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BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Readjustment of the National Economy
- Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai
- International Situation: 1980 in Retrospect



AFGHANISTAN:

A Year After

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai

A detailed review of the *Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai* (Vol. 1) which is now on sale throughout the country. The volume contains 60 of the late Premier's important writings which summed up the experience of the Chinese revolution by applying the Marxist theory to solve a series of major questions such as building up the Party, the army and revolutionary base areas.

Volume 1 has been translated into Japanese. English, French, Spanish and Russian editions are being prepared (p. 29).

Crimes and Mistakes

Renmin Ribao's Special Commentator deals with the differences in nature between mis-

takes on the one hand and the counter-revolutionary criminal offences of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques on the other (p. 21).

Notes From the Editors — A New Column

1980 in Retrospect

A review of the first year of the 1980s shows that in the present-day turbulent world, it is necessary to proceed from a long-term and overall strategic point of view in order to safeguard world peace (p. 11).

Our list of ten major events in China (p. 5) and ten landmarks in the international situation (p. 13).



"Victory Belongs to the Heroic Afghan People."

by Wang Weili

One Year of Soviet Invasion Of Afghanistan

It's a year now since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, a major step in its drive for global supremacy. But the courageous Afghan people have demonstrated that they can never be conquered. The Soviets are in for a long and expensive war of attrition (p. 11).

On-the-spot reports by our correspondent on the Afghan resistance fighters and the refugee camps (p. 15).

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CULTURE & SCIENCE

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Readjustment of the National Economy

Now that China has decided to reduce capital construction on a large scale, what are the economic prospects?

According to the decision of the State Council, the central task of economic work this year will be readjustment, and the scale will surpass that of the previous two years. Indications are readjustment of the economy, which started in 1979, will take more than three years to accomplish.

The situation on the economic front last year was good. With the raising of the purchasing prices for agricultural and sideline products and the adoption of a flexible agricultural policy, the peasants' enthusiasm for production has been greatly enhanced. The livelihood of the peasants has improved, and the income of the workers and staff members in the cities and towns has also increased, what with pay raises and bonuses. The market in both town and countryside is brisk. The pace of development of light industry, which used to lag behind, has outstripped that of heavy industry. However, it must not be overlooked that China's economy still faces difficulties.

The ten-year turmoil starting from 1966 and sabotage by the gang of four had brought the country's economy to the brink of collapse by 1976. The development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was seriously out of proportion, as was the relationship between accumulation and consumption.

Views on China's domestic situation and her foreign policy are as varied as they are numerous abroad. Some are misconceptions and some are mere speculations. Many readers have written to us for clarification. In this new column, our editors will give their personal opinions on these questions instead of replying to the letters separately.

After the smashing of the gang of four in October 1976, readjustment should have been made without delay. Unfortunately, this was not done in the following two years. As a result of an inadequate understanding of the seriousness of the disproportionate development of the economy and over-eagerness for quick results in the modernization drive, mistakes of impetuosity and rash advance were committed. There were, for instance, the slogans to "build ten Daqing oilfields," "realize farm mechanization by 1980" and "boost steel production to 60 million tons a year by 1985." Moreover, a large number of capital construction projects were started in a rash way.

Since last year, the seriousness of the disproportionate development of the economy has fully revealed itself. The planned scale of capital construction has proved to be beyond the nation's economic and financial capabilities, and some imported projects are not suited to the actual conditions in China. This has resulted in a deficit of more than 10,000 million yuan.

When a man is ill, he should not hesitate to get immediate treatment. So the situation today calls for resolute measures to reduce the scale of capital construction and press ahead

with readjustment of the economy. A number of projects in heavy industry must be stopped or postponed.

The appearance of deficits is only temporary. So is large-scale readjustment. What's important is that the stoppage or postponement of some capital construction projects makes it possible for money and materials to be diverted for use in urgently needed undertakings. In short, readjustment will create conditions for the national economy to develop in a better way.

A step backwards today will mean greater advances in the days to come.

— Economic Editor Jin Qi

The Trial Doesn't Involve Chairman Mao

Will the trial of the gang of four lead to a negation of Mao Zedong?

The gang of four has been put on trial for their criminal offences. It has nothing to do with Comrade Mao Zedong's responsibility or his contributions and mistakes. His mistakes are entirely different in nature from the crimes of the gang.

It was Chairman Mao who had saved our Party and country on many critical occasions. Were it not for him, the Chinese people would have groped much longer in the dark. His greatest contribution was to integrate the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and point out the correct road to achieve victory

LETTERS

Leaders Are Not Deities

The article "Power Should Not Be Concentrated in the Hands of Individuals" carried in issue No. 44 (1980) struck home.

In places where power has been over-concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, the result was much suffering by the people. Not a few examples of this sort can be cited.

I always feel surprised and pleased when the Chinese leaders admit their mistakes and try to draw lessons from them. Outstanding state leaders always emerge. Never has there been a person who makes no mistakes. In China's revolution, quite a bit of credit is due to its leaders. However, they can never attain their objectives without relying on the masses. And the Chinese people are by no means led by deities.

Hildegard Nurnus
Weilburg, W. Germany

Lir-Jiang Cliques On Trial

For the good of China, Mao Zedong initiated the 1958 struggle

in the revolution. It should be said that, before the 1960s or, rather, before the last few years of the 1950s, many of his thoughts had guided the Chinese people to advance from victory to victory.

However, because of victory, he became less prudent. Unhealthy ideas, mainly "Leftist" ideas, began to emerge when he was advanced in years. He gradually lost touch with the actual conditions and failed to adhere to the fine style of work of the past, such as democratic centralism and the mass line. During his later years, especially during the "cultural revolution" which he personally initiated and led, he committed

and the cultural revolution, which I think were correct. But these were twisted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques at a time when Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were both in poor health. The current trial of the ten principal members of the Lin-Jiang cliques confirms that more than 700,000 people were hurt, and among them about 35,000 good people were framed and persecuted to death. It is unimaginable that human beings could commit such crimes. They should be sentenced to death. As an old proverb says: "Crime, not people, should be hated." However, this is not applicable to them, because they are wolves in human clothing.

Kanichi Komoda
Kawanoe, Japan

The Essence of Soviet Policy

I am particularly attracted by your articles on international situation, for it is closely linked with my interests. I have grown up under pro-Soviet shackles for the past two decades. Only after studying China's argument on imperialism and its disguises did I gain a clear understanding of the essence of Soviet policy. It was not easy for me to become conscious of this. I am now aware of many of the problems that exist today in reality (the Vietnamese in Kampuchea, for instance, and the question of Afghanistan),

no small mistakes and brought misfortunes to the Party, the country and the people.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques framed and persecuted Party and state leaders as well as the cadres and masses, plotted to assassinate Chairman Mao and conspired to launch an armed rebellion. Their aim was to seize state power. They must bear responsibility for serious criminal offences. As regards Chairman Mao, he only committed mistakes in his work and his intention in launching the "cultural revolution" was to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Thus there is the difference in principle between his mistakes and the crimes of

as well as the problems of the past (such as the history of the French Communist Party). I would like to express my thanks to *Beijing Review* for giving me great help in this respect.

Marc Asmus
Langres, France

On International Reports

The *Beijing Review* news analysis in the international column is probably the most interesting and valuable part of your magazine — because this is the part that gives the readers the official views of the Chinese People's Republic. Even the "friendly" Western press does not print your official announcements "word by word" — but your international column does.

T. Van Denau
Windsor, Australia

I think your international column is very informative. And I am particularly interested in the article "Olympic Games Without Olympic Spirit" published in your issue No. 30 (1980).

Beijing Review is a comprehensive journal and helps readers understand the situation in China and other countries of the world. Therefore, it gives me a very good impression.

Juan Jose Fernandez
Sevilla, Spain

Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their cohorts.

Chairman Mao's contributions occupy the first place while his mistakes are secondary. It is reported that the Chinese Communist Party will soon make an overall appraisal of his contributions and mistakes.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people will always remember Mao Zedong as a founder of the Party and the state. One thing is certain: The Chinese people will never do to Chairman Mao as Khrushchov did to Stalin.

— *Political Editor*
Zheng Bian

POLITICAL

Mao Zedong's Newly Published Letter

All the leading newspapers throughout China published on December 26 last year (87th anniversary of Mao Zedong's birthday) a letter written by the late Chairman Mao on November 27, 1937 to his cousin, Wen Yunchang. In the letter Mao Zedong, who was then leading the War of Resistance Against Japan in Yanan, told his cousin, who was in his home town in Hunan Province, not to go to Yanan if he just wanted to find a job to support his family. He explained: "We

get no more than a bit to eat and wear; everyone is treated equally, from Commander-in-Chief to cooks. For our Party is working for the country, the nation and the toiling people with no regard for personal interests; all are equal and work without salary."

He added in the letter: "The difficulties your family faces are not unique. Most of the nation is in the same plight. The only way out is for the people to put up a united struggle and drive out the Japanese imperialists."

The letter reflected the difficult conditions in the anti-Japanese base areas and the revolutionary spirit of the Communist Party and the people.

ECONOMIC

Fulfilment of 1980 Targets

- Despite unfavourable weather, China had a good harvest last year, and the output was second only to 1979 which was the peak year in grain production. Though last year's grain output was 10 to 15 million tons less than in 1979, it was 5 to 10 million tons more than in 1978.

- Cotton output dropped in the southern parts of China because of natural calamities, but an overall good harvest in north China was achieved. The state had already purchased 22.05 million tons of ginned cotton by the first half of last December.

- Annual targets for 14 major light industrial products were fulfilled or overfulfilled. Among them the output of bicycles, sewing machines and wrist-watches increased by about 30 per cent as compared with 1979, while the total output value of light industry upped 14 per cent.

- The state plan for the power industry was overfulfilled. By December 23, some 290,000 million kwh. of electricity were generated, an increase of 6.5 per cent over 1979. Hydropower stations accounted for 52,300 million kwh.

- The state targets for steel, rolled steel and pig iron were met ahead of time. By November 18, over 33.1 million tons of steel, 24.1 million tons of rolled steel and 34 million tons of pig iron had been produced. They represent increases of 8.4, 9.6 and 5 per cent respectively, compared with the same period of 1979.

Ten Major Domestic Events in 1980

(1) The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party re-established the Secretariat of the Central Committee and elected Hu Yaobang General Secretary of the Central Committee.

(2) Comrade Liu Shaoqi, former Chairman of the People's Republic of China, was rehabilitated.

(3) The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress appointed Comrade Zhao Ziyang to the post of Premier of the State Council.

(4) Trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques.

(5) The Central Committee of the C.P.C. adopted the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life."

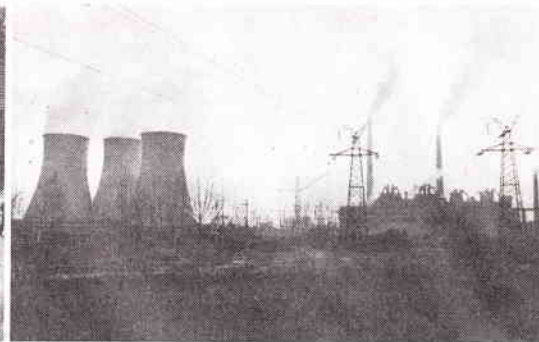
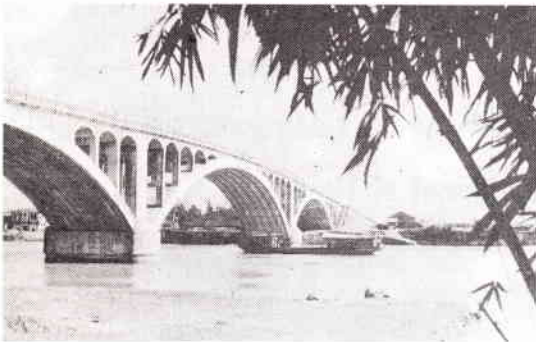
(6) The Central Committee of the C.P.C. issued a document on strengthening and improving the system of responsibility for farm production.

(7) A number of state-owned enterprises adopted the new management system under which these enterprises have their own business accounting, pay taxes to the state and are responsible for their own profits and losses.

(8) The capsizing of the oil rig *Bohai No. 2* was sternly dealt with by the State Council. (See *Beijing Review* issues 31 and 36, 1980.)

(9) China successfully launched its first carrier rocket to the destined area in the Pacific Ocean.

(10) The new Marriage Law was adopted at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.



