

No. 31 August 3, 1981

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY  
OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS



Fighting the  
Changjiang  
Floods



An Economic  
Survey of the  
Developing  
World

# LETTERS

## "Unrequited Love"

I am quite pleased with your new 'Notes From the Editors' section, which is needed to compensate for Western journalists' almost congenital inability to understand Chinese affairs. In this vein, I was particularly pleased to note in your May 25, 1981 issue that criticism of Bai Hua's screenplay *Unrequited Love* does not signal the beginning of a new "cultural revolution," as some Western journalists have reported.

Steve Gorlin  
Rhode Island, USA

## Domestic Reports

I value your domestic articles more than your international reports and comments (though *Beijing Review* has seemingly shifted its emphasis to the international section this year). As China is a big country with a large population, it can be seen as something of a world in itself. If China's economic strength increases and the people's living standards grow, it will have far greater influence in the world. Therefore, I follow developments and progress in China's political, economic and cultural spheres with great interest.

In your domestic section, while reporting on China's achievements in national construction, you should also carry some articles

about social problems such as crime and unemployment, if they exist, as these are common issues in the capitalist world. This would give your magazine more credibility in the readers' eyes.

Toshio Kamimura  
Kobe, Japan

## Collective Research

I belong to a Harvard University connected group of retired persons who meet together to share our interests and knowledge and to do further collective research on chosen topics. This spring I was responsible for leading six seminars on: "Understanding Current Events in China," from the Chinese historical-social viewpoint.

Before the first session I asked each would-be participant to read two articles from a copy of *Beijing Review* (from my old copies which I made available) and to report on their interests. From these reports we pinpointed topics for our next five sessions.

Because we presented the Chinese viewpoint and US viewpoint as historically conditioned and without judgment, people were comfortable in stepping into another culture. As the sessions progressed, critical comparisons gave way to an enthusiasm for understanding, and as you see, two members decided to subscribe to *Beijing Review*! We all learnt a lot from each other.

Brenda Lansdown  
Cambridge Ma., USA

## Comments on Columns

I like your "Events & Trends" column for its detailed news on China's actual political and economic situation. The "Opinion Digest" column is not to my liking, however. Its reports are too trifling and meaningless, as are those in the "Culture and Science" column.

Martin Notthoff  
Langelsheim, W. Germany

The articles in "Notes From the Editors" are quite concise. Except that some of the terms are not so familiar. Please show the meanings if possible.

I am well interested in international reports and comments. These make me more enlightened.

Martin Yek  
Juba, Sudan

I think new columns such as "Humour in China" and "Opinion Digest" are very good indeed.

Menacer Zineb  
Algiers, Algeria

The column "Events & Trends" gives a vivid description of China's development and expresses its opinions on the world situation. What gives me the greatest impression is the articles about China breaking with domestic and foreign conventions of economic construction.

Ramon Garcia R.  
Bogota, Colombia

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## POLITICAL

## Selecting Young Cadres For Leading Posts

Old comrades may be pardoned for some of their mistakes, but they would not be forgiven if they should commit the historical error of not training competent younger successors.

Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Ye Jianying and Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee Deng Xiaoping and other revolutionaries of the older generation have often made remarks to this effect.

Hu Yaobang, the newly elected Chairman of the Party Central Committee, recently also listed the training of competent successors in the prime of life as a task of strategic significance.

**Urgent Matter.** Since the emphasis of work of the whole Party was shifted in 1979 to the building of a modern socialist China, leading cadres at various levels are charged with an arduous and challenging task as never before. To solve problems promptly, they have to be on their toes and maintain close contact with the people. Some of them, however, are getting old and weak in health and therefore find it hard to carry their end of the heavy workload. This is why it is imperative to choose and train a large contingent of younger cadres who are politically reliable, professionally competent and capable of providing leadership.

**A Large Contingent.** Young and middle-aged cadres account for over 60 per cent of the 20 mil-

lion cadres in China, while specialized technical cadres trained since the founding of New China in 1949 number about 5 million.

There are only about 10,000 cadres who joined the revolution during the First and Second Revolutionary Civil War Periods (1924-27 and 1927-37). They have dedicated themselves to the cause of the revolution all their lives and have rich experiences in leading various fields of work. The 300,000 comrades who joined the revolution during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) are now the mainstay of the ranks of cadres. Seven million cadres took part in the revolution during the War of Liberation (1946-49) and the early 50s, and many of them are the backbone force in the leading posts in various fields of endeavour. Apart from these, there are about 12 million young cadres who have matured in the last two decades.

**The Call.** In order to do a better job in choosing and promoting young and middle-aged cadres, a national conference of directors of personnel bureaux was convened in Beijing recently. Speaking at the conference,

Song Renqiong, Member of the Secretariat and Director of the Department of Organization of the Party Central Committee, underscored the importance of the Party's call and urged those chosen and promoted to leading posts to respect and learn from the veteran cadres.

**Response.** The whole nation promptly responded to the call. In Heilongjiang Province, north-east China, 509 cadres in the prime of life have been promoted to leading posts at the provincial, prefectural, city and county levels. In Zhengzhou, capital of Henan Province, the average age of the mayor and deputy mayors is eight years younger than that of their predecessors.

In Qinghua University, a famous polytechnic in China, leading bodies with the middle-aged as the backbone force have been formed at various levels. Among the 188 leading cadres at the university and faculty levels and in Party and administrative departments, 16 per cent are 36 to 45 years of age, 68 per cent are 46 to 55 years old, and the remaining 16 per cent are over 56 years old.

