration form during a country-wide census, 2.4 million people entered themselves as Manchus. It seemed that the number had dwindled but actually this was not so because some who had intermarried with Hans were counted either as Hans or Manchus and they just didn't make a point of calling themselves Manchus when filling out the form. This, as a matter of fact, is a sign of assimilation. Assimilation is a reactionary thing if it means one nation destroying another by force. It is a progressive act if it means natural merger of nations advancing towards prosperity. Assimilation as such has the significance of promoting progress.

Also a few words about the Huis who came to China from Arabia and Asia Minor in the not too distant past, a little more than 1,000 years ago, it is said. Their population has now exceeded 3.5 million. They came in via two routes: one from the sea and the other from Afghanistan, through southern Xinjiang, so the number of immigrants could not possibly have been very large. Nevertheless, the Huis are now found everywhere in the country;

there is not a single province that does not have Hui inhabitants and they are found in almost every county—in more than two-thirds of the counties, to be exact. The Huis are so huge in number just because they have succeeded in absorbing people from other nationalities. To absorb and to expand—what's wrong with that?

The Hans assimilate other nationalities and the other nationalities—the Huis, the Manchus and, indeed, all other nationalities—assimilate the Hans, a process that has become quite common, increasingly so in the interior. As a result of historical development, most of the nationalities in China live in a conglomeration, assimilating and influencing one another. China has a large number of nationalities, and they live together; with such a distribution of nationalities, we could not conceivably adopt the Soviet pattern of forming national republics. This is because a national republic so formed must be an independent economic unit with the overwhelming majority of the people of one nationality living there in a compact community.

The development of history makes it necessary for our big family of nationalities to adopt a form different from that of the Soviet Union. Each and every country has its own course of historical development, it cannot just copy things from another country. A national regional autonomy setup is completely suitable for us. With this setup it is possible to establish an autonomous region for a nationality in one place and an autonomous prefecture, an autonomous county or national *xiang* for the same nationality in another. For instance, although the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region is a very big one, the Mongolians there amount to only about two-thirds of the Mongolian population in this country, that is, about a million out of a total of 1.4. The other several hundred thousand, less than one-third of the total, are scattered elsewhere in the country. They live, for instance, in the Mongolian autonomous prefectures or autonomous counties in the northeast, in Qinghai and Xinjiang.

The Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region which is to be inaugurated before long has a population of 1.72 million, only one-third of which, or 570,000, are Hui people. They represent a small group of China's entire Hui population, which is over 3.5 million. The other 3 million are scattered in all parts of the country, where Hui autonomous prefectures, auton-

omous counties and national *xiang* will have to be founded. The same is true of the Tibetans. There are only over one million Tibetans living in places under the jurisdiction of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region; another million or so live in the Tibetan autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces. It is more convenient for these autonomous prefectures and counties to co-operate with the provinces in which they are located because of their closer economic ties.

In the case of founding a Zhuang autonomous region, we tried to bring the Han people to see the point in the same light. A single, compact Zhuang autonomous region was out of the question. This is because even if we combined the places inhabited by the Zhuang nationality in Guangxi, Yunnan and Guizhou to form a Zhuang autonomous region, the newly formed region would still include more than one million Han inhabitants, and the two Yao autonomous counties in it would have over 400,000 people of their own, the Hans and Yaos together numbering about 2 million. Therefore you still wouldn't have had a pure, unitary national autonomous region. A Zhuang autonomous region so delineated would be very isolated, and thus hampered its economic development. Railway communication there would be cut off from the railway system in that part of Guangxi where the Hans live; economically, agriculture in the eastern part would be separated from industry and mining in the western part. This would be very unfavourable for the development of both. But things are much more convenient when agriculture in the east and industry in the west are made an integral whole. As it is, therefore, the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region is also a region of co-operation among nationalities.

From what has been said about these principal autonomous regions, we can conclude that in China it is proper to institute national regional autonomy, that it is improper and impossible as well to establish national republics. Since historical development has not provided us with conditions for forming national republics, we are in no position to institute them. Historical development has provided us with conditions of a different kind, namely, conditions under which our country's various nation-

alities live together. These conditions are suited to co-operation among nationalities and national regional autonomy. A particular nationality can exercise autonomy not only in one region by forming an autonomous region but also in many other places by forming autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties and national *xiang* elsewhere. The Hui nationality is the most typical case in point. This is a very good thing, there is nothing wrong with it. We have realistically adopted national regional autonomy in keeping with the actual conditions in our country. This national regional autonomy is a correct combination of national autonomy and regional autonomy, a correct combination of economic and political factors; this not only makes it possible for a nationality living in a compact community to enjoy the right of autonomy, but also enables nationalities which live together to enjoy the right of autonomy. Thus, practically all nationalities — those with large populations as well as those with small ones, those which live in big compact communities as well as those which live in small ones — have founded autonomous units commensurate with their size, fully enjoying the right of national autonomy. Such a system is a creation hitherto unknown in history.