Left: The newly built 240-metre-long Wudou Bridge in Guangdong Province links up Guangzhou and Foshan with Aomen (Macao). Middle: Rich cotton harvest in Xiajin County of Shandong Province. Right: A power station in southern Hebei Province.

- The state plan for copper, aluminium, tin, tungsten and six other non-ferrous metals were fulfilled five weeks ahead of schedule, while annual targets for major rare-earth metal products were fulfilled three months before the year ended. Output of non-ferrous metals and rare metal products went up 6.5 per cent and 30 per cent respectively over that of 1979.

- By December 20, the state plans for cement, glass fibre, graphite, gypsum and ten other major building materials and non-metal mineral products had been fulfilled. In the case of cement, output by the end of November was 12 per cent more than what was planned for the whole year. The output was 74.6 million tons, an increase of 13 per cent over what of the same period of 1979.

- The 140 chemical fibre works throughout the country produced 420,000 tons of chemical fibres, which was 31 per cent more than in 1979.

- Annual targets for 18 major chemical industrial products were fulfilled ten days to two months ahead of time. Among them the output of caustic soda, chemical fertilizer, soda ash, dyestuff and plastic products was 7 to 42 per cent more than planned.

New Policy for Building Northwest China

Simultaneous attention should be paid to farming, forestry and animal husbandry in northwest China, instead of developing grain production alone. This was said by Wang Renzhong, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, at a symposium on the modernization of agriculture in northwest China where the loess plateau can be turned into a forestry and animal husbandry centre. The symposium was held in Lanzhou, Gansu Province.

In the next three or five years, Wang Renzhong noted, grass should be sown either by hand or from the air wherever possible on the loess plateau. This will help control soil erosion, increase the acreage of forage grass and raise soil fertility, thereby creating conditions for the expansion of stock-breeding and farming in the northwest.

Located in the upper and middle reaches of the Huanghe (Yellow) River and with a layer of loess 100 metres deep in some places, the plateau where 30 million people live covers an area of 530,000 square kilometres. Because the region has an

arid climate and little vegetation, soil erosion has always been serious.

Since liberation in 1949, the state has appropriated large amounts of money and materials to build up the northwest. But owing to the one-sided emphasis on grain production in the past, the peasants there destroyed large tracts of pastureland to grow grain. This was detrimental to the ecological conditions on the plateau and added to the soil erosion in the area.

In recent years, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and other departments concerned have set up experimental centres in 14 counties on the plateau. Practice has proved that it is feasible to build animal husbandry and forestry centres in the area.

Northwest China accounts for more than half of the nation's territory and natural conditions there vary from place to place. This should be taken into consideration, Wang Renzhong said, and the various localities should go in for farming, afforestation or stock-breeding as they see fit.

He also noted that the peasants should change their habit of extensive cultivation with low yields and build stable- and high-yield farmland instead. The use of methane gas should be popularized, fuel forests should be grown to over-

come the fuel shortage there. He also suggested that efforts be made to develop apiculture, sericulture and fruit production, and grow more medicinal herbs.

Ground Water and Terrestrial Heat Found

A hydrogeological unit of the People's Liberation Army has found rich ground water resources in the arid areas of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and Gansu Province. More than 1,000 terrestrial heat spots in Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces have also been discovered.

The unit, formed in 1974, has completed surveys on more than 1.9 million square kilometres of land in China's border provinces and autonomous regions.

The Inner Mongolian grasslands constitute one of the country's major stock-raising regions. Areas some 50,000 square kilometres in size, which were formerly unusable because of dryness, now have greater potential following the unit's discovery of 14 ancient

river courses and water-rich zones. One new well, in a zone 125 kilometres long and five kilometres wide along the Jining-Erlian Railway, provides 1,000 to 3,000 tons of water daily, sometimes up to 6,000 tons. The zone is believed to be capable of providing enough water for 60,000 hectares of pastureland.

On the grasslands of northwestern Sichuan Province, the unit has discovered ground water resources with an annual storage of 5,200 million cubic metres of water. This has already been tapped for irrigation.

In the karst areas of southwest China, the unit has found some 2,000 subterranean rivers whose total length is twice that of the 5,800-kilometre-long Changjiang (Yangtze) River, the longest in China. It is estimated that about 250,000 million cubic metres of water flow through these rivers, enough for local domestic or industrial needs.

Terrestrial heat spots, about 70 per cent of which yield

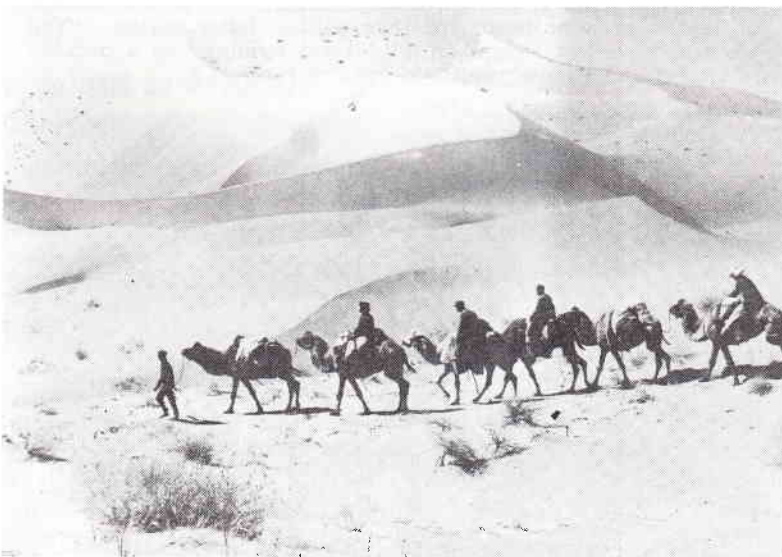
water of very high temperature, were found mainly in the southwestern and northwestern parts of the country. One well drilled in a heat belt in Yunnan's Xishuangbanna region produces 1,000 to 3,500 tons of hot water a day. The zone, 450 kilometres by 330 kilometres in size, has been listed by the state energy department as a key construction site. A power station of 100,000 kw. generating capacity can be built there if all the heat is utilized. Preparations are now under way to build a geothermal power station there.

More than 20 heat zones and some hot springs have been found in the Qilian Mountain area and the Hexi Corridor in northwest China, where factories have already started to harness the heat.

Eight Million Watches A Year

More and more watches are being produced in Shanghai every year. The increase for each of the two years 1978 and 1979 was one million. The city's annual output in 1980 was over eight million, with a greater variety than before.

The achievement resulted mainly from the readjustment made in the watch factories plus a small amount of investment from the state. Previously, there was no clear division of work among the four watch factories in the city, with the result that their products were more or less the same. Later they were reorganized into seven factories, each producing different types of watches, thereby greatly raising the labour productivity.



Members of a P.L.A. capital construction engineering unit searching for water in the Gobi Desert in Gansu Province.

Take the No. 3 Watch Factory for instance. Three months after it was reorganized into a factory specializing in the manufacture of small watches for women, its output jumped from 330,000 watches in 1979 to half a million in 1980.

While increasing output by a big margin, the factories saw to it that quality was maintained. At a national quality contest held in Xian in northwest China towards the end of last year, watches made in Shanghai won the first three prizes.



Digital watches produced at the Shanghai No. 5 Watch Factory.

EDUCATIONAL

Forum on Educational Work

The central task of educational work at present is to make the necessary readjustments, strengthen the leadership of the schools and colleges, reinforce the ranks of teachers, improve the conditions in the schools and steadily raise the level of education. This was the consensus at a national forum on education sponsored by the Ministry of Education.

Held in the city of Tianjin from December 1 to 13 last year, the forum reviewed the situation in education and agreed that it was generally good.

In the case of higher education, there were 1.13 million college students in September last year, which was 9.6 times the number in 1949 when the country was liberated, or 67.7 per cent more than in 1965, the year before the "cultural revolution" started. The number of postgraduates was 22,600, which exceeded the total number of postgraduates (16,000) from 1949 to 1966. There were, of course, also increases in the number of students of other schools.

Educational work suffered great setbacks during the "cultural revolution" in the years 1966-76, and has not to this day

fully recovered from the evil consequences. Much still remains to be done. The emphasis between now and 1985 is on readjustment so that educational work will move ahead together with economic construction and all the schools and universities will steadily develop in a planned and proportionate way.

At present, it is imperative to popularize primary school education, restructure secondary education and develop vocational and technical education. It is also necessary to run well the broadcasting and television universities, correspondence colleges, evening colleges and other forms of adult education.

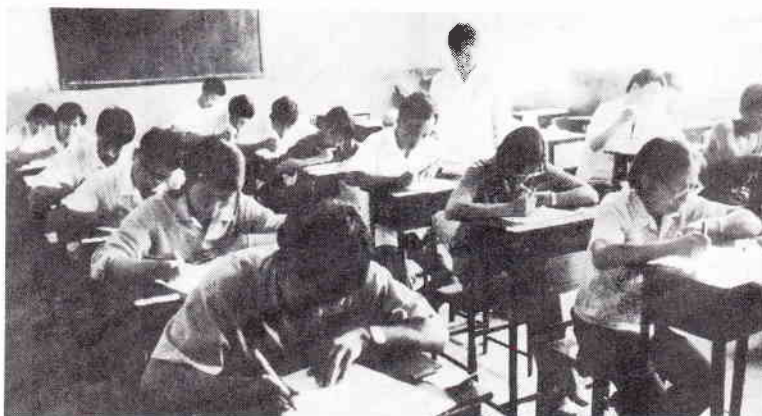
China's TV University

The Central Broadcasting and Television University in Beijing is, in a sense, the largest university with the most students in China today. It was founded in 1979 and its 410,000 students are scattered all over the country except Taiwan Province and the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Eighteen basic and specialized courses are offered, with more than 30 hours a week, and teachers from a number of key universities are invited to give lectures.

In Beijing alone, 16,388 students have obtained certificates for their English courses. Among the students enrolled in 1979, 81.5 per cent passed their first-year final examinations for higher mathematics, physics, chemistry and English.

As a form of higher education, the broadcasting and television university is welcomed by young people who did not have a chance to study during the "cultural revolution." A student in faraway Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region once sent a package of raisins to a professor together with a letter saying: "You seem to have lost weight on TV. I am sending you a package of raisins and I hope you'll take care of yourself."



End-of-term examinations for students of the broadcasting and television university in Beijing's Xicheng District.

In addition, the proportion between the various departments and specialities in the universities will be readjusted; in particular, efforts will be concentrated on running well a number of key institutions of higher learning while putting the emphasis on those branches of learning of major importance.

The forum stressed that attention should be paid to primary school education which is the foundation and is of key importance to raising the general level of education. To run the primary schools well depends mainly on the state, but the initiativeness of the people's communes and production brigades, the factories and other enterprises must also be brought into play. It is hoped that primary school education will be popularized all over the country in the 80s.

At the forum the participants also discussed the reforms to be carried out in school management, the question of colleges and universities having more rights to make their own decisions, the development of spare-time schools and education among the national minorities.

Regulations on Academic Degrees

Regulations on academic degrees came into effect on January 1 this year.

The regulations stipulate that B.A., M.A. and Ph. D. degrees will be conferred in accordance with the common practice in most countries of the world. College graduates with the required qualifications will be given the B.A. degree, while postgraduates studying in the universities or scientific research institutes and other people with the same academic

level may qualify for master's or doctor's degrees through examinations, including oral tests. The degrees conferred will be the same as those universally acknowledged.

The State Council has set up a national academic degrees committee in accordance with the regulations approved in February last year by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The committee which held its first meeting in Beijing last December discussed the ways of implementing the regulations.

Chairman of the academic degrees committee is Fang Yi, who is concurrently President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Vice-Premier of the State Council. The granting of academic degrees, he noted, will encourage people to obtain solid achievements in their specialized fields, speed up the training of qualified people, improve China's educational and academic levels and promote exchanges between Chinese and foreign scholars. All this will contribute to the realization of the four modernizations.