In Xingxian County, an old revolutionary base area in Shanxi Province where many cadres



Chen Dexiang (right) and Li Shuhua have recently been promoted to the posts of secretary of the Party committee and director of the Anqing General Petrochemical Works in Anhui Province.

joined the revolution during the War of Resistance Against Japan. 227 outstanding middle-aged and young cadres have been promoted to leading posts and at the same time proper arrangements have been made for the 412 retiring veteran cadres.

Work is being done to improve the cadre system in China. This includes the improvement of the retirement system and the abolition of lifelong tenure for leading cadres.

At present, old cadres who are healthy and still on the job and those who for health reasons have become advisers, are all doing their best to help the newly promoted younger cadres so that they can fulfil their tasks and carry forward the revolutionary cause.

## SOCIAL

### Fighting the Changjiang Flood

Flood threatens many areas along China's numerous rivers every year during the summer high-water season. This year the flood season set in earlier than usual and the floodwaters came with unprecedented ferocity.

Torrential rains hit 120 counties in southwest China's Sichuan Province from July 9 to 14, and precipitation was 200 to 470 millimetres in many counties. The mountain torrents caused the water level of the rivers to rise in no time, breaching the dykes and embankments in many places. Fifty-one counties and cities were flooded and in some the water was six metres deep. Traffic was disrupted on the Chengdu-Chongqing, Baoji-Chengdu and Chengdu-



Kunming railways, 80 trunk highways and 482 roads linking the counties. Many water conservancy facilities, including the 2,000-year-old Du Jiang Yan irrigation network, were damaged. Large numbers of people were marooned and in Chongqing, the biggest city in Sichuan, 55,000 houses were submerged. In the western, northern and central parts of the province, which were the hardest hit, many houses were washed away, the crops were inundated and a large number of people were left homeless.

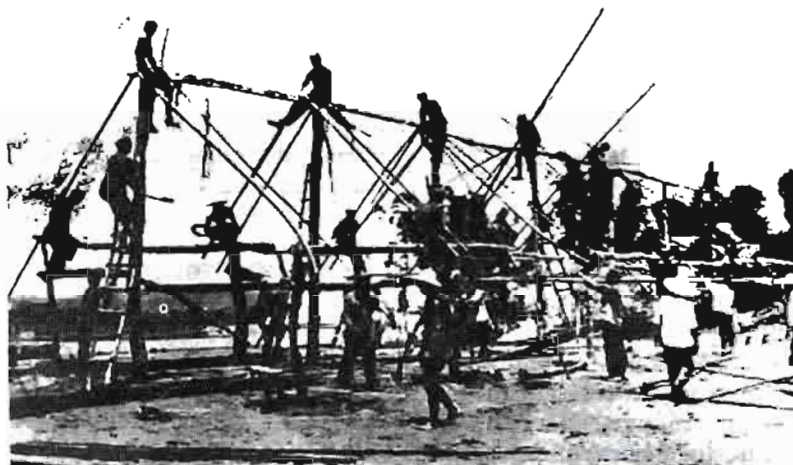
Soon after the disaster, leading cadres at various levels in Sichuan rushed to the afflicted areas to direct the work of combating the flood, rescuing the stranded people and providing relief. The People's Liberation Army units stationed in Sichuan sent large numbers of troops to help save state property and rescue people beleaguered by the floodwaters. The PLA air force flew in large quantities of equipment and materials to combat

the flood as well as food and clothes for the victims. Large quantities of relief supplies were also sent in from all over the country.

According to incomplete statistics, 753 people were killed during the flood, 558 were missing, 28,140 injured and 150,000 were rendered homeless. Crops on 660,000 hectares of farmland and 1,700 factories were submerged. Loss of property is estimated at 2,000 million yuan (about 1,136 million US dollars). But in many areas the loss was reduced



The Gezhouba dam stands rock-firm as the floodwaters rush past.



PLA soldiers building temporary shelters for commune members in the disaster areas.

to the minimum thanks to timely rescue measures. In Chongqing, for instance, of the 220,000 residents in the flooded areas, with the exception of 32 who were drowned or missing, all were taken to places of safety. And the important equipment and raw materials in some flooded factories were moved out safely.

Proper arrangements have now been made for most of the afflicted people. Production has been restored in most of the factories hit by the flood. Under the leadership of the local Party committees and people's governments, the peasants are taking adequate measures to rebuild their homes.

Railway lines damaged by the flood have been repaired and traffic has returned to normal.

Owing to the appearance of the biggest flood peak in three decades on the upper reaches of the Changjiang River (the Yangtze), the embankments along the zigzagging Jingjiang on the middle reaches of the Changjiang and the Gezhouba water conservancy project at the entrance to the three gorges

were seriously menaced. Precautionary measures against the flood were taken in early July along the middle and lower reaches. Under the overall command of the Hubei provincial Party committee, 170,000 people, joined by a PLA division, were sent to keep a close watch on the embankments of the Jingjiang River. The headquarters at the work-site of the Gezhouba project also made every preparation to combat the flood.

Early in the morning of July 19, the floodwaters passed through the 27-gate spillway of the Gezhouba project with a volume of 72,000 cubic metres per second. Waves six metres high were whipped up, but the big dam, spillway, navigation locks, powerhouse, and other buildings all stood rock-firm. When the flood peak passed through the Jingjiang River in the afternoon that same day, all the embankments were intact. Navigation through the newly installed shiplocks at Gezhouba, once disrupted, was resumed on July 24.