At the time of the October Revolution, the Russian proletariat first staged uprisings in the cities to seize political power, then extended it to the countryside and regions inhabited by the national minorities. Russia being the first socialist country, it was not easy for the proletariat at that time to take up the challenge. Besides, it was making revolution in an imperialist country, so it had to destroy the existing colonial ties. With a view to integrating the struggle of the various nationalities against tsarist, imperialist oppression with the struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry against the bourgeoisie and the landlords, Lenin at that time proclaimed the slogan of national self-determination and recognized the right of the various nationalities to secede; it was all right if you wished to form an independent republic, it was also all right if you wished to join the union of socialist republics of Russia. At that time, to enable the first socialist state to take root politically, it was imperative to lay emphasis on this slogan of national self-determination and allow the various nationalities to separate. This was the only way to break free of the past imperialist political relations, and to enable the new socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat to establish a firm



Tian Bao, or Sanggyal Yexe in Tibetan, of Tibetan nationality (2nd from right) is Chairman of the People's Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

foothold. The specific conditions of the time demanded that the Russian proletariat do this.

China finds itself in different historical circumstances. Although in old China, there was the reactionary rule of first the Northern Warlords and later the Kuomintang, who oppressed the working people and the fraternal nationalities, the whole country was one that suffered imperialist aggression, one that had become a semi-colony, or, in some regions, a colony. We were liberated under these circumstances. The revolutionary situation developed differently from that in the Soviet Union. We did not win political power by staging uprisings in big cities or in the industrially developed areas first; instead, we established revolutionary base areas mainly in the countryside and won liberation after 22 years of revolutionary wars. In these war years, the various nationalities in our country had come to establish close ties. For instance, there were revolutionary base areas in Inner Mongolia and anti-Kuomintang revolutionary movements in Xinjiang, various nationalities had taken part in the activities led by our Party, in the guerrilla areas in southwest China, many members of

fraternal nationalities in the interior had joined the Liberation Army; and the Red Army had made its revolutionary influence felt in areas in the southwest inhabited by minority peoples when it passed through these places during the Long March and had absorbed cadres from among these peoples. In short, the Chinese nation as a whole has long been a nation suffering external imperialist oppression; among our various nationalities, they have shared weal and woe and cemented a militant friendship in the revolutionary wars, culminating in the liberation of this big family of nationalities. The relations among ourselves and our relations with the outside world do not require us to adopt the policy as was followed by Russia at the time of the October Revolution, which laid emphasis on national self-determination and at the same time allowed the secession of nationalities.

Historical development has provided us with conditions for national co-operation while the development of our revolutionary movement has also provided us with the basis for such co-operation. So, since liberation, we have adopted this system of national regional autonomy suitable to Chinese conditions and favourable to national co-operation. We don't lay emphasis on the secession of nationalities. If we do now, imperialism will take advantage of this. Even though it will not succeed, it can add troubles to the co-operation among our nationalities. In Xinjiang, for instance, before liberation, when some reactionaries engaged in separatist activities to set up a so-called eastern Turkestan, imperialism took advantage of it. In view of this, at the time of founding the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, we did not approve of the name "Uygurstan." Xinjiang embraces not just the Uygurs but 12 other nationalities as well. It is impossible to form a "-stan" for each of the 13 nationalities. So the Party and government, with the consent of our Xinjiang comrades, decided on the founding of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. When we call it the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, we use Uygur as the "label," because it is the main nationality there and makes up over 70 per cent of the population in the region. So the other nationalities will have to share the same label. As to the two characters Xin Jiang, they just mean the new land, and do not connote aggression. The names Tibet and Inner Mongolia are names of both places and nationalities. These names may sound a thing of minor importance but they are very important

in connection with the national regional autonomy in China for they have the connotation of national co-operation.

All this points to the fact that in the light of the development of events in Chinese national history and of the economic as well as the revolutionary development, we have adopted this most appropriate policy of national regional autonomy instead of adopting the system of national republics. Accordingly, the People's Republic of China is a unitary, multi-national state, not a federation of states, a system we find it impossible to adopt. Under our system of national regional autonomy, autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties or national *xiang* are formed as the case may be on the basis of the actual situation in our country. This has enabled our national minorities, whether they live in a compact community or live with other nationalities, to exercise real autonomy. This is conducive to the exercise of the right of autonomy by all minority peoples; it is also conducive to co-operation and mutual assistance among the nationalities.

Unevenness in the development of the various nationalities is also rooted in history; and this is true of their economic bases and superstructures as well. If we want to make things even, there must be co-operation and mutual help among them, not development in isolation. Take Xinjiang for instance. It has oil reserves and deposits of various non-ferrous metals; there is land that may be opened up as cotton plantations. These are favourable conditions all right, but we must not forget there are difficulties as well. Xinjiang which does not have enough facilities for water conservancy needs to greatly improve its water supply system before its riches can be exploited. Communications there are also very poor. Its development is possible only when a railway links it up with Lanzhou and another one is built to run through the northern and southern parts of the region. For mining and land reclamation, machinery is needed; but the two most fundamental problems are funds and manpower. Even when machines are available, manpower and finances are needed for the development. It will be impossible to accumulate any great amount of funds solely on the strength of the 5 million people in this autonomous region Xinjiang. Besides, there is also not enough manpower. It is necessary to bank on the strength of the whole country. A tremendous development of this region is possible only if we can appropriate a part of the

funds accumulated in our planned economy as an investment to strengthen its finances, and mobilize manpower in the interior to go there to expand its work force. This is where national co-operation comes in.