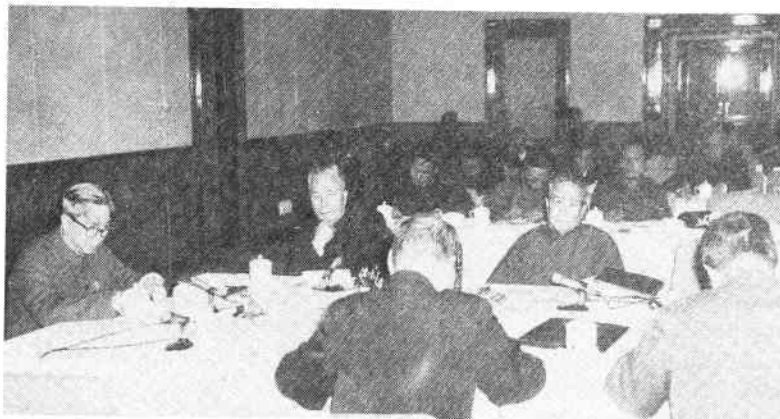
The 20-point regulations constitute an important legislation in China's educational and

scientific fields as well as a long-awaited event for those concerned.

The academic degrees committee stressed that, in implementing the regulations, it is necessary to show due respect for science and uphold academic standards. In awarding academic titles, quality should be ensured and attention should be paid to facilitating the selection of qualified people. The regulations have provided opportunities for those who have through self-study and practice made outstanding achievements in their specialized fields.

In addition, the regulations stipulate that academic degrees obtained in foreign countries will be recognized; academic degrees will be conferred on foreign students and scholars studying or doing research work in China on application if they are up to the required standard. Honorary doctor's degrees will be conferred on outstanding Chinese and foreign scholars and noted public figures in recognition of their contributions.

Apart from the chairman, the academic degrees committee consists of four vice-chairmen and 36 other members.



First enlarged meeting of the academic degrees committee.

They include vice-presidents of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Minister of Education and other noted scholars and professors.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Pakistan Foreign Minister's Visit

Pakistan Foreign Minister Agha Shahi and his party left Beijing on December 26 after a four-day friendly visit to China.

During his stay in Beijing, Foreign Minister Agha Shahi met with Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with Foreign Minister Agha Shahi. They had an exchange of views on the international situation, the regional situation and, in particular, the Afghan and Kampuchean questions as well as other issues of mutual interest. Both sides stressed that a solution to the Afghan question depends on the complete and immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country.

Speaking of China-Pakistan friendship, Foreign Minister Huang Hua reiterated that the Chinese Government and people will always stand on the side of the government and people of Pakistan in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose foreign aggression and interference. He expressed his appreciation for Pakistan's policy in improving and developing its relations with neighbouring countries and its efforts in seeking a fair settlement of the Kashmir issue in the spirit of the Simla agreement and in accordance with

the relevant U.N. resolutions.

Foreign Minister Agha Shahi said that both China and Pakistan have consistently upheld the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs. "We have stood firmly for creating an environment of peace and stability in which the people of our two countries could move forward on the road to progress and prosperity," he added. "We are opposed to expansionism, hegemonism and imperialism in all their forms." He stressed that these common aspirations constitute the basis for bilateral relations between the two countries and are consistent with the policy of maintaining friendly relations with neighbours to which both Pakistan and China have always adhered.

On Pakistan's relations with India, he said: "It is in the context of building peace in our region and friendship with our neighbours that Pakistan has endeavoured to evolve jointly with India a mutually acceptable solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The non-use of force for the settlement of disputes constitutes the basis of the Simla agreement and is central to Pakistan's relations with India."

Joint Ventures

A number of joint ventures were started in 1979 on a trial basis in accordance with the needs of readjusting the national economy. Up to now China has signed more than 300 agreements on joint ventures with foreign firms. Some are already in operation, others are under construction, and still others are being planned. These joint enterprises cover light and textile industries and tourist facilities.

There are three types of joint ventures. One is equity joint

ventures such as the Beijing Air Catering Company, Ltd. and the Shanghai Elevator Works of the China-Schindler Elevator Company, Ltd. and 15 other enterprises. Under these agreements, both Chinese and foreign partners provide capital and management and share risks as well as profits and losses.

Another type is known as contractual joint ventures. The usual practice under these agreements is that the foreign firms provide funds and equipment, while the Chinese side is responsible for land, factory premises, labour and management. The two parties share the profits at an agreed ratio and all assets go to the Chinese side when the contract expires.

There are also a few agreements on joint exploration of offshore oil with foreign firms. For example, the Petroleum Corporation of the People's Republic of China and the National Elf. Aquitaine Corporation of France jointly prospect and exploit the oil resources in the eastern part of the Bohai Sea.

The experience in the last year or so shows that equality and mutual benefit are important to the successful operation of joint ventures. They help promote China's economic growth while foreign businessmen are able to get reasonable profits.

In the years to come the establishment of joint ventures will be geared to the readjustment of China's national economy. The emphasis will be on small and medium-sized projects and on the renovation, transformation and tapping of the potential of existing facilities in light industry, communications, agriculture, animal husbandry, building materials industry as well as projects to explore and save energy.

1980 in Retrospect

The International Situation

THERE was more turmoil in the world in the first 12 months of the 1980s. The number of hot spots proliferated and crises erupted in quick succession. In this crisis-plagued period, it is vital to have a correct approach to solving problems. Proceeding from temporary, regional interests, even though it made with an eye to detente and security, could lead to greater dangers. But proceeding from long-term, overall strategic considerations could ease crises, preserve world peace or at least delay the outbreak of a major war.

Afghanistan and Kampuchea

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea with Soviet backing are two major problems affecting the whole world. They are not "local" problems concerning only the security of Asia. They are global problems, for the Soviet Union's southward thrust is a major step in its drive to attain global hegemony.

In the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, the Soviet Union is making Afghanistan its springboard to reach out for the oil-producing areas and the Indian Ocean. It is aiming at grabbing oil resources, controlling vital oil routes and realizing the old tsarist dream of seizing warm water ports.

In Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union incited Viet Nam to invade Kampuchea, wipe out re-

sistance and threaten Thailand. This was a bid to bring the ASEAN nations to their knees and set up an "Asian Security System." If the Soviet Union were to succeed in taking control of the Strait of Malacca, which links the Middle East and the Persian Gulf with Southeast Asia, it would be able to close the strategic east-west link en-

The world was more turbulent in 1980. In this period of crises, it is vitally important to assess the world situation from a long-term, overall strategic point of view.

circling Europe and more or less complete its projected global strategic deployment. This would give the Soviet Union a stranglehold on the United States, Western Europe and Japan by threatening to cut off the supply of oil from the Middle East and the Gulf. Should it succeed in realizing this strategy, the world will have to choose between surrendering and going to war.

The whole situation is developing along this direction. The Soviets are not confining themselves to Afghanistan and Kampuchea. They are already casting covetous eyes on Iran, Pakistan and Thailand. It is no secret that they are taking advantage of the Iran-Iraq war. They have attempted to intervene in Iran and exploit the Baluchi national problem to try to dismember Iran and Pakistan. Shortly before Brezhnev's visit to India, former Indian Prime Minister Desai disclosed that the Soviet Union had

tried to incite India to attack Pakistan. It should also be noted that following the Vietnamese incursions into Thailand last June, the Thai Government revealed that it had evidence of a Vietnamese scheme to absorb about a dozen eastern and north-eastern Thai provinces into a Vietnamese controlled "Indochina Federation."

The attitude to take towards the patriotic forces of Kampuchea and Afghanistan is another issue which must be considered from a global strategic point of view. Because of the early mistakes made by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea with respect to internal

policies, some people have failed to recognize the important role Democratic Kampuchea plays today in resisting Soviet-Vietnamese expansion. Apart from fighting for the independence of Kampuchea, it fulfils an important role of shielding Thailand and other ASEAN countries from the full brunt of Soviet-Vietnamese military pressure. Democratic Kampuchea is earnestly correcting its mistakes and rallying patriotic forces. The Afghan guerrillas are likewise fighting for the independence and freedom of their country, and at the same time serving as a screening force holding back Moscow's drive south into the subcontinent and the Persian Gulf. This has a bearing on the peace and security of Asia and the rest of the world. The struggle put up by the patriotic armed forces and peoples of these two countries have pinned down 100,000 Soviet and over 200,000 Vietnamese troops. Without the re-

sistance put up by these two countries. Russian tanks could already be inside Poland and the Thai provinces taken over by Viet Nam. In view of their roles in the overall anti-hegemonist struggle, the Afghan and Kampuchean people's just struggles merit all-round and effective support from the international community.

The U.S. and Western Europe

The on-going Soviet offensive has forced Western Europe and the United States to long debates on defence matters.

At the end of 1979, the NATO alliance approved a five-year arms programme requesting member nations to increase their real annual defence expenditure by 3 per cent and decided, as from 1983, to deploy 572 new-type U.S. medium- and long-range nuclear missiles in Britain, West Germany, Italy and other West European countries. The United States has accordingly increased its 1980 defence budget.

However, some people, because of temporary difficulties in Western Europe, want a slash in military expenditure, a unilateral arms reduction, and disbandment of their country's

independent nuclear forces. They place their hopes on Soviet "willingness" not to do anything further to threaten the security of the West. They are unwilling to see the West adopt a hard line which may displease Moscow. Their views, of course, are entirely acceptable to Moscow.

But that does not mean that Moscow is going to obligingly exercise restraint. On the contrary, it aims to milk every advantage from "detente," using the time in between offensives to consolidate and get ready to take another step to complete its global strategic deployment.

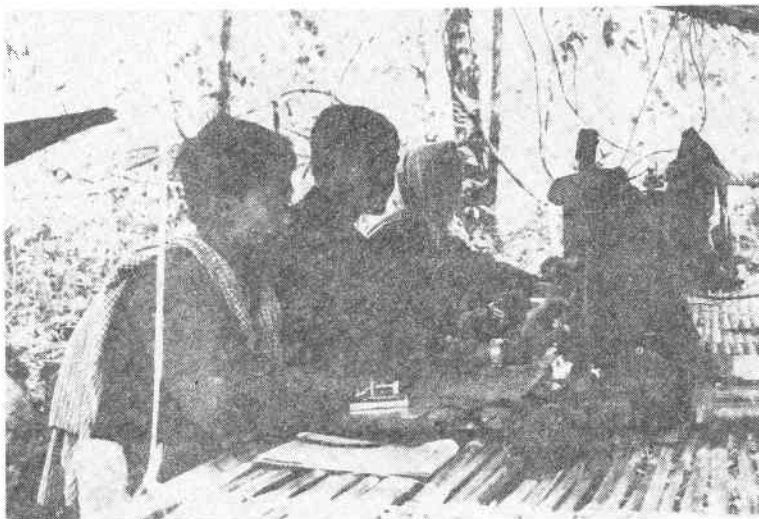
The more disturbing aspect of the problem, however, is the fact that the Soviet strategic nuclear force has already caught up with that of the United States and its tactical nuclear force and conventional force in Europe have a clear edge over those of the West. Despite this, the Soviet Union is still intensifying its arms expansion and war preparations and seeking bigger all-round military superiority over the West. In the last five years, real Soviet military expenditure has been going up 5 per cent annually, and in 1979, it reached a record 136 billion U.S. dollars, which is 21 per cent more than that of the United States.

If those West European countries which overestimate their temporary difficulties at home now slacken or weaken their defence and from a position of weakness pin their hopes on Soviet "restraint," only a few years will elapse before the Soviet Union attains overall military superiority over the West and completes its global strategic deployment. Then the West will have to choose between fighting back and be defeated, or abjectly surrendering without a struggle.

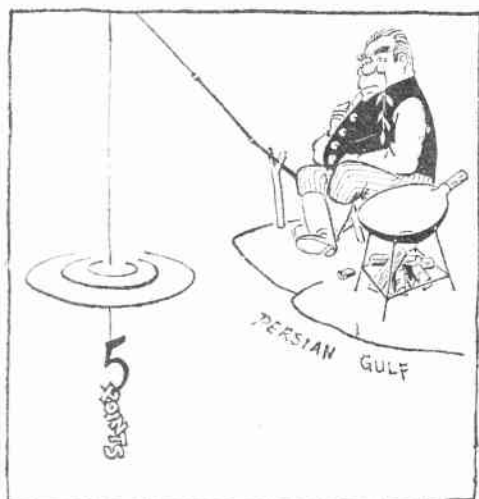
Many people of vision in the world maintain that in face of the growing war threat, Western Europe and Japan need U.S. co-operation, and the United States also needs both Western Europe and Japan. There is a growing awareness in the Western world for the need to co-ordinate Western policies, to settle their disputes in the economic, political and military fields, including the expanding burden of defence and establishing and strengthening their relationship based on equal partnership. These are proposals stemming from an appreciation of overall strategic demands.