The Changjiang is the longest river in China. Seven serious

floods occurred during the years 1911 to 1949. In 1931, the city of Wuhan was flooded, tens of millions of people along the river were rendered homeless and hundreds of thousands of people died. After liberation, the dykes along the river have been reinforced, and dozens of big and medium-sized reservoirs have been built along its upper and middle reaches, thereby reducing the menace of flood during the summer rainy season.

## ECONOMIC

### Readjusting the Machine-Building Industry

China's machine-building industry must help expedite the technical transformation of various departments of the national economy, including those producing consumer goods. This should be its basic task as well as guiding principle in making readjustments. This was stressed by Vice-Premier Bo Yibo at a recent national conference on electrical and machinery products for daily use.

Since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, the state has made huge investments to build the machine-building industry. However, owing to the fact that undue stress was laid on capital construction, particularly capital construction in heavy industry, the technical transformation of various departments of the national economy was neglected and the machine-building industry has not played its proper role.

Now that the scale of capital construction has been reduced and the production of consumer goods has been given the priority, the machine-building industry must shift its orientation of service.

Bo Yibo called on the machine-building departments to co-ordinate their efforts with the customer-departments, first of all the agricultural, light industrial and energy departments, to determine the policies for renovation of techniques and equipment and to draw up long-term plans for technical transformation so that new products will be turned out in a planned way.

Since the beginning of this year, some machine-building units have, irrespective of departments or localities, carried out reorganization according to the principle of co-ordination between specialized departments. In Shanghai, for instance, a ship-building company has been set up; several joint enterprises have been established around the large motor vehicle plants. Readjustment and restructuring of a similar

nature have also been started in 16 other manufacturing industries, including those producing machine tools, power generating and telecommunications equipment and machinery for oil exploration in the seas.

Bo Yibo said that to develop industries producing machinery, electrical and metal products for daily use (i.e., durable consumer goods) is another important task for the machine-building industry. With the increase of income for both urban and rural residents, the peasants in particular, the demand for modern household appliances has been steadily increasing. The State Council has decided to energetically boost the production of 10 major items including bicycles, sewing machines, clocks and wrist-watches, TV and radio sets, washing machines and electric fans. According to statistics, sales of these products in 1980 totalled 11,000 million yuan, accounting for more than 80 per cent of the total sales of machines and electrical products for daily use.

## Purchases of Treasury Bonds Outstrip Quota

China's local governments and various departments and enterprises had purchased 4,665 million yuan in treasury bonds by the end of June, 16.6 per cent above the state target. This was disclosed recently by the People's Bank of China.

The issuance of treasury bonds was decided by the State Council in January this year. In the last few years, though the central government had a financial deficit, many localities and enterprises, which were given more right to make their own decisions, had a favourable balance, with more money at their disposal. The issuance of these bonds is a measure to stabilize the economy and helps concentrate part of the surplus funds in a planned way for use to meet the needs of society.

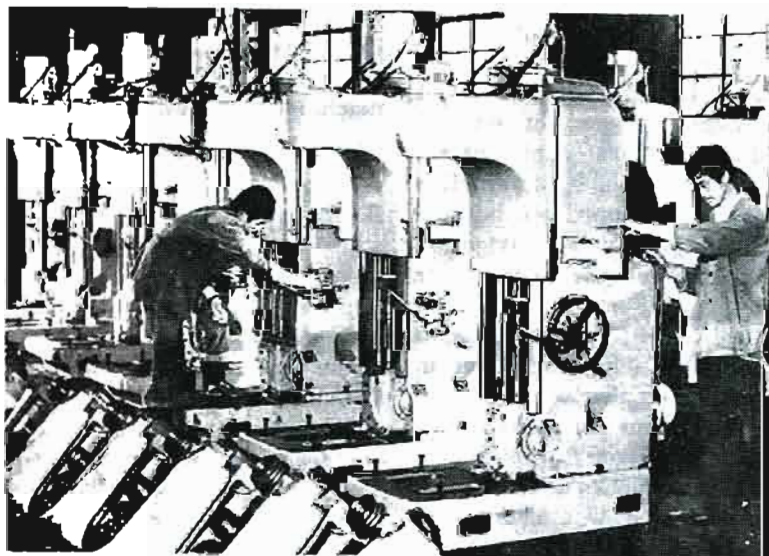
The State Council plans to issue 4,000 to 5,000 million yuan in treasury bonds this year, and 4,000 million yuan was set as the target to be fulfilled.

By the end of June, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions had purchased 3,500 million yuan of these bonds, 8 per cent above the quota set by the state for them. Shanghai, Beijing, Henan and Tibet overfulfilled their quotas by more than 20 per cent.

The state enterprises bought treasury bonds worth 920 million yuan, 38.4 per cent above the quota.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which has not been assigned a fixed purchase target, bought treasury bonds valued at 150 million yuan.

Treasury bonds were also bought by some units, well-off rural communes and production brigades and individuals.



Vertical borers produced by the Heavy-Duty Machine Tool Plant in Wuhu, Anhui Province. The plant now produces small machine tools.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Soviet-Afghan Boundary

#### Alignment Treaty Illegal

The spokesman of the information department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on July 22 declaring that the boundary alignment treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on June 16 is "illegal and invalid."