The purpose of adopting the policy of national regional autonomy in this country is to achieve common progress and common pros-

perity through national co-operation and national mutual assistance. For the various nationalities in China, unity, not division, is the word. National co-operation and national mutual assistance is what we must lay emphasis on; we are opposed to a split of the nationalities and to each "going it alone."

(To be continued.)

## The 1980s: A Promising Decade

Lately, the country's leading dailies and journals have been publishing articles discussing the situation and tasks of the 1980s. Excerpts from some of them were carried in our No. 7 issue. The following article, published on February 5, is by "Renmin Ribao's" Special Commentator. — Ed.

SIXTY years have gone by since the May 4th Movement which marked the beginning of the people's revolutionary cause led by the Chinese proletariat — people's democratic revolution in the first three decades and socialist revolution and construction in the second three. In both periods we have gone through a tortuous course of victory, setbacks and victory again.

In the 30 years of socialist revolution and construction, the time in which we suffered setbacks was much longer and the lessons to be drawn were even more bitter than in the previous period. In the past 20 years and more, we failed to shift the focus of work on to socialist construction in real earnest. This violated the objective laws of development in socialist society and caused a big waste of time, manpower and material resources. This problem was settled explicitly at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party at the end of 1978. Since the session, a fundamental change has taken place in the Party's political, ideological and organizational lines. This has put the Party line firmly back on the Marxist track and made a clean break with the ultra-Left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Guided by the correct line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people are entering the new decade in big strides.

### Momentous Changes in China

The decade of the 1980s is one of great importance and we are confronted with heavy tasks both on the home front and the world front.

One, massive Soviet social-imperialist aggression against Afghanistan at the beginning of this decade is producing an increasingly disturbing impact on the world situation; therefore our international commitments to the cause of opposing hegemonism and supporting world peace are now heavier than ever.

Two, in the 1980s, one important affair of the state is to achieve the return of Taiwan to the motherland, that is, to reunify our motherland.

Three, we must speed up socialist construction in order to win decisive achievements in the four modernizations during this decade.

The crux of these three major endeavours lies in economic construction, the main prerequisite for the settlement of our international and domestic problems.

What is the actual situation in our country in the last three years and more since the downfall of the gang of four?

To be fair, these three years in Chinese history have seen the whole nation making strenuous efforts to overcome the great disasters caused by Lin Biao and the gang of four. It was a period in which we made outstanding achievements in every field of endeavour. Work carried out actively in the first two years prepared the way for the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee. The year after the ses-

1978 saw a very rapid development of events throughout the country, with great changes taking place on all fronts, political, economic, ideological, cultural and foreign affairs.

**On the political front:** Democratic life inside the Party and within the country is returning to normal. We have redressed the Tian An Men Incident and the so-called case of "repulsing the Rightist wind to reverse correct verdicts." We have redressed cases in which large numbers of comrades, including Comrades Peng Dehuai, Tao Zhu and others, were either wronged, or convicted on framed-up charges or wrongly dealt with. We have redressed the so-called "movement against Right deviation" in 1959 and rehabilitated those wrongly designated as Rightists in 1957. We have restored the prestige of the Party's Eighth National Congress held in 1956. We have removed the designation "bourgeois intellectuals" and reaffirmed that the masses of intellectuals in our country are part of the working class and an important force for the Party to rely on. All this has brought about a political situation throughout the country where stability and unity have in the main come to stay.

**On the economic front:** We are now implementing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy; stagnation and chaos in the national economy have been overcome. Thanks to the implementation of the two documents of the Party Central Committee on the question of agriculture, the position of agriculture as the foundation of the national economy has been strengthened, prices of farm and rural sideline products have been raised, a basic change has taken place in the countryside and a scene of rural prosperity has begun to emerge. More than 7 million people in cities and towns have been given jobs. Wages among a section of the workers and staff members have been increased. In industry, the textile and other light industries have been strengthened; the magnitude of capital construction has been scaled down. An experiment giving some enterprises more power to run their own business is in process while other structural reforms are also being carried out on a trial basis. All this has produced positive effects on the national economy.

**On the ideological and cultural front:** Through the discussion of the question of the criterion for truth, we have brought out a correct interpretation of Mao Zedong Thought and restored the Marxist ideological line. This is

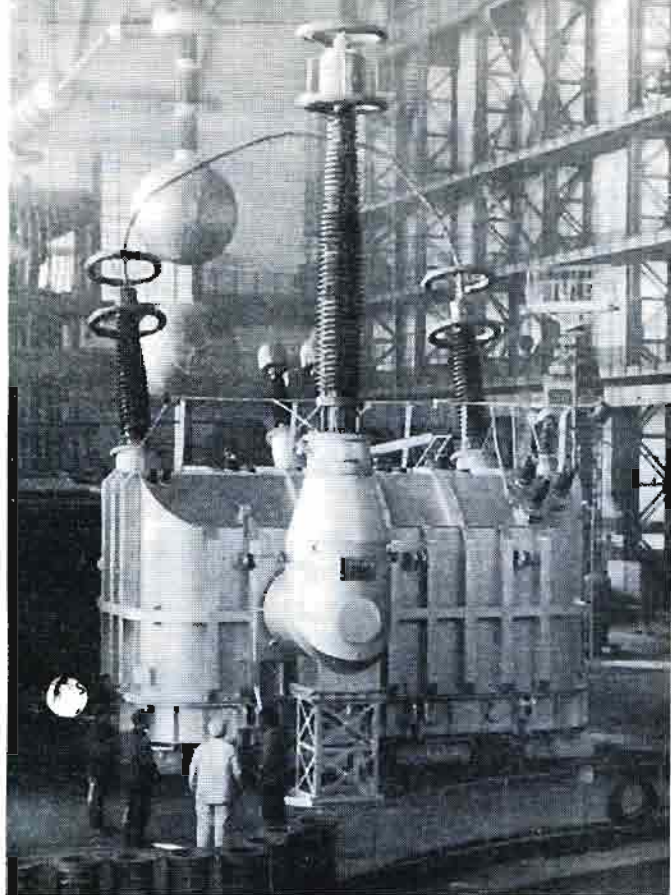
the most important achievement in setting things right in the ideological field after the downfall of the gang of four. In the cultural field, the policy "letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend" has been earnestly implemented while new achievements have been scored in science, education, public health and physical culture. Our literature and art are flourishing.