The United States and China

Some shadows darkened Sino-American relations in 1980 mainly because certain Americans kept their eyes only on old relations with Taiwan, on their investments and interests in that Chinese province. They failed to see, or they underestimated, the strategic significance of the development of Sino-American relations to world peace and security. In their minds, China is poor and weak, menaced by the Soviet Union, and in need of capital and technology from the West. In their opinion, China just has to have help from the



Kampuchean guerrillas.



Cartoon by Gen Hua

United States, and would eventually acquiesce and swallow the bitter pill of "two Chinas." This stems from miscalculation about China's actual position and is not unconnected with their own self-interests. In reality it runs counter to U.S. strategic interests and to global peace and security. It is not accidental that the two political parties in the United States, the Democratic and the Republican, have formed a common line in regard to the development of relations with China. It was worked out to meet the United States' fundamental interests and those of world peace in general. Under present world circumstances, the development of Sino-American relations cannot but become a global issue, and it would be a mistake of historic proportions if Sino-American relations were taken as a bilateral issue or as one only concerning business interests between the U.S. and Taiwan, and the mainland.

China has no intention of concealing its poverty and technical backwardness. But, it is not an insignificant country, nor will it ever barter away its sovereignty and principles. It is an illusion to think that China will ever accept "two Chinas." China has always sought to build its security on the basis of an inde-

pendent and self-reliant defence policy and it will never resort to sheltering under an external protective umbrella. China's development is based mainly on self-reliance, helped by external aid wherever possible. China seeks from an extensive and far-reaching angle to develop its relations with the United States. Its considerations cover bilateral interests between China and the United States, and what is more important, they are connected with matters of global concern. This view is shared by many Americans and members of the two U.S. political parties.

Gulf and Other Issues

There are crises or threats of crises in many parts of the world today. The U.S.-Iranian hostage crisis is not yet over and the Iran-Iraq conflict continues. Both sides may have some justification for their attitude to each other. But in

attempting to solve the disputes, if the policy-makers of both sides took into fuller consideration the overall situation and have world peace in mind, the problems may be solved earlier.

The Polish crisis is another example, and the shadow of Soviet intervention still looms large. The Polish people, the government and the trade unions have apparently adopted an overall point of view. Many in the world consider this crisis as a critical event that could affect the whole world, because it is related to the peace and stability of Eastern and other parts of Europe and ultimately the whole world. The Poles and many far-sighted persons elsewhere are quite clear about this.

In this world of crises, keeping the overall situation in mind is both necessary and wise. Sometimes some measures seem justifiable proceeding from a local and temporary point of view, but it is not wise to adopt such measures from a strategic, long-term point of view.

— Xinhua Correspondent Chen Si

Landmarks of 1980

THE world situation was characterized by turbulence during 1980. Of the numerous events which took place last year, ten stood out:

1) **Soviet Fiasco in Afghanistan.** After its invasion of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, Moscow tried to subdue the country by throwing in more troops. A resolution at a special emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly on January 14 asking for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan was passed by an

overwhelming majority of 104 votes. The call was reiterated at the 35th Session of the U.N. General Assembly which adopted a resolution on November 20 by an even bigger majority, 111 votes. This decision by the world community against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan reflects the common desire of the justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

2) **Failure of Vietnamese Dry Season Offensive in Kam-**

puchea. From winter 1979 to April 1980, over 200,000 Vietnamese troops carried out search-and-destroy operations in Kampuchea. They hoped to wipe out the base areas of resistance. But their attempt was foiled by the Kampuchean people and army. This was a turning point in the war situation in Kampuchea. At the same time, Democratic Kampuchea summed up the experience gained and lessons learnt, corrected mistakes, changed policies and enlarged and consolidated national unity.

3) Independence of Zimbabwe.

The Republic of Zimbabwe was founded on April 18. The Zimbabwean people finally won by elections after 90 years of hard struggle, including over ten years of armed struggle. The birth of independent Zimbabwe will have a great impact on the settlement of the Namibian issue and the defeat of racism in South Africa. It will promote Zimbabwe's unity with its independent neighbours.

4) Tito Dies. Josip Broz Tito passed away on May 4. The Yugoslav leader was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary. He won world renown as a hero who led his people to victory in the anti-fascist war and in the struggle to uphold national independence, uncowed by brute force in international affairs. His death was a great loss to the Yugoslav people as well as to the international communist movement, the non-aligned movement and the cause of world peace.

5) Mass Struggle Against Tyranny in South Korea. The struggle against fascist rule rose to a new high in March. Besides the 250,000 students from around 90 universities and high schools, tens of thousands of citizens and democratic

personages took part. They called for democracy, abolition of martial law and an end to the fascist "Yushin (revitalized system) constitution." On May 18, the south Korean authorities proclaimed an "extraordinary martial law" and carried out mass arrests. The day after, when 50,000 students in Kwangju took to the streets in protest, the authorities cracked down on them. Two days later, about 200,000 Kwangju students and residents demonstrated again, fighting against the army and police. This was the largest mass struggle against fascist rule in the past 20 years.

6) Polish Workers' Strike.

Strikes by workers in cities along the Baltic coast, ignited by the July 1 meat price hike, rapidly fanned out to other parts of the country. They lasted for two months. Strikers set up the independent trade union Solidarity whose membership rose to some 10 million. As a result, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Gierek was relieved of his post. This was the third biggest wave of strikes by Polish workers, the first occurring in 1970, the second in 1976.

7) Moscow Olympic Games Boycotted.

Moscow was the venue of the 22nd Olympic Games, July 19 to August 3. Because the Soviets invaded Afghanistan and refused to implement the U.N. General Assembly resolution calling for their withdrawal, a movement was set off in many countries to boycott the games in Moscow. Of the 147 I.O.C. members, 66 countries and 50 individual sports associations in more than 10 countries stayed away. The 1980 games were the least participated since the Rome Olympics 20 years ago.

8) Iran-Iraq War. A full-scale armed conflict between Iran and Iraq broke out on September 22. Though both countries paid a heavy price, there is no indication that the war will come to a close. As continuation will harm both countries, while only the superpowers will profit at their expense, it is hoped that the belligerents will find a realistic and rational settlement through mediation by friendly countries and international organizations. This will help restore stability and peace in the Gulf area.

9) Kosygin Down and Out.

Brezhnev told an October 23 Supreme Soviet meeting that Alexei Kosygin had been relieved of his post as Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Nikolai Tikhonov was succeeding him. This was the most outstanding of the recent personnel changes in the Kremlin. Foreign news agencies reported that bad health [and eventual death] was not the only reason for Kosygin's fall. He had "clashed" with Brezhnev over many issues, economic policy in particular. The former premier was made the scapegoat for the failure of the Soviet tenth five-year plan. When Podgorny was removed from office as head of state in 1977, Brezhnev took over his post. With Kosygin out of the way, the triumvirate is now one-man rule.

10) Reagan Elected President.

The U.S. elections on November 4 saw Republican candidate Ronald Reagan chosen as the 40th U.S. President. He received 469 electoral votes to Jimmy Carter's 45. Reagan's victory indicates that the American people, worried by the worsening domestic economic situation and declining U.S. prestige abroad, were in the mood for a change.

Afghanistan

One Year After the Soviet Invasion

Ignoring all norms of international relations, the Soviet Union on December 27, 1979, invaded Afghanistan, a third world and non-aligned nation outside its "fraternal camp." It made world headlines in the first days of this decade although the Kremlin leaders were only following their tsarist predecessors. They used the unsettled situation in the West Asian region to make a big strategic move towards seizing control of the Persian Gulf. This has gravely threatened world peace. A whole year has passed since the Soviet invasion and the world is entering the second year of the 1980s. What is the situation inside Afghanistan?

Following is the article by our news analyst and reports by our correspondent from Pakistan on the Afghan resistance movement and the refugees.

Aims and Difficulties of Aggressors

THE Soviets had planned to seize Afghanistan at one stroke. Now, it is evident that they had gravely miscalculated. Despite some 100,000 men and tanks, armoured cars, artillery, jet fighter-bombers, helicopter gunships and toxic gas, they have failed to overcome the resistance of the Afghan people. Moreover, they have been reported to have sustained about 10,000 casualties. To hide the truth from the Soviet people, their dead are no longer shipped home for burial but are buried on hostile soil. A coffin factory has been built in Kabul solely for this purpose. Soviet wounded are treated in the hospitals of several East European countries. Since heavy equipment has not been able to accomplish their goal, the men in Moscow changed tactics. They declared a "partial pullout" and, with great fanfare, called back their useless rocket, anti-tank and artillery units and

quietly replaced them with units trained for "counter-insurgency" warfare. Still not much success has been attained. Airstrips, military bases, cities and transportation lines have been repeatedly attacked by guerrillas. The Soviets declared that their forces in Afghanistan were "limited." This has been proven to be false. They are there in force.

Armed guerrilla action has been joined by demonstrations in Kabul and other cities. The Soviet attempt to use Afghans against Afghans, using the Karmal regime to deceive, suppress and rule, has failed too. Afghan conscripts have revolted or deserted in droves, unwilling to die for the Soviet aggressors and to slaughter their own people. Reports of whole units moving off with their arms to join the guerrillas in the mountains have been frequent. Government troop strength has fallen from 100,000

to 30,000. The Karmal regime has tried buying the soldier's loyalty with higher pay and more food. But despite the pay being nine times higher, which is about what a ranking government official gets, the regime has found it almost impossible to fill its army's depleted numbers.

The Karmal regime is also fatally flawed by acute internal factional fighting. All government departments have to listen to their Soviet advisers. Even Karmal's bodyguards are not Afghans but Soviets. So much for the regime's popular support. The truth is that it could not last a day without armed Soviet backing. The Soviet Union is said to spend up to 5 million U.S. dollars a day to keep its puppet in power. The Soviet Union is in for a long and expensive war of attrition.

Because of its Afghan adventure, the Soviet Union has been roundly condemned by the world and finds itself very much alone. The resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly and the 35th General Assembly last January and November, unequivocally demanded an immediate foreign troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. At the Islamic conferences last January and May, resolutions were adopted supporting the struggle of the Afghan people and also demanding an immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Soviet Union's claim that it is the "natural ally" of the third

SPECIAL FEATURE/AFGHANISTAN

world is a grim joke. The deceptive state of "detente," which the Soviet Union wants so much, has run into snags. At the follow-up conference on European security and co-operation held in Madrid, which was supposed to look into how the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act had been implemented, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was the big issue that stopped anything being accomplished. Economic sanctions imposed by the United States and some Western countries against the Soviet Union and the Olympic boycott were all expressions of repugnance and revulsion for the Soviet armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

Soviet Global Strategy. Although the Soviet Union has found itself in deep trouble in Afghanistan, it still refuses to pull out its troops. At the same time as it turns a deaf ear to the world's demand, it has stepped up suppression against the people of Afghanistan. It also attempts to legalize its occupation by signing an agreement with its own puppet regime in Kabul. It has built permanent military facilities, including missile bases in Afghanistan, and pursues a policy of colonization. The Soviet intention is clearly long-term occupation. It told the Kabul regime to put forward a "proposal" and some "suggestions" for bilateral talks with Pakistan and Iran, so as to deceive the world and mute criticism. It desperately wants to acquire legal status for its pup-

pet in Kabul and thus get the world to accept its occupation as a fait accompli and also clear itself of the stigma of invading a third world and non-aligned country. This is the essence of the so-called "political settlement" of the Afghanistan problem that the Soviet Union peddled so earnestly last year.

The Soviet stance over Afghanistan demonstrates that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was not accidental. It was a major step in its drive for global supremacy. Afghanistan stands strategically where the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and South Asia meet. The Middle East and the Persian Gulf flank Europe and provide most of the West's oil. South Asia occupies a central position in relation to the Indian Ocean, Asia, Australia and Africa. Since the late 1950s, the Middle East and South Asia have been the main targets of Soviet infiltration and expansion. Through providing so-called "aid" it has invested heavily in money and weapons in these places.

In the late 70s, the balance of strength between the Soviet Union and the United States underwent a major change. The Soviet Union has won footholds in the Red Sea and the Aden Gulf and its occupation of Afghanistan has put it in a position to move against Iran from the east and to control the Persian Gulf and forge a link with its forces in the Red Sea and the Aden Gulf. Striking east it could invade Pakistan to open up the way to South

Asia and thus join forces with its Pacific Fleet which now has the Strait of Malacca within its reach after the Vietnamese invaded Kampuchea. Last year, Soviet troop concentrations and the construction of military facilities were observed along Afghanistan's borders with Pakistan and Iran. The Soviets are now positioned to attack the two nations. At the same time, the Soviet Union has fostered pro-Soviet forces and secessionists inside Pakistan and Iran to foment trouble. It can be seen what an important role Afghanistan occupies in Soviet global strategy. This is the only way to interpret the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. If the Afghan issue is merely seen as a regional issue, then the world falls right into the Soviets' trap by underestimating their hegemonist scheme.