The statement reads in full as follows:

"According to a TASS news dispatch, a treaty of boundary alignment for the sector between the west bank of Lake Zorkul and Peak Povalo-Shveikovski (known as Peak Kokrash Kol in China) was concluded between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in Kabul on June 16, 1981. This treaty involves the disputed area of the Pamir between China and the Soviet Union.

"As is well known, the 1884 Protocol on Sino-Russian Boundary in the Kashgar Region stipulates that 'the boundary of Russia turns south-westwards, the boundary of China runs due south' from the Uz-Bel Mountain Pass in the Pamir. In 1892, tsarist Russian imperialism dispatched its troops to the Pamir in violation of the above stipulation and occupied by force of arms more than 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory west of the Sarykol Range. No Chinese Government since then has ever recognized the illegal occupation and control of this area by tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. The Government of the

People's Republic of China has repeatedly stated its solemn position on the issue of the Pamir in the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations and in the Document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China dated October 8, 1969.

"China now reiterates its position and declares in all seriousness that as the boundary negotiations between the Governments of China and the Soviet Union have not yet concluded and the question of the disputed area of the Pamir remains outstanding, it is illegal and invalid for the Soviet Union unilaterally to sign with a third country a treaty of boundary alignment involving the disputed area in the Pamir between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese side is firmly opposed to this.

"A boundary treaty was signed between China and Afghanistan on November 22, 1963, and there exist no territorial problems between the two countries."

### European Parliament President in China

President of the European Parliament Mme. Simone Veil paid a friendly visit to China (July 17-28) at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

During her stay in Beijing, Mme. Veil met with Li Xian-nian, Deng Yingchao and other Chinese leaders on separate occasions and exchanged views on major international issues and on developing the relations between China and the European Economic Community. Both sides condemned the Soviet hegemonists for their aggression and expansion in various parts

of the world and held that Soviet hegemonism is imperilling the security of various countries and world peace. China considers that a partnership of equality should be established between West European countries and the United States. From the view of global strategy, this is beneficial to the struggle against Soviet hegemonism. West European countries are aware of the Soviet threat, and the European Parliament is trying to promote unity and integration of Western Europe. The European Parliament also advocates better relations with the United States while maintaining economic independence, for this is in the interest of the balance of forces and conducive to world peace.

Since China and the EEC established official relations in 1975, political, economic and cultural ties between the two sides have developed satisfactorily. There is no conflict of basic interests between China and the West European countries and China hopes that friendly relations and co-operation with them will continue to develop.

Mme. Veil said that the EEC countries are studying ways of changing the forms of economic co-operation so as to suit China's policy of economic readjustment. She expressed the opinion that the EEC can co-operate with China in developing light industry, communications and transport, and energy.

### Refuting Rumour by TASS

A spokesman of the information department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on July 27 categorically denied the rumour

(Continued on p. 12.)

## Ninth Polish Party Congress

THE Extraordinary Ninth National Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party ended on July 20 after adopting a programme designed to take the country out of the present political and economic crisis. Other documents adopted included an economic reform plan, a resolution on the new Party Constitution and an appeal to the Polish people by the Congress.

The Congress summed up events since the Eighth Congress of the Polish Party held in February last year. In his report, First Secretary Stanislaw Kania pointed out that the current socio-economic crisis in Poland was caused mainly by the contradiction between the greatly increased productive forces in the 1970s on the one hand, and the inflexible leadership in national economic management and the entire social life on the other. The crisis had grown acute because of mistakes in economic and social policies and erroneous decisions in the 70s. He said that another cause was the lack of democracy in the work of the Party. He reaffirmed that the Party would follow unswervingly the line of socialist reform and settlement of social conflicts by means of consultations and overcome the crisis through its own strength.

The Congress expelled the former First Secretary Edward Gierek and others from the Party and elected a new Central Committee of the Polish Party through direct and secret ballot. Kania was re-elected First Secretary, but 89 per cent of the Members and Alternate

Members of the Eighth Central Committee failed to be re-elected. A spokesman of the Party Congress said: "The results of the election give concrete expression to the will of the Congress delegates who chose those who firmly support socialist reform and sent them to the Party's central leadership." After the election, Kania said that he would live up to the delegates' confidence in him and that he would "neither go Left nor Right, but will press ahead along the road of socialist reform."

### Soviet Pressure

Before the Polish Party Congress was held, the Soviet Union exerted strong pressure on Poland. Apart from deploying military forces and holding military manoeuvres in and around Poland, the Central Committee of the CPSU sent on June 5 a threatening letter to the Central Committee of the Polish Party. It read like an ultimatum, charging that the Polish situation was "threatening the interests of our entire community" and "our common security." The letter accused Kania and Jaruzelski of not making any "amendments to the policy of concession and compromise." "Positions have been given up one after another," it declared. It told the Polish Party to put the situation on to a "correct course before the Ninth Congress of the Polish Party." But at the 11th session of the Eighth Congress in which this letter was discussed, the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Central Committee of the Polish Party

expressed confidence in Kania and Jaruzelski. This forced the Soviet side to change its tack and issued a statement claiming that its letter did not criticize the line of renewal, and it expressed Soviet "support" for the Polish Party leaders. Following this, the Soviet Union continued to put pressure on Poland through sending Gromyko to Warsaw and through its propaganda machine. At the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the Polish Party, the head of the Soviet Communist Party delegation Victor Grishin again declared that the Soviet Union "could not remain indifferent to the future of Poland."