**On the diplomatic front:** We have established diplomatic relations with the United States of America, concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with Japan, and strengthened our relations with the other socialist countries, the other third world countries and the European Economic Community, thus setting up a new pattern in our foreign relations. Our victory in the self-defensive counter-attack against Viet Nam has served to stabilize the Southeast Asian situation. Our consistent policy of opposing hegemonism is winning the support of an increasing number of countries and people. All this has created favourable external conditions for the four modernizations.

These major changes in the situation in our country in the year following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party have laid solid foundations in various fields for our activities in the 1980s: they have provided us with a forward position to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in modernizing our country. Lack of confidence in the domestic situation and the prospects of the four modernizations is groundless. Some younger comrades, due to lack of understanding of the situation, due to their lack of practical experience and one-sidedness in their way of thinking, are prone to consider the problems of the Party and those in the life of the people as more serious than they actually are. For a time they may not have enough confidence in the future of the cause of socialism. This is understandable. We should give them patient help ideologically.

The more important thing at present is for the Party cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, to be clear-headed, and take a firm stand, not to waver in any way in their attitude towards this fundamental issue: our present situation and our future. Only then will they be able to unite with and educate the masses so that every one can advance with great confidence.





China's first 500,000-volt transformer trial-produced at a plant in Shenyang, Liaoning Province.

### Removing Obstacles As We Advance

At present, in order to firmly implement the line laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party, in order to continue our advance, it is necessary to pay full attention to eliminating interference and obstacles from all directions.

As was pointed out by the central authorities, there are four prerequisites for the four modernizations, namely, a Marxist political line, a political situation of unity and stability, a pioneering spirit of arduous struggle, and a contingent of cadres with a socialist orientation, professional skill and vocational proficiency. We must do our utmost to eliminate all negative factors either interfering in or undermining the four modernizations and all negative factors either interfering in or undermining the four prerequisites.

We must not relax our vigilance against interference and sabotage from without. In the event of an invasion by a foreign power and a large-scale war, we should be ready to defeat the aggressor and go on rebuilding our country after that.

We have still more reason not to underestimate the interference and sabotage from domestic sources. We must pay special attention to activities carried on by remnant forces of Lin Biao and the gang of four organizationally and ideologically.

Over the past three years and more, we have basically unearthed all the factional setups of Lin Biao and the gang of four, but some of their remnant forces, both organizational and ideological, are still around. Though the people involved are numerically very small, they are capable of making great trouble. They stubbornly persist in the ultra-Left line, and resist the major policy decisions made by the Party since the Third Plenary Session. It cannot be said that their case is generally one of lacking in understanding of the Party line. The fact is that they simply do not like it, or are even bitterly against it. As for redressing cases in which people were wronged, convicted on framed-up charges or wrongly dealt with, they obstinately put up a fight against it and refuse to take any actions. In a desperate effort to keep their vested interests and those of their factional setups intact, they commit all kinds of evil, violate Party discipline and break the laws of the state.

Our situation of stability and unity does not come easily. The whole Party and the whole people must cherish it and will not allow sabotage of it by any one. To preserve this stability and unity, we must not connive at the few who undermine the Party line, who perpetrate all kinds of evil, who violate Party discipline and break the laws of the state, and who create disturbances. We must do things according to principle and deal with these people with a firm hand. If we don't, the interests of the majority will be jeopardized and the situation of the four modernizations as a whole will be endangered.

We must approach things with the whole situation in mind, seriously deal with the remnant forces, organizational and ideological, of Lin Biao and the gang of four. In the struggle against these forces we should keep clear-cut stand and pay attention to policy, so that we can educate and win over as many as possible. Firm organizational, disciplinary and legal measures should be taken against those who prove to be incorrigible and continue their wrong doings; we cannot treat them with kid gloves.

In dealing with the remnant forces, both organizational and ideological, of Lin Biao and the gang of four, we must pay attention to differentiating between them and cadres and masses under the pernicious influence of the ultra-Left trend of thought. This pernicious influence is, of course, a negative factor now impeding the four modernizations. Subjectively, comrades under this influence to varying degrees do not oppose the Party's line and are willing to do their shares for the four modernizations, but they have deviated from the correct Party line because they still cannot see things in the proper light.