Stopping the Soviet Scheme. Although the Soviet Union is a superpower armed to the teeth, it could not accomplish everything it set out to do in Afghanistan last year. Afghanistan is a poor, third world country. Its people lack arms. Their methods of fighting and their unity could be improved. But the might of the Soviet superpower has been unable to crush them. On the contrary, resistance to the invaders is growing stronger. It is another confirmation that no highly modernized aggressor, however well equipped, can hope to win in Asia through a lightning strike. The militarily and technological-



In Kabul.

According to foreign reports: All embassies in Kabul, except the Soviet Embassy, have issued their staff and citizens with a card reading: "I'm not a Russian."

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

ly superior aggressor may be able to overrun an Asian country, but it is impossible for it to exercise effective and long-term control over it. Poverty and backwardness are handicaps, but they become assets in a war of resistance against a highly developed aggressor state because its people can endure tremendous hardships and the extreme underdeveloped state of communications nullifies the

strength of the enemies' motorized troops. The war waged by the Afghan people against the Soviet invaders fills the world with confidence that their struggle against hegemonism is invincible. The resistance fighters of Afghanistan are telling the world loud and clear that Soviet expansion can be effectively countered.

—“Beijing Review” news analyst Yi Min

Meeting the Resistance Fighters

by Our Correspondent Zheng Fangkun

WHEN I was in Peshawar, I spoke with many who had left Afghanistan after the Soviet occupation. Among them were several leading resistance fighters. Several foreign colleagues I met there were very helpful. They, too, were full of admiration and sympathy for the courageous people of Afghanistan fighting for their country's independence.

The resistance fighters offered to take me into Afghanistan to see them fight. Nothing could have brought the point home more emphatically than this that the Russians do not exercise effective control of Afghanistan.

Nationwide Resistance. They claimed that at least 80 per cent of the country were in their hands. “We have a guerrilla hospital with foreign doctors in a mountain village a mere 30 kilometres from Kabul,” they told me proudly, as if to emphasize how the invaders were being kept confined to cities. And there are not many cities in Afghanistan. The Soviets are in the cities and seldom dare move out. Even then, they are not immune to attack, despite a strictly enforced system of passes for

urban residents to prevent guerrillas infiltrating the cities. The alien invaders are made to feel in many ways they are unwanted by the Afghan people.

Morale Is High. “We have a saying,” said one tall, bearded Afghan, “Afghans would rather die 100 times over than submit once!” Another member of the resistance who had crossed over the border showed me a poster and translated the words, “Slavery is not the way of the Afghan people” below the picture of an Afghan smashing the fetters formed by a hammer and sickle. The hammer and sickle which symbolize the unity of workers and peasants the world over has now been turned into manacles by the Soviets.

“Brezhnev miscalculated, sending troops into our country. He probably had thought it would be a walk-over like in Czechoslovakia in August 1968,” a leader of the Afghan resistance forces said.

Through the centuries, the people of Afghanistan have been known as a peace-loving nation but fearless fighters if their independence and freedom are challenged. Imperial Britain was humbled in three wars with the tribesmen of Afghanistan.

A story I heard recounted among the refugees in Peshawar was about some freedom fighters destroying a Soviet tank. A couple of intrepid guerrillas managed to climb on top of a stationary tank undetected and drenched it with gasoline. “The enemy jumped out of the burning Russian tank to be picked off by our men.” This is just one of many stories circulating among the people I met. There is no doubting that these people do not lack courage. In a guerrilla war, retreat is inseparable from attack but, retreat to these plucky people is cowardice, so guerrilla casualties are often heavier than necessary. It is not for outsiders to judge the resistance fighters. They are fighting well, despite their lack of modern weapons and ammunition.

Guerrillas in Kunar Province learning to use a captured A-A gun.





The Soviets are beginning to realize that they cannot conquer such a nation.

In contrast to the freedom fighters, morale among the men in the Soviet occupation army is low. Some of them even surreptitiously sell guns and bullets to the resistance forces. "They'd trade their mothers for an ounce of hashish," a lean, old Afghan man said, and spat.

Plenty of Difficulties But . . . Their hatred for the invaders is intense and bitter. They see Soviet helicopter gunships and tanks mow down their people, old and young, men and women. Like all alien invaders, the Soviets are pitting superior weapons against human courage, killing in cold blood and burning and looting in an attempt to subjugate the Afghans. The Soviets are using to poison gas and planting mines disguised to look like innocent toys. "Give us arms," is the familiar cry one hears everywhere. The Afghan resistance fighters ask for weapons to fight back against the helicopters and tanks. "We need weapons, any weapons, and short-distance communication equipment," they said. They do not lack men or determination. "The more

weapons we have, the quicker we'll be able to drive the Russian invaders out of our country," they said.

Continental Afghanistan's winter is severe and the guerrillas are short of warm clothing and footwear, but they see the harsh winter as helping them. The Soviet gunships spitting death out of the sky and the tanks are less of a threat, and the cold is helping to sap Soviet morale more. General Winter is again at work here against an invading army. The guerrillas have poor weapons and poor logistics support. But they have the support of the people, the problems of supplies and shelter are less severe. Moreover, as the lightly armed

guerrillas can move more swiftly in winter than their opponents, their ability to hit and hurt the enemy is enormous.

Defend Afghanistan, Defend World Peace

One of the resistance leaders pointed out that they were not fighting Soviet aggression only for their country. He is quite right. The Afghan people are making tremendous sacrifices to save their country and to frustrate the Soviet drive south into warm water ports. Half a million people are estimated to have lost their lives since the Soviet occupation. Fields are left unattended. Villages have been bombed and razed to the ground. The Soviet slaughter of innocent villagers still go on. But the Afghans are stubbornly fighting back. Their fight is helping to foil Soviet plans for world hegemonism and to defend world peace. The war against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan is making the Soviet Union think hard before sending its tanks into Poland.

The Afghan resistance fighters have called for aid from all who uphold peace and justice. If the Russians succeed in quelling resistance in Afghanistan today, the same tragedy would

The Khyber Pass.



be repeated in another country tomorrow, they warned.

The part of the Hindu Kush Mountains in Afghanistan have foiled aggressors in history, but the paths through this range have also led aggressive armies into South Asia. It is time, the Afghan resistance fighters stressed, that people outside Afghanistan should give serious thought to this. Should the aggressors be stopped in the Hindu Kush Mountains or should they be allowed to sweep through the Khyber Pass?

A Visit to the Refugee Camps

TIRED and ragged refugees from Afghanistan wandered the streets of Peshawar, capital of Pakistan's North West Frontier Province. Most of them were newcomers, with bitter grievances ready to tell whoever would listen.

Old Abdul Bari

Halifa Abdul Bari said he was close to eighty years old. He lived in Katvaz, Paktika Province, Afghanistan, until Karmal's troops, led by Soviet army officers, stormed and took the village following a destructive bombing attack by Soviet aircraft. Villagers were killed or forced to flee. All of Abdul Bari's family of 17 were killed or had fled. Only Abdul Bari stayed behind. His captors tied him up and tried to force him to speak. They could not get a word out of the old man about the guerrillas nor get him to swear allegiance to Karmal's regime. He was spitting mad at what they had done. They had bombed his village and killed innocent people. Abdul Bari later managed to escape after being tortured and interrogated. He was physically broken but his spirit was

As I drove through the famous Khyber Pass, I read on the sign-post that the pass was merely 50 kilometres from Peshawar and 220 kilometres from Kabul. This high plateau of Afghanistan, I suddenly realized, was not just a range of remote mountains. Whatever happens in these mountains has a vital bearing on our lives. It could stop a world war, it could help maintain world peace. Helping the people of Afghanistan is helping to save world peace.

not. He joined the other refugees making their way over the mountains to safety, hoping to find his relatives.

He was still looking when I met him in Peshawar. He was in bad shape. The wounds he received were still unhealed and as both his feet were badly cut, he moved with great difficulty.

There are 1,300,000 Afghan refugees like Abdul Bari registered in Pakistan alone. No one knows how many more have been made homeless by the Soviet invasion.

A Human Flood

Living on either side of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border are the hardy Pathan people, who share a common culture and religion and do not feel much inconvenienced by a border. Their courage and hospitality are proverbial. Even former enemies are given food and shelter if they ask for it. They move back and forth across the border as they have for centuries, and many have relatives on the other side of the border. I was told that it was infeasible to try and seal

off the border, because of the close ties of the inhabitants and also because the paths are along high mountain ridges and over very difficult terrain. This has always allowed Afghan refugees to make their way in groups and families into Pakistan.

The number of Afghan refugees increased sharply after the Soviet invasion at the end of 1979. The highest figure was 90,000 a month. Over the past ten months an average of 80,000 refugees, or 2,000 each day, have fled to Pakistan.

The world was once deluged by reports of Vietnamese refugees drowning at sea. Their awful plight has been recorded and documented, but the sufferings of the Afghan refugees, whose numbers are no fewer than those driven out of Viet Nam and whose conditions are no less tragic, have not aroused the world to condemn those who have perpetuated them.

At refugee camps I visited I saw the new graves, fields of them. These had died after successfully overcoming the hazards of the mountains. But how many more had perished on their way from Soviet bombing? They, too, had to leave their homes and belongings. They went hungry for days and days, over barren, rocky wind-swept terrain, trekking under a scorching sun and spending the nights on freezing mountains. Like the Vietnamese boat people, only about half survive the journey, many say. I was told that about 80 per cent of the refugees registered were women and children. The males were mostly older men. This was one reason for the appalling number of deaths. This tallied with what I was able to see in the camps.

In addition to natural hazards, the refugees, I was told, had to dodge enemy pursuit. The Vietnamese boat people did not have Soviet helicopters strafing them, and sometimes pursuing them into Pakistan itself. The Soviet Union is probably the first to apply "hot pursuit" to fleeing refugees! The Pakistan Government has officially protested this.

From Peshawar to Quetta

On a sweep of wilderness not far from Peshawar are several fields of grey tents. This is the Kacha Garhi Refugee Camp, with 16,000 people. There are 79 such refugee camps of different dimensions in the North West Frontier Province, and 25 in neighbouring Baluchistan Province. Most Afghan refugees are in these two provinces.

A third world nation, Pakistan is hard-pressed to feed and clothe and house so many refugees. Many countries have given aid, in cash and in kind, to Afghan refugees in Pakistan through the U.N. administrative office in Islamabad. Obviously, funds and supplies are woefully inadequate. One Pakistan official in charge of refugee work told me that the government and people of Pakistan have been depriving themselves to provide for these refugees.

In another camp I visited, the Surkhab Refugee Camp near Quetta, capital of Baluchistan Province, the tent city covered both banks of a dry riverbed. I was told there were 25,000 Afghan refugees living there in those acres of tents.

I was struck by the spartan harshness of life in the camp. The tents are low. One can stand up straight only in the centre. Some sacks on the ground, a couple of water jars outside the door and a few pots.

that was all the possessions the refugees had. The tents were about ten square metres. There were no trees to afford even some shade. In summer the temperature inside the tents are as high as 48 degrees C. It must be hell to live in those squalid tents, winter and summer.

In the Surkhab camp the inhabitants had put up low, clay walls about their tents to keep out the driving wind and sand. Twelve people had died of cold in the early spring of 1980, I was told. Baluchistan has a high-altitude continental climate. There is a great drop in temperature between day and night. Baluchistan winters are not known for their mildness. My heart went out to the refugees in those tents. . . .

Another impression of my visit to those refugee camps was the relief work. The administration appeared to be as good as possible under the circumstances. There were people in charge of distributing tents, blankets and food. I was told refugees were given some money. In one of the camps,



A young refugee.

I found a primary school and a simple clinic. Some attempts were being made to organize the refugees to weave blankets and make things to meet their own needs.

One of the saddest sights was the cheery little children who ran barefoot over alien soil after the visitors. Even the little orphans, all smiles and shouting gleefully, were apparently blithely ignorant of the sufferings and woes of their elders. What will they grow up to be? Will they be able to return to build up their homeland.