### Pressing on With Reform

Inside the Polish Party itself there was a sharp struggle. The faction headed by Kania persisted in the line of reform, and consultations and stressed solving the Polish problem through the Polish people's own strength. The opposing faction, who was against this line of reform and consultations, received Soviet backing and encouragement. The Soviet Union described them as "healthy forces" and attacked those upholding the line of reform and consultation as "revisionists" and "opportunists." This outside intervention from the Soviet Union in Polish internal affairs made the struggle within the Polish Party much more complicated and much sharper. On the eve of the Ninth Congress, the struggle was first reflected in the election of delegates to the Congress. The different views were heatedly debated by the various "forums." The overwhelming majority of the delegates from the provinces and districts were



for the line of reform and consultations.

After overcoming all the various difficulties, the Ninth Congress of the Polish Party has finally concluded, but the

Polish United Workers' Party still faces stormy times ahead, for in addition to threats from the Soviet Union the economy is in a very serious condition.

— Ren Yan

## Relations of West Viewed From Ottawa Summit

THE two-day Ottawa summit did not result in a deadlock because of conflicting interests as had been predicted in the Western press. But then, neither did it make any dramatic progress as expected by some observers. It, however, did reach some measure of understanding and agreements on economic and political issues. This outcome accurately reflects the present relationship among the Western countries.

Important developments have taken place in the year since the Venice summit. The Soviet Union has intensified its global rivalry with the United States, boosted its military strength in Europe and pressed forward in its southward thrust towards the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and South Asia. Meanwhile, it mounted a peace offensive and went out of its way to woo West European countries and estrange them from the United States. On the eve of the summit, its propaganda was directed at inciting Western Europe to go its own way, beset with economic and political problems at home as they are.

This confronts the Western countries with the pressing need to enhance their understanding and co-ordinate their policies, and the Ottawa summit made progress precisely in this direction.

First, the summit succeeded in co-ordinating the strategy in meeting the Soviet challenge

and the West's position on several major international issues.

A political statement released in the form of a "Chairman's Summary" said that the seven leaders were "seriously concerned" about the inflated Soviet military strength and Soviet expansion in different parts of the world. They stressed the necessity to maintain a powerful defence, while remaining ready for dialogue and co-operation with the Soviet Union so far as the Soviet Union "makes it possible."

The statement also condemned the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and supported the international effort for a Soviet withdrawal. It also voiced support for the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea. And after a discussion on the explosive situation in the Middle East, the United States suspended its delivery of F-16s to Israel.

On economic relations with the Soviet Union, the leaders agreed to increase consultations to make sure that their economic policies will be compatible with their "political and security objectives."

Secondly, the seven countries have moved closer to a more sympathetic understanding of the developing countries. In a communique issued after the summit, they reaffirmed their commitment to co-operation with developing countries "in a

spirit of mutual interest, respect and benefit." They also expressed willingness to conduct "constructive and substantial discussions" with third world countries and participate in "global negotiations" on a mutually acceptable basis and to provide these countries with government and private assistance. These last two points, the United States had, at first, not been willing to accept. So it is considered to be a "break-through" and conducive to the holding of a South-North summit in Mexico this October.

Thirdly, the seven countries came to a compromise on economic issues, the central topic of the summit. Some of the participating countries, notably West Germany and France, pressed the United States to lower its record interest rates to ease the pressure on their own economies. The communique acknowledged both the necessity to maintain high interest rates under the given circumstances and the difficulties they have brought to other countries working to stabilize their economies. It called for appropriate measures to curb inflation and bring down the interest rates.

Observers in Ottawa have expressed "discreet optimism" about the results of the summit. Some have noticed that the summit had failed to make explicit decisions on a number of important problems confronting the West.

The result of the conference, however, occasioned no surprise as it was the logical development of US-European relations since January when Ronald Reagan became the President of the United States. The political and economic situation in the world and the changes in the leadership of the United States and some West European countries have made apparent some

of the contradictions existing between America and its European allies. It would be unrealistic to expect these differences to disappear in a two-day summit.

At a joint press conference after the summit, the leaders of the seven countries expressed their desire to strengthen

understanding, consultation and co-operation. But they also stressed their independent views on some issues. They will quarrel on the basis of unity. This is how relations among Western countries will develop.

— *Xinhua Correspondents Yu Enguang and Gao Jian*

## After the Israeli Bombing

**T**HE Israeli July 17 bombing and shelling of Beirut and southern Lebanon were the heaviest since 1978. Israeli warplanes continued to bomb and strafe parts of southern Lebanon despite the July 21 UN Security Council resolution calling for a cessation of military action. It is a forceful reminder that the Israeli authorities' policy of aggression and expansion is one of the major causes behind the fighting and chaos in Lebanon.

The joint command composed of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the National Movement of Lebanon has responded positively to the UN Security Council call and

has declared a ceasefire. On July 24 Begin also declared that Israel will respect the ceasefire. The ceasefire is holding, but it is very fragile.

The recent ceasefire agreement was reached after the shuttle diplomacy of US special envoy Habib's visits to Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Israel. After Israel escalated its bombing and shelling of Lebanon, US Defence Secretary Weinberger criticized Israel for its "lack of restraint" in the border war with the Palestinians in Lebanon. He also charged that Israel was unmindful of US interests in the Middle East. In the United States, a change has been observed in the position of

some pro-Israeli organizations and Jewish organizations.