This pernicious influence of the ultra-Left trend of thinking which has been in existence over a long period cannot be thoroughly removed in a short period of time. We need to do a lot of work, a lot of ideological, theoretical and practical work and do it indefatigably bit by bit to solve it. At present, the ultra-Left trend of thought appears in different manifestations in many fields such as economic work, political and judicial work, culture and education, literature and art, and the question of intellectuals. We must, in close connection with the practice of the four modernizations, try to set things right and get to the bottom of things to clarify them. In this way we can study the problems in various fields one by one and, through democratic discussions, unify people's thinking on the basis of Marxist principles and line.

In addition, there are all kinds of criminals, reactionaries who openly instigate others to oppose Communist Party leadership and the socialist system, and those who are anarchistic and extremely individualistic. All these negative factors undermine or interfere in the four modernizations. We should deal with such persons appropriately and with differentiation either through legal action or ideological education, as indicated in each particular case. Some time ago, in some places, criminals were not effectively dealt with and the public was rather dissatisfied. In our work to clean up the social atmosphere and hit at unhealthy trends, we must be good at combining legal sanctions with ideological education.

### Leaders Should Have Spirit

The Communist Party had in the years of the revolutionary wars led the people in defeating powerful national enemies and class

enemies. What did it rely on in doing this? It relied on the Marxist line and the exemplary role played by its members, especially the leaders.

Now the Communist Party is leading the people in successfully carrying out the four modernizations. What does it rely on? The same two things.



Song Xuewen (left), national model worker and deputy director and chief engineer of the electrical machinery plant of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, chats with workers.

As for the Marxist line, this was established by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party and will of course be steadily enriched and developed in future practice.

Take the exemplary role of Party members and leaders. This is crucial, once the correct line is established. It is the key factor determining the success or failure of our four modernizations. Today, a more exemplary role is expected of Party members and leading cadres than was expected of them in the years of the revolutionary wars.

For instance, the four modernizations call for a contingent of socialist-orientated cadres with professional skill and vocational proficiency: Party members and leading cadres must take the lead in making themselves both red and expert\*. They must play an exemplary

\* Red refers to the political criterion; expert, the vocational level. Loving one's socialist motherland, working consciously for socialism and serving the people, is red. While holding to socialism politically, one who earnestly learns his vocational skills, works hard to do a good job and makes contributions to society is considered "red and expert."

role in their spiritual outlook, in their way of thinking and style of work, in their attitude towards work, in their vocational pursuits and even in their everyday life. Because Lin Biao and the gang of four destroyed so much of the Party's enormous prestige among the people, this exemplary role is a matter of great urgency in attracting and inspiring the masses to devote themselves to the four modernizations.

Here, we want to bring up three points about the spirit of the leaders.

**1. Emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts and dedicating oneself to carrying out reforms.** In leading the whole nation to advance towards the goal of the four modernizations, our Party must rear a large number of Party members and leading cadres who understand the fundamental principles of Marxism, emancipate their minds, seek truth from facts, and are ready to dedicate themselves to carrying out reforms. In our economy, politics, culture, education and in our state organs, there are some links which are not geared to the development of the social productive forces and therefore should undergo guided and systematic reforms so that all these fields can be continually improved to bring about development in our material and spiritual production. Without a large number of people devoted to such reforms, it will be absolutely impossible to carry out such a great and unprecedented change.

All our leaders, be they leaders in material production or leaders in spiritual production, must be keen on such reforms, good at summing up historical and immediate experiences, bold enough to look at their shortcomings and mistakes and rectify them, bold enough to put forward new ideas, create new experience and blaze a new trail. To become such a reformer he must, with due respect for objective laws and Marxist principles, display a fearless spirit of daring to think, daring to speak out and daring to act, and bravely lead Party members and the masses on the march towards the four modernizations, overcoming difficulties and distinguishing himself with meritorious deeds.

**2. Be good at studying and become red and expert.** During the years of the revolutionary wars, our Party saw to it that being red and being an expert were closely related to each other. Each and every Party leader studied military affairs because he who did not

know how to conduct a revolutionary war could not become a leader at all. On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic, Comrade Mao Zedong reminded the whole Party of the need to learn economic work from all those who knew it. In the last 30 years we have had within our Party a group of leaders well versed in economic work, and by relying on them we tided over many economic predicaments. But there are also many people inside our Party who have been quite content over a long period of time to remain laymen in economic work, and as leaders have issued orders blindly with bitter consequences for us all.

A leader in the four modernizations, whatever post he holds, besides his knowledge of Marxism, must conscientiously study and master the knowledge of his special line, and study economics, science, technology, general knowledge, politics and law. To study, he must have will power as well as the spirit of digging in and studying hard. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If we dig into a subject for several months, for a year or two, for three or five years, we shall eventually master it." Beginning with the first spring of the 1980s, he must spend his spare time in studying, and work hard to make himself a leader who is both red and expert in the shortest possible time.