Why They Had Fled

These Afghans did not choose exile freely. Like old Abdul Bari, they were forced to make the choice. However much the Soviet media claim that the Afghan refugees were proper-tied people the Afghan "revolution" had expropriated, the truth cannot be covered up. They are almost all ordinary Afghan citizens. What Karmal and his Soviet masters declare to be the "revolution" is no more than the Soviet-inspired military coup that overthrew President Daoud in April 1978. After that, people began to leave Afghanistan. The stream of refugees grew into a flood when Soviet troops swarmed into Afghanistan in December 1979 on the pretext of rendering "internationalist fraternal assistance." According to official Soviet claims, Abdul Bari and hundreds of thousands of others like him should have welcomed the change. They should have been delighted. But Abdul Bari was rendered homeless and forced to flee along with more than 1,300,000 others. Many more had fled to other countries. It is simply inconceivable that one-tenth of Afghanistan's

(Continued on p. 25.)

Distinguishing Crimes From Mistakes

— A major issue concerning the big trial

“Renmin Ribao” on December 22, 1980, published an article by its Special Commentator under the title “A Milestone of Socialist Democracy and the Legal System.” Some of the essential points in the article are highlighted here. The heading used here is ours. — Ed.

AS a matter of principle, a line should be drawn, correctly and strictly, between criminal offences and mistakes; the two differ in nature and, accordingly, must be treated differently, the more so when persons, whoever they may be, who were once in leading Party or government posts, are involved. Generally speaking, mistakes in work are unavoidable; this applies to every revolutionary political party and its leading members, who may find it difficult to avoid mistakes in work and are even likely to err in party line. Erroneous lines have emerged on many occasions in our Party history. There was, for instance, Chen Duxiu’s Right opportunist line which held sway in the latter part of the Great Revolution between 1924 and 1927; there was also Wang Ming’s “Left” opportunist line that appeared between 1931 and 1934. The former was responsible for our defeat in the great First Revolutionary Civil War and the latter, for the almost complete destruction of our underground Party organizations in areas under Kuomintang control and extremely heavy losses in the revolutionary base areas. In spite of this, as long as one takes a revolutionary stand and sees things from the viewpoint of historical materialism, he will regard these mistakes as issues of right and wrong inside the revolutionary ranks, as mistakes made on the long, rugged path of fighting for revolutionary national and class interests, and as mistakes arising from deviations in cognition from objective reality and from the fundamental principles of Marxism. These mistakes may even

have some connections with certain shortcomings of a particular individual in his style of work and personality, but they differ in essence from counter-revolutionary criminal offences. They should be dealt with according to the method of “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient,” a method that includes Party disciplinary measures; in no way is it permissible to confound mistakes of this nature with counter-revolutionary criminal offences. This has long been a Party policy of proven correctness in practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, especially in the years of the “cultural revolution” which he personally initiated and led, made mistakes and brought great misfortune to the Party and the people. Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong was not the only one who erred; some other comrades inside the Party also erred. But their mistakes were entirely different in nature from the underhand activities of the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. As we are now discussing the question of distinguishing mistakes from criminal offences, it must be pointed out that not all the activities of members of these counter-revolutionary cliques were counter-revolutionary criminal offences; some were only various kinds of mistakes.

What is the fundamental difference between the criminal offences committed by members of the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing on the one hand and the mistakes of the others? We can look at this question from three aspects.

First, the two differ in nature. Mistakes refer to actions and behaviour characterized by subjective thinking being divorced from objective reality and deeds not conforming to

objective laws. Criminal offences are all kinds of behaviour that endanger society, and the offender is punishable according to law. Any act jeopardizing the People's Republic of China, aimed at overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, is a counter-revolutionary offence. Mistakes are matters where criticism and education come in, where one should draw lessons from them and accept Party and government disciplinary measures, whereas in the case of a criminal offence, a person shall bear criminal responsibility for his offence and is punishable by law. Mistakes are a matter of right and wrong consisting of social or political contradictions among the people themselves, whereas counter-revolutionary crimes are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves (not all criminal offences, however, are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves). Under China's Criminal Law, attempting to subvert the government, split the country, instigating rebellion, murdering and wounding people for counter-revolutionary purposes are all counter-revolutionary offences which must be severely punished. The counter-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao, after careful plotting, following a written order from Lin Biao dated September 8, 1971, tried to stage an armed coup in a vain attempt to seize political power throughout the country, or to set up another centre to split the country, while conspiring to murder Chairman Mao by using flame-throwers to attack his train, or by bombing it. The counter-revolutionary clique of Jiang Qing, in accordance with well-laid plans, acting on orders from Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen given at the end of September 1976, tried to instigate an armed rebellion in Shanghai on October 8. Obviously, both were heinous counter-revolutionary crimes, not mistakes. What they did cannot but constitute serious crimes under the laws of any country in the world. It is easy to understand that counter-revolutionary crimes such as attempted political murder, coup d'etat, splitting the country and staging armed revolt are things entirely different in nature from questions of right and wrong inside the revolutionary ranks and among the people themselves, as mentioned before, as well as from mistakes made in the course of fighting for nation-

al and popular interests, including mistakes in line which bring serious consequences.

Second, the means adopted are different. The means used in carrying out a mistaken deed are generally in conformity with normal working procedures and organizational principles and are permissible under the policies and laws of the time. Whereas the means adopted to commit a crime are improper ones and are prohibited by the criminal law of a state. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers, to achieve their criminal aim of usurping Party and state leadership, were unscrupulous in the means they used and there was no extreme to which they would not go. Apart from resorting to political murder, coup d'etat and rebellion, they also engaged in all kinds of underhand means to frame Party and state leaders and suppress large numbers of cadres and people.

One means was to stop at nothing to bring false charges against others. Lin Biao and Ye Qun, in cahoots with Jiang Qing, concocted materials out of nothing to frame Comrade Liu Shaoqi and persecute him to death. This was one of the examples. The second means was to produce false evidence. For instance, Jiang Qing and her accomplices tried by coercion to extort depositions from Meng Yongqian and Ding Juequn to use as "evidence" to prove that Liu Shaoqi was a renegade. They illegally withheld materials written by Meng and Ding who several times asked to rectify their previous depositions and state their reasons for the rectification. They kept these materials from people at the top and flagrantly replaced true evidence with false in order to frame the Chairman of the People's Republic. The third means was to extort confessions from people by torture. To frame innocent people and kill anyone who might produce evidence against them themselves, they set up torture chambers, and imprisoned people illegally, sending thousands upon thousands of revolutionaries to death under physical and mental torture. The fourth means was beating up people, smashing up or grabbing things, ransacking homes and kidnapping people. They resorted to fascist violence in suppressing cadres and the masses, among whom countless numbers were killed or wounded. During the serious August

1967 armed clash alone, as directed personally by Wang Hongwen with Zhang Chunqiao's backing, more than 1,000 people were wounded, over 800 kidnapped and five detained and later sentenced. The fifth was to organize secret agents for underhand activities. Under Zhang Chunqiao, there was a secret service organization code-named the "You Xuetao Team." Financed by him, it engaged in such activities as shadowing and kidnapping people, raiding people's homes, detaining people and interrogating them under torture. All this proves to the hilt that the frame-up of Party and state leaders and the suppression of cadres and masses were premeditated counter-revolutionary criminal activities, and that all the means they adopted towards these ends were offences strictly forbidden by China's Criminal Law.

Third, the ends of the two are not the same.

When a person makes a mistake, generally speaking, his intentions are good and he means to be revolutionary. The opposite is the case with a criminal offence; a counter-revolutionary offence is committed for an expressed counter-revolutionary purpose. From the viewpoint of jurisprudence, in judging whether or not a person's behaviour constitutes a counter-revolutionary offence, the prerequisite is to establish whether or not the person in question subjectively harbours counter-revolutionary motives or not. Under the Criminal Law, it is counter-revolutionary if the aim is to "overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system." And it was with this very aim in mind that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company had committed these offences. If we make an overall analysis of their counter-revolutionary programme of "changing the dynasty," of all their criminal deeds, such as the attempt on Chairman Mao's life, plotting to stage an armed coup, planning an armed rebellion, framing Party and state leaders in an organized and premeditated manner, suppressing and persecuting vast numbers of cadres and people at large, then we can see clearly that their purpose was to overthrow the people's political power and found a feudal, fascist "dynasty" instead. This is completely different from mistakes in work and in line made by others prompted by the good intention of trying to ensure that our Party

did not change its nature, or our country change its political colour.

The hearings of the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China have proved that the indictment against the ten main culprits of the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing are backed by solid facts and incriminating evidence. The question of the two counter-revolutionary cliques is decidedly not one of their having made mistakes, but of having violated the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, since they have been found guilty of either attempting to subvert the government, or split the country, or of organizing armed revolt, of counter-revolutionary murder or injury, of counter-revolutionary frame-ups, of organizing counter-revolutionary cliques, of carrying on counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation, of interrogating people under torture to exact confessions and of illegally detaining people. To hold them criminally responsible according to law is entirely a matter of implementing the principle that "violations of the law must be investigated and dealt with." In the trial of the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the line between counter-revolutionary offences and mistakes has been drawn strictly according to principle. Only their counter-revolutionary offences are to be dealt with, not their mistakes. This is in full conformity with the basic requirements of China's socialist legal system.

The crimes of the two counter-revolutionary cliques are so heinous, their effects so damaging and the number of people persecuted so great as to be something rarely seen in the past or present, either in China or anywhere else in the world. But ours is a socialist country where Marxism serves as the theoretical basis guiding our thinking. In our dealings with the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, we do not proceed from things like eternal justice, ultimate morality or indignation, but strictly according to the principles of socialist democracy and the legal system which speak for the will of the people and shall mete out punishment according to law. The current trial, conducted in the basic spirit of the Chinese law now in force and its specific provisions, can stand the test of history. □

Investigations Into Jiang Qing's Crimes Completed

ON December 23, the Special Court finished its investigations of the charges stated in the indictment against Jiang Qing. At this session it presented a mass of solid evidence proving that Jiang Qing had framed and persecuted large numbers of cadres and masses with cruel means. At the court, Jiang Qing's attack on the judges and prosecutors and denunciation of the witnesses aroused great indignation on the part of the people attending the hearing.

Soon after the court hearing started at the First Tribunal, Jiang Qing attacked President of the Special Court Jiang Hua, Chief of Special Procuratorate Huang Huoqing and the prosecutor, and slandered the court as "Kuomintang" and "fascist." Jiang Hua told her: "You have disrupted the order of the court and you are liable to receive a heavier sentence."

Judge Gang Ying (female) questioned Jiang Qing: "Did you once say that Wang Kun, the noted singer of the Oriental Song and Dance Ensemble, had maintained illicit relations with foreign countries?" Jiang Qing replied that she did not remember. The court then had the text of a speech she made on September 4, 1968 read out, and a tape of the same speech played. In it was her false accusation against Wang Kun. Jiang Qing had to admit that these words were hers.

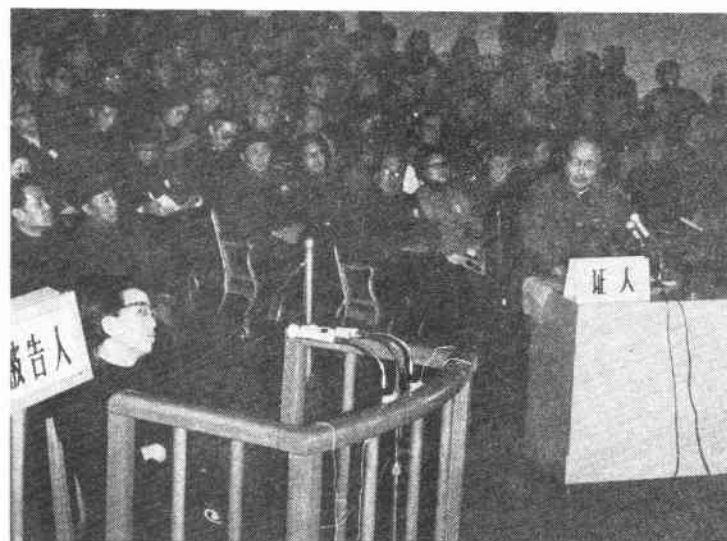
Because of this false accusation by Jiang Qing, Wang Kun was discredited and detained for eight years.