It must be pointed out that Israel's ruthless bombing and shelling of Lebanon and its obdurate persistence in its policy of aggression and expansion are, in the final analysis, the direct result of the indulgent US attitude towards Israel. After Israel had bombed the Iraqi nuclear installation on June 7, the US Government took no effective measures to check further Israeli attacks against Arab countries other than to temporarily suspend its delivery of F-16 fighters. The US administration's attitude emboldened the Israeli authorities to escalate their attacks.

Over the years, the Israeli authorities have adamantly refused to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people, refused to give up Arab territories they have forcibly seized and, moreover, have tried by every means at their disposal to wipe out the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

As there are PLO institutions in the southern part of Lebanon and a large community of Palestinian refugees, Israel's mounting attacks against this region are directed at weakening and destroying the Palestinian forces and bringing Lebanon under its sphere of influence.

Despite the announcement of a ceasefire, the situation there does not inspire optimism. Israeli military men continue to make dire threats, going so far as to hint that Israel "may be obliged to occupy Lebanon for some time." PLO Chairman Arafat has announced that the PLO will abide by the ceasefire so long as they are not attacked.



Beirut after an Israeli air raid on July 17.

But he pointed out that if the rights of the Palestinian people are denied, there can be no

peace, no problems solved and no real stability.

— Lu Tong

## The Developing World: Problems and Progress

THE developing nations have enjoyed rapid overall economic growth in the last decade. During the 1970s, their combined gross national product grew at an average rate of 5.3 per cent, surpassing that of the developed countries by more than two percentage points. Their share of the capitalist world's GNP thus grew from 15.5 per cent in 1970 to 18.7 per cent in 1978.

### Uneven Development

However, according to UN economic statistics on 96 developing countries and regions from 1971-77, 30 developed rapidly with yearly overall growth rates of more than 6 per cent. The economies of 20 countries grew at annual rates of 4 to 6 per cent, while the remaining 46 countries and regions developed even more slowly, many as little as 1 per cent per year. It is worth noting that in general, those developing countries with faster economic growth rates had already achieved a higher level of development than those countries with low or stagnant growth rates, revealing the gradual polarization taking place within the developing world itself.

Those countries with rapid GNP growth, besides the oil-producing nations, include Malaysia and Singapore in South-east Asia, Gabon and the Ivory Coast in Africa, and Argentina and Brazil in Latin America. Most of the countries with the slowest growth rates are con-

centrated in Africa and South Asia, and are generally characterized by weak domestic industries accounting for less than 10 per cent of their individual GNPs. These countries are also extremely weak in their ability to accumulate domestic capital and benefit domestically from exports, in contrast to the relatively successful examples of a few developing countries already mentioned.

### Common Problems

Nevertheless, virtually all the developing countries are confronted with certain funda-

2.5 per cent per year during this period.

— More than three-fourths of the developing countries' foreign trade is with developed countries. The prices of manufactured goods imported from developed nations rise incessantly, while those of agricultural produce and raw materials exported to the developed world are often kept down; the terms of trade of most developing countries therefore continue to deteriorate, subjecting them to great losses.

— With the exception of the oil-producing countries, almost all the developing nations are short of energy and depend on imported petroleum. Due to sharply rising oil prices, they have had to spend huge sums in the past few years to meet their basic energy needs.

— Owing to their unfavourable foreign trade balance

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**Rapid economic growth among the developing countries in recent years has been disproportionate and accompanied by growing disparities within the ranks of the third world itself. These nations share a number of difficulties, including food and energy shortages, heavy foreign debts, inflation and polarization of the rich and poor. The developing countries are coming to realize that they must strengthen themselves through co-operation and work for a new international economic order in the years ahead.**

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mental economic difficulties today. Examples:

— Agricultural backwardness results in food shortages. According to UN statistics, the average annual growth rate in agricultural production from 1971-77 was under 2.5 per cent for 46 developing countries, while 29 of these had growth rates below 1 per cent. The populations of the developing countries also grew at around

and slow accumulation of capital, the developing countries are compelled to depend to a considerable extent on foreign loans. It is estimated that the third world's total foreign debt now amounts to some \$450,000 million.

— Many developing countries are locked into a heavily dependent position in the international economy which makes them highly vulnerable to

changes and fluctuations in the markets of the Western world. In the last two years, as a result of the general recession throughout the capitalist world, the economic growth of the developing countries has slowed conspicuously from an average annual rate of 4.2 per cent in 1979 to 3.6 per cent in 1980.

— As a result of domestic financial difficulties and the damaging effects of worldwide price increases, the range of inflation among the developing countries is on the average more than double that of the developed countries. During most of the 1970s, the prices of consumer goods in the developing countries rose at an average annual rate of more than 20 per cent. In 1979 they jumped to an average of 32.6 per cent, while prices in the non-oil-producing countries rose 36.5 per cent.

— The gap between the rich and poor in developing countries is becoming ever wider. In South Asia there are 520 million people now living at starvation level; the figure for Africa and Latin America together exceeds 200 million. Great discrepancy in incomes is

a major source of social unrest and insecurity in these countries.

### Future Tasks

Developing countries, especially those which have already made relatively important economic gains, are expected to see continued growth in the 1980s and a further rise in their position in the world economy. But it is also widely believed that the next decade will be a time of difficulty for the world's developed economies in their effort to rid themselves of stagflation, which may have unfavourable repercussions on the third world.

Many developing countries are now drawing lessons from their past experiences, looking for a long-term, effective development plan based on their own national conditions. Most are not willing to copy foreign patterns.