**3. Serving the people wholeheartedly.** A leader in the four modernizations must be a public servant, doing all he can for the people industriously and wholeheartedly, and not a master lording it over the people. In serving the people, one must breathe the same air, face the same destiny, share weal and woe with the people. The four modernizations call upon the whole nation to display a hard-working pioneering spirit. First of all, a leader must take the lead in working hard as a pioneer and he must not seek any prerogatives. The number of leaders who seek special treatment for themselves and their families is small, but what they have been doing produces a bad impression: if they do not rectify their mistakes, it will harm our efforts to restore our Party's high prestige among the masses. When our Party has still larger numbers of leaders who are determined to carry out reforms, who are red and expert and who serve the people industriously, the people will certainly support Party leadership with all their hearts and look at the four modernizations as their most glorious banner.

*(A slightly abridged translation.)*

## GRAPHIC ARTS

*Past and Present*

The sixth national graphic arts exhibition was held not long ago in Beijing. On display were 390 works by professional and amateur graphic artists from 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and by P.L.A. fighters. They included woodcuts, etchings and lithographs. It is 16 years since the fifth national exhibition.

All these works, from different angles, portray the life of the Chinese people, pay tribute to the memory of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, depict their struggles against Lin Biao and the gang of four, describe workers on the agricultural and industrial fronts and the life of scientists, intellectuals and minority peoples, and picture China's beautiful mountains and rivers. The woodcuts in colour, the water-colour prints in particular, have made great headway as a form of artistic expression.

China has the longest history in graphic art of any country in the world. Stone relief designs, the earliest graphic art,

date back to the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.). This graphic art developed quickly in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and was introduced into Europe in the 14th century. Although it flourished throughout the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties, Chinese graphic art remained in a stage of reproduction, of linear designs until the 1930s.

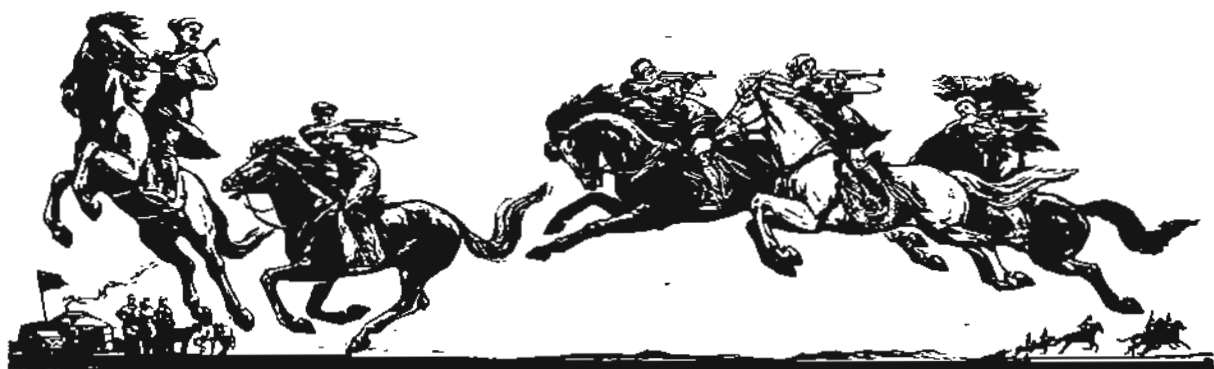
Lu Xun, forerunner of the new culture in China, popularized graphic art to meet the needs of the Chinese revolution. In 1929 he began to introduce creative European graphic art which had appeared at the end of the 18th century. This included, in particular, the progressive works by such masters as K. Kollwitz, F. Masereel and Soviet artists. They had a strong influence among China's young artists. In the last 50 years, especially during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, those artists who had thrown in their fate with that of the Chinese people, created a great number of excellent works which were full of militancy and national flavour. They played a pioneering role.

Graphic art has seen new developments since the founding

of New China in 1949. Five national exhibitions were held before 1963. Later, this form was seriously undermined, but in the last three years, its vigour has been restored. At the recent exhibition there were new works by the famous graphic artists of the older generation such as Gu Yuan, Li Hua, Yan Han, Huang Xinbo and Wang Qi. Many middle-aged and young artists are now emerging and striving to create new works.

*Iron Bastions* by Tan Quanshu, a young artist, shows Mongolian militia shooting on horseback. To dramatize the speed of the galloping horses, Tan placed the horizon near the lower edge of the picture. At the same time, the adept movements of the riders as they aim are strikingly executed.

*The Sleepless Land* is an exhibit by Song Yuanwen. It shows an expanse of wasteland in northeast China being turned into fertile cropland. In the distance, smoke rises from burning grass and in the foreground wild geese are fleeing in fright from the rumbling tractors. Although there are no human beings in



"Iron Bastions."

Woodcut by Tan Quanshu



"The Sleepless Land."

Woodcut by Song Yuanwen

sight, the bustling scene explains the main theme — labour by the people speeding up socialist construction.

The sixth national graphic arts exhibition was bigger than ever before, with more excellent works. But it falls short of meeting the expectations of the people. Its weakness is that the pictures are not linked as closely as before with the current ideas of the people. How to transmit good revolutionary traditions and national flavour and at the same time to create works with fresh content in new forms is an important problem affecting the prospects of graphic art in China and has been attracting more and more attention in art circles.

## SPORTS

### Chinese Athletes at International Meets

• Chinese players won the men's team, women's team, men's single, women's single, women's double and mixed double championships at the 1980 Welsh Open Table Tennis Championships and were runners-up in five events. The championships ended on February 9.

Taking part in the championships were teams from 26 countries and regions, including China, Sweden, Hungary, Britain and West Germany.