The court then investigated the charge that Jiang Qing had framed Sun Yang, late Vice-President of the People's University of China. In a speech which she made in September 1967 while receiving some university and college students, Jiang Qing said: "We have long known that Sun Yang of the People's University is an enemy agent. He is not only a Kuomintang secret agent, but quite possibly a Japanese secret agent, and still, he may have some relations with the Soviet Union." The speech was read out at the court. After Sun Yang was persecuted to death, Jiang Qing continued to denounce him as a member of the Fuxing Society which was a Kuomintang organization of special agents. In the same talk, she made trumped-up charges against Liu Baiyu, former Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association, and labelled him as an enemy agent. In that speech, the recording of which was played at the court, Jiang Qing said: "In my opinion, the problem of Liu Baiyu is not simple. The Minguo University at which he once studied was not a regular one. It was a powerful organization for training enemy agents. If you can straighten that out, you will do well."

The investigation also proved that Jiang Qing's accusation that Chen Huangmei, former Vice-Minister of Culture, was a renegade could not be substantiated.

The prosecutor pointed out that Jiang Qing had fabricated many frame-ups and persecuted a large number of cadres and masses. Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company had persecuted some principal leaders of provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and departments of the Party Central Committee, such as Huang Yan, former Governor of Anhui Province, Li Qiming, former Governor of Shaanxi Province and Zhang Linzhi, late Alternate Member of the Eighth Party Central Committee and Minister of Coal Industry.

The prosecutor's speech was followed by examination of evidence showing that Jiang Qing had falsely denounced Shi Chuanxiang, a nationally famous sanitation worker of Beijing,



Playwright Ah Jia (right) testifying at court.

as a "scab." Ah Jia, playwright and former Deputy Director of the China Beijing Opera Theatre, and Lin Mohan, former Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, as "counter-revolutionaries," and Zhang Linzhi as a "sworn follower" of Peng Zhen (former Mayor of Beijing and now Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress). Shi Chuanxiang and Zhang Linzhi were persecuted to death.

During the investigations, the court read out statements in testimony and exhibited other evidence. Shi Chunli (Shi Chuanxiang's son), Ah Jia and Yang Ke (Deputy Secretary of the Party Committee of the Ministry of Coal Industry) were summoned to the court as witnesses.

Testifying in court, Yang Ke said that after Jiang Qing falsely accused Zhang Linzhi as a "sworn follower of Peng Zhen" on December 14, 1966, Zhang was denounced and struggled against at meetings, and his health was greatly damaged. According to a record, he was interrogated 52 times during the 33 days of his illegal detention. At a struggle meeting on the night of January 21, 1967, the eve before he was persecuted to death, he was beaten and

sustained no less than 30 injuries. After Zhang was persecuted to death, a large number of people of the coal mining industry, from engineers, technicians and mine directors to deputy ministers, were denounced as Zhang Linzhi's "sworn followers" and "agents" and persecuted, some to death.

Photos of Zhang Linzhi being struggled against and of his remains were projected on a screen during the hearing.

Confronted by such evidence, Jiang Qing had to keep her mouth shut.

The prosecutor finally pointed out that, harbouring the aim of usurping Party and state leadership and of overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Jiang Qing had, from the very beginning to the end of the "cultural revolution," directed her spearhead against Party and state leaders as well as Party, government and army leading cadres at various levels. She must be held responsible for the serious offences of framing and persecuting these people. The prosecutor also requested that the court hold her criminally responsible for the new offence of attacking and vilifying the court.

— Xinhua correspondent

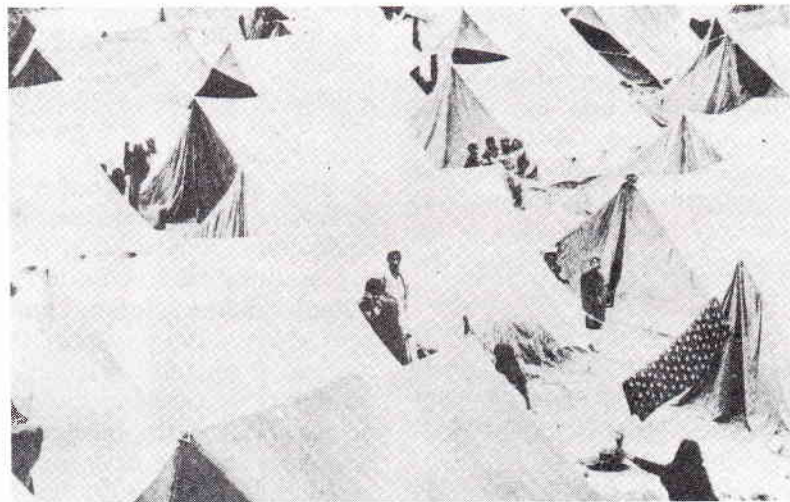
(Continued from p. 20.)

15 million people would willingly abandon their homes to live in want in an alien country if the "revolution" brought them hope and benefits. No real revolutionary or popular progressive movement would cause so much suffering to so many.

In the 20 months from the April coup in 1978 to the armed Soviet aggression in December 1979, 310,000 people fled into Pakistan. In 1980, one million more followed. This huge exodus took place after the Soviet invasion. The numbers increased as the Soviet aggressors stepped up their suppression of the Afghan resistance movement. I heard from people who had arrived in recent months tell how Soviet air attacks have become more and more ruthless.

* * *

Soviet invasion and occupa-



Refugee tents.

tion of Afghanistan have caused untold suffering to the people of Afghanistan. There are already more than a million refugees in neighbouring Pakistan, and they have to be fed. What is the solution? Pakistan President Zia Ul Haq told this

correspondent: "The permanent solution to this problem lies wholly with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and a peaceful environment in Afghanistan, so that the more than one million refugees can return with honour and security." □

FRONTIER SCIENCE

New Branches of Learning

China's three new branches of learning have in recent years begun stressing introducing foreign trends and results of research and integrating their study with practice in China.

The Science of Sciences (the study of the laws governing science and technology and their relationship to social phenomena—known in the United States as the sociology of science). The first symposium on this subject was held in July 1979. Several thousand specialists, professional and amateur, are mainly studying the essence and characters of science, as well as the laws governing its development. The scientists have been carrying out research work in different parts of the country and a national liaison group has been set up. The Shanghai Science of Sciences Institute has offered its suggestions for that city's long-term economic plan and, considering the problems concerning present policies, it has also carried out theoretical research on soft science.

Scientists in Tianjin, with the basic theory of science of sciences as their starting point, are studying improvements in the administration of China's science and technology. The Chinese Academy of Sciences, the major sponsor of the science of sciences, is preparing to set up a research office of this branch of learning.

"**Rencaixue**" (the study of making the best use of people with special ability). Sponsored by several dozen scientists, the preparatory group of the Chinese

Rencaixue Society was founded in 1979. At present, scientists are emphasizing theoretical study so as to lay a theoretical foundation for the formulation of the country's principles, policies and regulations.

Futureology. Formed in January 1979, the Chinese Future Research Society has set up its branches in more than a dozen provinces and municipalities and published its own journals, *The Future and Development* and *The Future World*. Current study is related to society, science, technology, economy and military affairs.

A national symposium dealing with the three branches was held in December, in the city of Hefei in east China. Five hundred scientists and experienced workers presented essays and exchanged experiences at the meeting. The subjects included the reform of the administration of the country's science and technology, the relationship between the economy and the policies on science and technology, the training and administration of scientists and technicians, the composition of persons in leading positions, the education of gifted children, future problems likely to confront the Chinese Communist Party, the possibility of reaching the economic goals of the modernization drive and the development of education in the coming 20 years.

MUSIC

New Singers and Styles Emerging

The recent emergence of both outstanding new young singers and new lyrical diversity in

popular songs is part of a rapid development now taking place in China's musical world. Tired of the old political songs and slogans they grew up with, young people today are searching for a new style of music to give expression to their true hopes and interests. Foreign music has some popularity, but of late, the attention and interest of audiences seems to have been captured by a new generation of young, previously unknown Chinese singers and musicians.



Young singer Su Xiaoming.

Among the most popular of the singers is a woman named Su Xiaoming, a member of the Song and Dance Troupe of the P.L.A. Navy. Her well-known performance of *Night in a Naval Harbour*, describing the mood of a sailor returning to his home port at the end of a long voyage, is now a favourite among young people, particularly sailors.

Another rising star is Zhu Mingying, a woman soloist whose specialty is singing African songs. Listeners are always impressed by her loud, clear voice, the versatility of

her range and tone and the obvious feeling she pours into her songs. At the welcoming concert given in honour of the visiting President of Zaire last March, Zhu's solo performance of that country's songs was praised as having been sung by a leading singer from Zaire. Her rendition of *Wishing Us All Success* while performing a traditional African dance was also well received.

Zhou Jianxia has been widely acclaimed for her performance of *Song of the Cradle*, a new folk song from north-eastern China. This woman's unique style of singing has been honoured with the title of "silver-flute-style" coloratura soprano.

A Meeting of Young Friends is one of the many new songs performed by the new singers, who previously had received no formal music education. Composed by a Beijing woman musician, this song expresses the ideals of youth by praising the devotion of several young friends to the cause of the four modernizations. Like all of the popular new music, this song is rich in feeling and reveals the searching of China's singers, musicians and youth today for a musical road of their own.

SPORTS

New Peaks Opened to Foreign Mountaineers

The heretofore unconquered Mount Siguniang, in southwest China's Sichuan Province, will be opened to foreign mountaineers this year, the Chinese Mountaineering Association (C.M.A.) recently announced.

Siguniang (literally "four girls") has four peaks, each over 5,000 metres above sea level, and takes its name from



Mount Siguniang.

an ancient story well known to inhabitants in the area. One day, according to the legend, a young girl was playing with a group of pandas when suddenly a leopard sprang on one of the smaller pandas. The girl rushed to save her helpless friend and was killed by the leopard. With tears in their eyes, the girl's three sisters carried her body to a bamboo forest to be buried. All at once, the earth shook, lightning flashed in the sky and the four girls were turned into today's four snowy peaks of Siguniang.

The mountain is located about a day's drive from the provincial capital, Chengdu, through China's largest panda preservation area, Wolong. The main peak is 6,250 metres high. The rainy season in the area extends from June to August.

Since the beginning of last year, China has opened eight mountains to foreign expeditions, including some of the highest peaks in the world. Twenty-two mountaineering teams from eight foreign coun-

tries have already climbed such mountains as the 8,848-metre Qomolangma and Xixabangma peaks in Tibet, Mount Anyemaqen in northwest Qinghai Province and Mount Gongga in Sichuan Province.

Three American expeditions have recently been given permission by the C.M.A. to climb Mount Siguniang.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Exhibition of Ancient Corpses

Every day more than a thousand people in Urumqi recently attended an exhibition of six human bodies buried 1,000 to 3,000 years ago. The corpses on display in the capital of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region were selected from some one hundred found in ancient Xinjiang tombs by Chinese archaeologists over the past two decades.

Located in the heart of Asia, Xinjiang has a desert climate,

which probably accounts for the good state of preservation of the bodies. They were found one or two metres, or even four to five metres, underground.

Included in the exhibition was China's earliest and best-preserved corpse, unearthed in Hami Prefecture in 1978. It was the body of a young woman who is thought to have died in her 20s some 3,200 years ago when Xinjiang was in the later period of primitive clan society. This estimate is based on a carbon 14 dating of the casket.

The woman's brownish yellow hair is curled and plaited. Her skin has turned a brownish black, but the nails and muscles are fairly well preserved.

The tomb of a senior general, who died in 633 A.D. at the age of 50, revealed much about his life and family history. From a sandstone tomb tablet found in Turpan in 1973, it was learnt that General Zhang Xiong was the highest military commander of the border state of Gaochang, which was conquered by the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and turned into an administrative region in 640.

Archaeologists estimated that Zhang Xiong was 1.80 metres tall. His muscular body was positioned as if he were astride a horse, a result of his long military career. His face is square and has a calm expression. The greying hair, eyebrows and beard can still be discerned.

A husband and wife buried together in a poplar coffin in the Taklimakan Desert in southern Xinjiang about 1,800 years ago have yielded information on the aspirations and dress of that time. The man was wearing a silk robe decorated with designs that symbolize "eternal happiness, longevity and numerous descendants." A bow and a quiver of arrows are by his side. The woman's head

rests on a pillow in the traditional shape of a cock, signifying that a woman should rise before dawn. Beside the pillow is a rattan-woven dressing case with a comb, a powder bag and a bronze mirror. She was wearing a necklace of translucent glass beads and a copper ring with plum blossom designs on her right index finger.

Nearby in the exhibition hall were two women dating back 1,300 years. Their clothes show that they were ordinary people. Their faces were covered with silk, as was required by the burial custom of Xinjiang at that time. The silk is now glued to the skin.