The developing countries are also realizing that social and economic development first depend on a policy of basic self-reliance and strengthened co-operation among themselves. A number of third world co-operation organizations have

already achieved considerable gains. Hereafter, co-operation among the developing countries in the areas of capital transfer, energy, food and agriculture, trade, communications and high technology will be even greater.

The developing countries are, moreover, launching a common struggle for a new international economic order which will intensify in the 1980s. This effort includes fighting against increasing protectionism and for more favourable trading terms, stabilized primary commodity prices, and reduced vulnerability to worldwide inflation. In addition, they will seek private foreign capital and technology in accordance with their own needs, try to win more aid from the developed capitalist countries, reduce their debt burden, and restrict the activities of multinational corporations detrimental to their own economic interests. The developing countries will certainly face obstruction from international monopoly capitalist groups and others, but their struggle reflects the clear current of history as well as the interests of the world's people.

— Li Cong

(Continued from p. 7.)

spread by TASS which, quoting *The Washington Post*, said that China has sold and delivered nuclear fuel to South Africa. Terming it as a "sheer fabrication," the spokesman pointed out: "TASS, in slanderously accusing China of 'working hand in glove with the South African racists in nuclear armament,' is viciously trying to drive a wedge in the relations

between China and African countries."

*The Washington Post* carried an article on July 23, saying that the alleged nuclear trade was mentioned in a "top secret report" of the CIA. Seizing this trumped-up story that same day and playing it up, TASS lashed out at the so-called "Beijing hegemonists for forging a criminal alliance with imperialists, racists and Zionists

against the African peoples."

In publishing the fabricated story, *The Washington Post* added an editor's note at the end of it, saying that a spokesman of the Chinese Embassy in Washington had categorically denied the report on China-South Africa nuclear trade and termed it as "sheer fabrication." In quoting the story, TASS completely ignored the statement made by the Chinese Embassy.

# The Crux of the Sino-Soviet Boundary Question

by Li Huichuan

*This is the second and concluding part of the article carried in the quarterly "Journal of International Studies," issue No. 1, 1981. The first part appeared in our last issue. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

(3)

ON October 20, 1969, the Chinese and Soviet sides once again entered into boundary negotiations. Earlier on September 11, Premier Zhou Enlai met with Chairman Kosygin at the Beijing Airport. They reached an understanding which laid the groundwork and provided a starting point for the resumption of negotiations. But the Soviet side later changed its mind. Over the years, the understanding has become a target for vicious attacks on China by the Soviet Government. Thus the Soviet Government has created a big, new obstacle in the way of the boundary negotiations.

**Understanding Reached Between Premiers of the Two Countries.** During that meeting, Premier Zhou Enlai and Chairman Kosygin discussed mainly the boundary question, also touching, of course, on other questions in the relations between the two countries. They unanimously agreed that: differences in principle between China and the Soviet Union should not be allowed to undermine their normal state relations; China and the Soviet Union should not go to war over the boundary question; the negotiations should be carried on in the absence of any threats; to this end, the two sides should first of all reach an agreement on provisional measures for maintaining the status quo of the border, for averting armed conflicts, and for disengagement of troops of both sides in the disputed areas, and then proceed to settle the boundary question through negotiations. The two Premiers also discussed the major content

of the provisional measures and reached an agreement.

The Soviet side, however, has refused to put the agreement into effect, and attacked the Chinese side for demanding its implementation. It has been arbitrarily asserting that no disputed areas exist along the Sino-Soviet border, categorically rejecting disengagement of armed forces of both sides in these areas, opposing the signing of an agreement to maintain the status quo of the border pending settlement of the boundary question through negotiations, and flatly denying the fact that the Premiers of the two countries had already reached a clear understanding concerning these questions. It even went so far as to say that some major items in the understanding between the two Premiers were "fabricated" by the Chinese side.

The prevarication of the Soviet side is full of loopholes for there is a verbatim record of the understanding. What's so wrong with the substance of the understanding reached by Premiers of the two countries? And why does the Soviet Government try to deny it so desperately?

**The Disputed Areas.** What are the disputed areas? The Chinese Government long ago pointed out explicitly that they are "those areas where the two sides disagree in their delineations of the boundary line on the maps exchanged during the 1964 Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations." During their meeting, Premier Zhou Enlai made such an explanation and Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, accepted the concept, saying that "the disputed areas mean areas that you say are yours and we say are ours." But the Soviet side is now trying in various ways to show that the Soviet Government and its leaders do not understand this simple, clear concept. This can be seen, for example, from the editor's article

in *Pravda* on April 1, 1978 and Kapitsa's article which was published in a journal of another country several months ago. They attacked the concept after heaping patently absurd "explanations" on it. It is doubtful whether this clumsy ploy can add much lustre to the image of the Soviet Government.

To say that disputed areas exist along the Sino-Soviet border is only to recognize objectively that there are some areas that China claims to be China's while the Soviet Union claims to be the Soviet Union's. This touches neither on the nub of the discord nor on the methods for resolving it. But the Soviet Government finds it impossible to accept wording which actually places both sides in a position of equality at the negotiations. Naturally, then, the question arises. Exactly what are they after?

This is what they say. . . .

"As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there are no disputed areas." But what is it called when there are so many places where the boundaries drawn on the maps of both sides do not coincide?

"All these places are Soviet territory." But it is not the Soviet side alone that has the final say on the question of whose land it is. The Soviet Government always tries to present its own will as a law which China has to obey. How can anyone accept that? It won't do.