• The First Asian Cup Archery Championships closed in Calcutta on February 10. Chinese women archers bagged five gold medals in the team, individual all-round and the single-round 70-, 60- and 50-metre events.

Nineteen men and 17 women archers from China, Japan, Indonesia and India competed.

Meng Fanai, a Chinese woman archer, broke the Asian and Olympic records in the single-round 17-metre event. She also won the individual all-round event with points bettering the Asian record.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### Ancient Buddhist Column Found in Suzhou

Craftsmen in Suzhou are making a replica of a 1,000-year-old Buddhist octagonal column, which is decorated with 40,000 pearls, 10,000 agate and colour, glass beads and 1,000 crystal spheres and flowers threaded with fine, gilded silver filigree.

The column was discovered in a tightly sealed cavity in the third storey of Suzhou's Rui-guang Pagoda in April 1978. Also found were 121 volumes of Buddhist scriptures, two incantations, two small gilded pagodas, eight bronze statues and two coloured clay statues of Avalokitesvara known as the "Goddess of Mercy." The scriptures record that these cultural relics date from 931 to 1017.

The octagonal column is 122.6 cm. high. At its centre nine stones which in Buddhist tradition are considered to be relics of Buddha were found in a small bluish-white glass bottle. Incantations and names of worshippers are engraved on the column.

This column is ornamented with silver, wood and lacquer figurines, animals and flowers and those made of gilded silver filigree.

It was dedicated to Buddhism by Fang Yunsheng, a finance official of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1126), his wife Sun Shiniang and their family and placed in the Ruiguang Pagoda on the 18th of the fourth lunar month in the year 1013.

The Buddhist scriptures found are written either in gold powder or in ink. Paintings of Buddhist stories in gold and silver powder were found at the beginning of each volume of the lotus sutra.

The 43.2-metre-high Rui-guang Pagoda is a seven-storey brick and wood structure built in the early Northern Song Dynasty.

The replica of the column, when finished, will be put on display.

**CORRECTION:** In our last issue, the third line from the bottom on the right-hand column on page 21 should read: "15 8 and 60 fen respectively."

## First Work on China's Physical Geography

Outline Physical Geography of China (in Chinese)

Chief contributor Professor Ren Meie, Head of the Department of Geography of Nanjing University;

Shangwu Publishing House (Commercial Press);

Renminbi 1.55 yuan.

China is one of the world's largest countries in area and it has a complex natural environment. Therefore, it is not easy to reach a clear understanding of its total topography and the principal features of its physical geography or to answer the many questions which arise regarding the utilization and transformation of nature. *Outline Physical Geography of China*, which came off the press last July, has made an attempt to find answers to some of the questions. It is the first monograph to appear in the 30 years since the founding of New China dealing with the country's physical geography. It is a contribution to the popularization and development of the science of geography in this country.

The book falls into two parts: The first part is a general description; the second deals with the features of various topographical regions. The general description, devoted to the main characteristics of China's geography as a whole, gives the readers a general outline of China's geomorphic features and their formations and its climates as well as how they emerged. It also shows China's thermal resources and the distribution of the different zones of the

atmospheric temperature. The readers learn about China's rivers and water systems, vegetation, soils and the division of the land into topographical regions according to natural differences.

A wealth of information concerning the quantity, quality and distribution of China's agricultural natural resources has been collected in the book. It is indispensable to a clear understanding of the country's natural conditions and environment which exert a tremendous influence on agricultural production. This is helpful in promoting a rapid development of China's agriculture.

Though China has a vast territory, plains only account for 12 per cent of its total land area. The country has only 100 million hectares of cultivated land. The rest consists of high mountains, barren plateaus, and some large tracts of land still waiting to be opened up for farming, afforestation and grazing. For instance, there are 220 million hectares of unused grassland, which is more than twice the area of the existent cultivated land. Apart from this, there are vast stretches of marshland and beaches which can be reclaimed and cultivated. All this makes up the land potential for future development of farming, forestry and animal husbandry.

As described in the book, China is a country webbed by many rivers and dotted with numerous inland lakes. It has a total fresh water surface of 20 million hectares, with a total runoff of water somewhere near 2,600,000 million cubic metres, more than 20 per cent of the total of Asia and about the total of Europe, ranking third in the world in this respect.

China is also one of the countries in the world with the

richest varieties of vegetation and most varied soils. Almost all plants that grow in the Northern Hemisphere can be found in China. Take trees for example — there are more than 2,800 species in China, encompassing 95 per cent of the ligneous plants of angiosperm found in the world. China also has all the varieties of the main types of soil found in the world and they are relatively rich and fertile.

The author also puts forward over 20 suggestions concerning the utilization and transformation of natural conditions in different topographical regions in the light of China's agricultural production. These suggestions touch on the construction of a marketable grain centre and reafforestation in northeast China, water and soil conservation and how to handle drought, waterlogging and saline and alkaline soil in north China, the utilization of hydrothermal resources and amelioration of red soil in central China, the cultivation of tropical plants in south China in line with the local conditions, exploitation of the mountainous regions in the subtropical southwest, the rational utilization of grassland and control of drifting sand in Inner Mongolia, the opening up of water resources and the building of windbreaks in northwest China and the exploitation of natural resources in Qinghai and Tibet.