The exhibition also featured a reconstructed full-size model of a typical tomb of the Tang Dynasty with a sloping passage, small courtyard, ante-chamber, main room and side chambers.

The Xinjiang corpses were dried out naturally, and they weighed from one-fifth to one-fourth of their original weights. They differ from Egyptian

To Our Readers

Beginning from the first issue of 1981, we shall publish "Humour in China" once a month. The column "The Land & People" will be discontinued. — Ed.

mummies which were embalmed or treated with preservatives.

A research group at the Xinjiang Medical College studied a middle-aged female corpse over 1,000 years old with blood type "A." The whole corpse was dried and only some muscles on the inside of the left thigh retained a degree of elasticity. X-ray revealed a large amount of gas of unknown properties within the brain pan, analysis of which showed to have a fairly high content of oxygen, purer than the present city air of Urumqi. A silver Persian coin was found at the back of her mouth. Placed there at burial, it is of the Sassanid Dynasty and bears a design of an altar with rising flames flanked by priests.

An Updated Textbook for Students of Chinese

ELEMENTARY CHINESE READERS

This is a 4-volume series specially prepared for foreigners learning the Chinese language. Edited by the Beijing Languages Institute, this series takes into account the specific requirements of foreign students who wish to learn Chinese for everyday use. Each lesson contains exercises aimed at helping the students reinforce what they have learnt. The material furnishes concise explanations of Chinese grammar and expressions, supplemented by drills in speech and writing. To further aid the students, all simplified characters are accompanied by their original forms. After completing these four volumes, students will have mastered the basic sentence patterns and about 1,600 common expressions in modern Chinese.

The two accompanying penmanship books which begin with the basic strokes will help students develop calligraphic skills in a comparatively short period. The series also includes cassette tapes using the standard Beijing pronunciation.

Published by **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Beijing, China
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P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Historical Documents Of the Chinese Revolution

Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai (Vol. I in Chinese)

《周恩来选集》上卷

Published by People's Publishing House,

Distributed by Xinhua Bookstore,

Renminbi, 3.80 yuan (de luxe), 1.40 yuan (paperback).

Nationwide distribution of *Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai* (Vol. I) compiled by the Editorial Committee for Documents under the C.P.C. Central Committee began on New Year's Day. This volume includes 60 of Zhou Enlai's important writings during the period of the new-democratic revolution — the years from the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) to the eve of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. They have been compiled in chronological order; 40 had never been published before.

Zhou Enlai was one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party of China. His writings not only record his revolutionary feats but also mirror his brilliance, splendid qualities and fine style of work as a great Marxist and a proletarian revolutionary. These writings profoundly sum up the experience of the Chinese revolution by applying the Marxist theory to solve a series of important questions.

Volume I includes two articles written in the First Revolutionary Civil War period. The first, "We, Who Are Amid the Present Political Struggle," was written at the historical juncture in the winter of 1926 when the War of Northern Expedition had

won tremendous victory and the Kuomintang Right wing was stepping up its counter-rev-



olutionary activities. Zhou Enlai was then a Member of the Standing Committee of the C.P.C. Guangdong-Guangxi Committee and concurrently chief of its military affairs department. He not only expounded the tactical line of the Communist Party in forming a united front during that period and countered the attacks by the Kuomintang Right wing but also resisted the capitulationist tendency inside the Communist Party represented by Chen Duxiu. The second, "Send Troops Immediately to Fight Chiang Kai-shek," was a memorandum to the Party Central Committee written by Zhou Enlai and signed by him and several others after Chiang Kai-shek launched the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in Shanghai in April 1927. Staying in Shanghai at that time, Zhou Enlai was Secretary of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and concurrently Secretary of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Jiangsu-Zhejiang Committee.

During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), Zhou Enlai was the

Head of the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee in the Central Soviet Area and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. The conditions under which he waged hard struggles on many fronts were extremely complicated, and he wrote much on Party building, work in the White (Kuomintang-controlled) areas and building the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas. Eleven of these articles are included in this volume.

"Thoroughly Eliminating All Non-Proletarian Ideology in the Party," written in November 1928, is an important document in the history of the Chinese Communist Party which sums up Party building experience after the founding of the Party.

"A Letter of Instruction of the Party Central Committee to the Front Committee of the Fourth Red Army," drafted by Chen Yi (then Secretary of the Military Commission of the Fourth Red Army) on behalf of the Party Central Committee in accordance with Zhou Enlai's talks on many occasions and the guidelines of the Party Central Committee's meetings, was approved and finalized by Zhou Enlai. After analysing the political situation in 1929, it points out that because of China's economic foundation, the Chinese revolution is characterized by first organizing the Red Army in the rural areas and then seizing political power in the cities. It also sums up the experience of the Red Army and explains its fundamental task and the many problems that emerged in its development.

"Telegrams About the Smashing of the Fourth 'Encirclement and Suppression' Campaign" contains eight telegrams from Zhou Enlai to the Party Central Committee and the Central Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee in the Soviet Area, and an order signed jointly by Zhou Enlai and Zhu De (then Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army) in 1933. Zhou Enlai was then directing the battle against Kuomintang troops at the frontline in the Jiangxi Central Soviet Area. At the time, Mao Zedong had been forced out of the Red Army by leaders of the "Left" opportunists. These telegrams put forward the principle of concentrating a superior force to annihilate the enemy piecemeal in mobile warfare. It was under the command of Zhu De and Zhou Enlai that the fourth campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was victorious.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Zhou Enlai, as the representative of the Party Central Committee and Secretary of the Southern Bureau of the Party Central Committee, did united front work and led the Communist Party struggle in Kuomintang-controlled areas. The volume includes 15 articles he wrote during this period.

"The Crisis in the Present Anti-Japanese War and the Task of Persevering in the Struggle in North China" was a well-known speech delivered by Zhou Enlai at a mass meeting in Shanxi Province's Linfen in November 1937. It was very influential in mobilizing the people of north China to persist in the struggle in the enemy's rear area.

"Building a Strong, Militant Party Organization in Southwest China," written in 1942, has universal significance in

guiding the building of Party organizations in all of the White areas.

"How to Be a Good Leader" was an outline of a report made by Zhou Enlai in 1943 to the cadres of the Southern Bureau of the Party Central Committee. It puts forward an overall requirement for the leading cadres of the Party at all levels, which still plays an important guiding role today.

The volume also includes Zhou Enlai's articles summing up the experience of the previous revolutionary period. The most important ones are "Relationships Between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang From 1924 to 1926," "The Study of the Party's Sixth Congress" and "On the United Front."

The Third Revolutionary Civil War period started in August 1945 following the conclusion of the war against Japanese aggression and ended in October 1949 when the People's Republic was founded. In August 1945, Zhou Enlai accompanied Mao Zedong to Chongqing for negotiations with the Kuomintang. Later, he led the delegation of the Communist Party to continue the tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in Chongqing and Nanjing. He returned to Yanan (seat of the Communist Party Central Committee) in November 1946 and took part in leading the War of Liberation in the following years. Thirty-two articles during this period are included in this volume.

A record of the history of fighting against the Kuomintang reactionaries at the negotiation table, the three articles — "A Talk About the Second Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee," "A Solemn Statement on the Kuomintang's 'National Con-

gress'" and "Negotiations in the Past Year and Their Future" — analyse the characteristics of the different stages in the negotiations, expound the stand of the Communist Party of China and expose Chiang Kai-shek's moves to undermine agreements reached in peace negotiations.

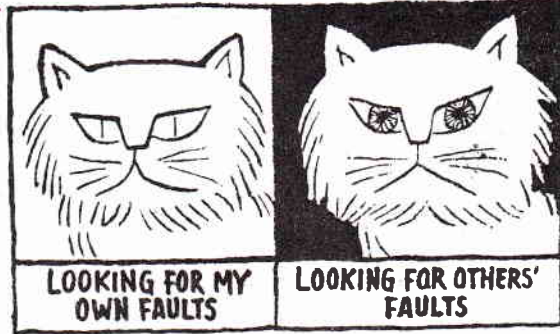
"Learn From Mao Zedong" is an excerpt from a report made by Zhou Enlai in May 1949 at the First All-China Youth Congress. He pointed out that Comrade Mao Zedong was a leader who emerged from among the ordinary people amidst a prolonged revolutionary movement. He should not be regarded as a unique, mysterious, born leader from whom people could hardly learn, nor was he an isolated lord. He noted that Mao Zedong Thought had experienced a historical development.

Other articles in the volume include those on work in the Kuomintang-controlled areas, land reform and literature and art work.

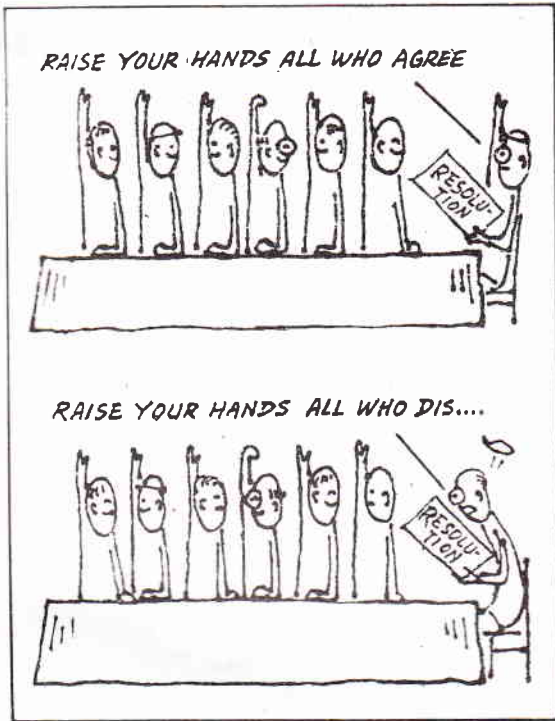
The publication of the *Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai* (Vol. I) is a great event for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, for doing propaganda and theoretical work on Marxism-Leninism in China. It will be of very great help to studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as well as the history of the Chinese revolution, and to learning and inheriting the theoretical legacy of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation so as to promote the modernization drive in socialist China.

This volume has already been translated into Japanese and is now being translated into English, French, Spanish and Russian. These editions will be published and distributed gradually beginning May 1981.

Humour In China

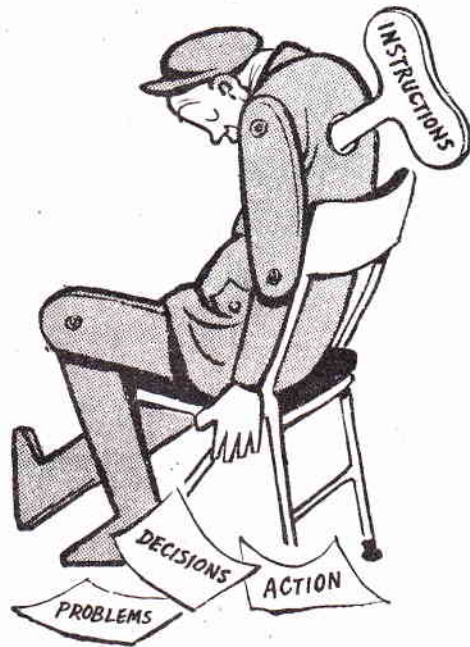


— Hua Junwu



Yes-men by habit.

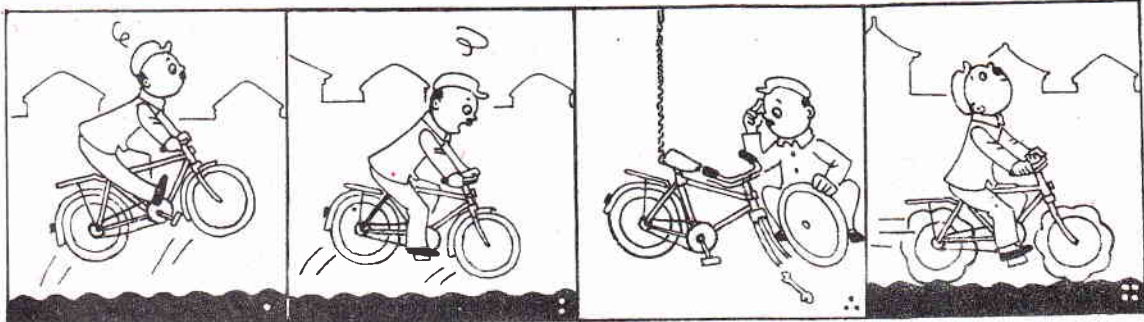
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