### ● **Three Internationalist Doctors**

Three foreign-born doctors were recently commended for their great contributions to China's revolution and construction at a meeting sponsored by the Ministry of Public Health in Beijing. The three are Doctors Ma Haide (George Hatem), Hans Muller and Richard Frey, who have acquired Chinese nationality and are members of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Dr. Ma Haide** was born in Buffalo, U.S.A., in 1910. He came to Shanghai in 1933.

In 1936, through the recommendation of Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen) and overcoming a series of difficulties, Dr. Ma went to Yanan, the centre of the Chinese revolution, and has devoted himself to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people ever since.

During the years of struggle, Dr. Ma was highly esteemed for the excellent medical service

he rendered the army and people in the liberated areas. He was appointed advisor to the Department of Health of the Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee by Chairman Mao Zedong himself.

After liberation, Dr. Ma was appointed advisor to the Ministry of Public Health. He devoted much of his time to the study of skin diseases. He visited many of China's provinces and autonomous regions during his investigations and has worked continuously to eradicate diseases.

Dr. Ma has always been enthusiastic about the Chinese revolution and has done much to tell the world about it. He provided the writers Edgar Snow and Anna Louise Strong with much of their material on the Chinese revolution, the Chinese Communist Party and about Chairman Mao. He has contributed much to promoting the friendship and mutual un-

derstanding between the peoples of China and the United States.

**Dr. Hans Muller** was born in West Germany's Rhine region in 1915. He went to Yanan in 1939 and worked in the International Peace Hospital there. Later, he volunteered to go to the front and served in field hospitals in the Taihang Mountains and other areas.

Dr. Muller is vice-dean of the Beijing Medical College and still visits the wards of the hospital attached to the college and gives lectures. He has also done much to promote academic exchanges in the field of medicine between China and other countries.

**Dr. Richard Frey** who was born in Austria arrived in China in 1939. Two years later, when China was undergoing a very difficult time in the War of Resistance Against Japan, Dr. Frey joined the ranks of the Chinese people's revolution firmly believing that the revolutionary cause would ultimately win.

Dr. Frey worked in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei anti-Japanese base area and then in Yanan, tending the wounded on the battlefield and teaching medicine until the nationwide victory.

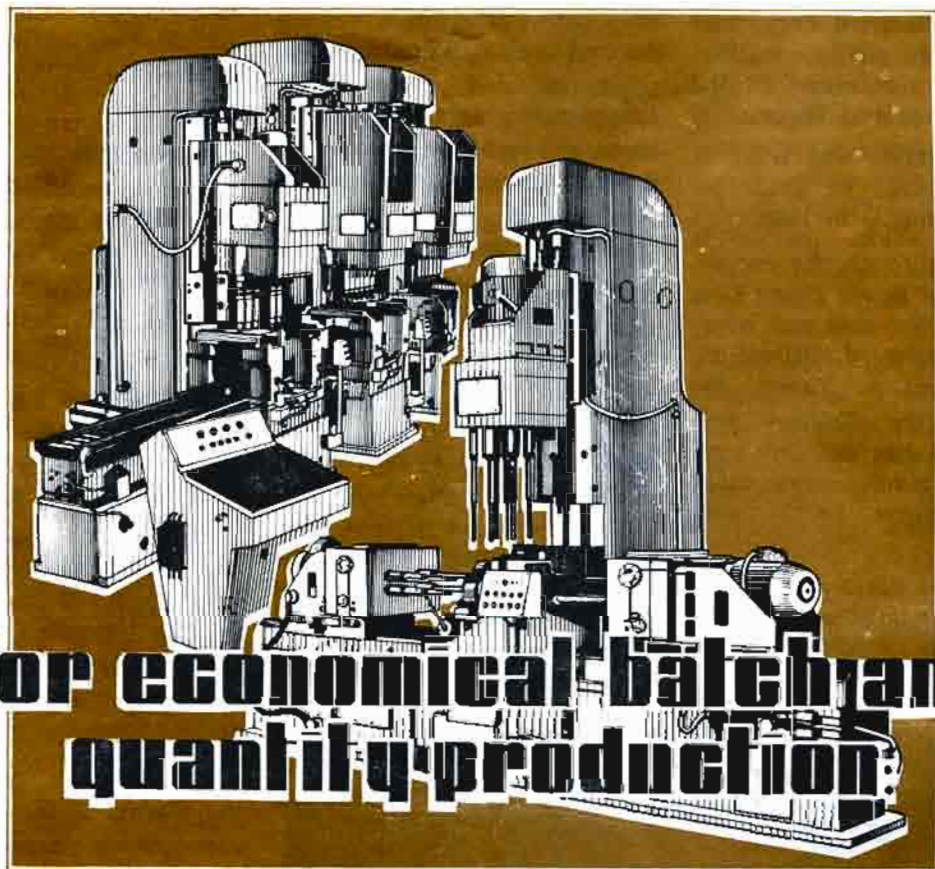
Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Dr. Frey has been working on the prevention of infectious diseases common in southwest China. In 1979 he was appointed vice-director of the Institute of Information of Medical Sciences under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences.



Dr. Frey and his wife Jiang Guozhen (left), Dr. Ma Haide and his wife Su Fei (centre) and Dr. Muller and his wife Nakamura Kyoko (right).

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