"The boundary line on the Chinese map has been arbitrarily delimited deep in Soviet territory." "The Chinese side refuses to quote treaty documents as the basis for the boundary line it proposes." But, since the Chinese Government stands for the settlement of the boundary question with the relevant Sino-Russian treaties as the basis, the boundary line it proposes is of course delimited strictly according to the stipulations of these Sino-Russian treaties. It is the boundary line on the Soviet map that, along many sections, goes deep into Chinese territory in violation of the stipulations of these treaties. Is there a treaty basis behind this? Although the outside world has nowhere to look up the notes of the negotiations, it is known to all that the Chinese government statement on May 24, 1969 and the document issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry on October 8 the same year, taking as example the section of the boundary line in the Pamir area and the sections of the boundary line formed by the Heilong and Wusuli Rivers, did quote the rel-

evant stipulations of the Sino-Russian treaties, providing irrefutable proof on this question. The two documents were published to the whole world. It seems really pitiful that the Soviet Government should base its attack against China on the supposition that people might not remember.

Disputed areas, if they are admitted to exist, would have to be "handed over to China." This reveals a degree of frankness. The Chinese Government insists on taking the Sino-Russian treaties as the basis for the settlement of the question related to the disputed areas. Why is it that the Soviet Government clings to places which even the Sino-Russian unequal treaties state to be Chinese territory? Why should they not be returned to China?

If it is admitted that there are disputed areas, it would "provide a basis for new territorial claims on the Soviet Union." So that's how it works! The Soviet Government feels embarrassed; that's why it so obdurately refuses to recognize the objective fact that disputed areas do exist along the Sino-Soviet border. It fears a chain reaction, as Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union have indeed through various means and excuses occupied too much territory of other countries!

**On the Disengagement of Armed Forces in the Disputed Areas.** The Soviet side adamantly rejects disengagement of the armed forces of both sides in the disputed areas; it accuses China of "expecting the Soviet armed forces to withdraw unilaterally." But the wording is down in black and white that "the armed forces of both sides should be disengaged in the disputed areas"; where is there any mention of "unilateral withdrawal"? As was pointed out above, boundary lines drawn by the Soviet Union incorporate into the Soviet Union some places which are delimited as Chinese territory in the Sino-Russian treaties, which Soviet armed forces have never been able to occupy, and which are now guarded by Chinese frontier troops. Zhenbao Island, for instance. Naturally once an agreement is signed on disengagement of the armed forces of both sides in the disputed areas, Chinese troops will also move back from the disputed areas. This is quite clear. By making such a sensational statement, the Soviet side only shows it spares no scruples in attacking China.

**On the Conclusion of an Agreement to Maintain the Status Quo of the Border.** The Soviet Government alleges that the Chinese proposal

for the conclusion of such an agreement first of all is a "precondition" raised by the Chinese side for negotiations. It also spreads the rumour that this was put forward after the meeting of Premiers of the two countries. Here it must be pointed out: Firstly, the Chinese Government has consistently proposed to maintain the status quo of the border, prevent armed conflicts and disengage the armed forces of both sides in the disputed areas, prior to the settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. In its note to the Soviet Government on August 23, 1963, the Chinese Government had, in this spirit, put forward six concrete proposals. How could it be possible that the question was raised only after the 1969 meeting of Premiers of the two countries? Secondly, the two Premiers had during their meeting already reached an understanding on the conclusion of such an agreement. How could China's demand that the understanding be honoured be called a "precondition"? Thirdly, proceeding from the real situation on the Sino-Soviet border, the conclusion of such an agreement guarantees the carrying out of the negotiations free from interference and threats. In fact, there had been successive serious armed conflicts on Zhenbao Island and in the Terekty district prior to the resumption of the boundary negotiations in 1969; what's more, there have been repeated instances of Soviet armed personnel crossing the Chinese border and killing Chinese people in the recent past. Why not first of all conclude an agreement on measures to maintain border tranquillity?

The Soviet side attempts to deny the understanding of the two Premiers, asserting that it "has not taken on any commitment which runs counter to its own interests." That's it! The Soviet Government holds that to honour the understanding of the two Premiers is a violation of its "interests"; but to use military pressure and threats against China is in conformity with its "interests"!

**Soviet Military Threat.** The Soviet Government likes to refer to any exposure of its military threat as "a myth." But facts are tenacious. Labelling the fact "a myth" can not change the fact itself.

It is known to the world that for more than 10 years there has been a massive Soviet military buildup in areas bordering China, the deployment of a growing number of offensive weapons, establishment of the war zone command headquarters and endless military exercises and other military activities spearheaded

against China. All these constitute a military threat to China.

It is known to all that Soviet armed forces have been stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic since the early years of the 1960s. In 1966, the Soviet Union concluded a treaty which is military alliance in nature, spearheaded against China, with that country. Since then, it has amassed and stationed large numbers of armed forces there and built military bases. This has pushed Soviet military forces down to points which are only several hundred kilometres from Beijing, posing a military threat to China from the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic and along the Sino-Mongolian border.

As all the world knows, it is with Soviet backing that the Vietnamese authorities pursue regional hegemonism, engage in military provocations against China, invade and occupy Kampuchea, control Laos and concoct the "Indochina federation." The Soviet Union also seeks military bases in Viet Nam and other parts of Indochina. Viet Nam and Indochina as a whole are being turned into an anti-China base.

It is known to the world that the Soviet armed invasion and military occupation of Afghanistan which borders on west China is a threat to world peace as well as to the security of China.

Thus, Soviet armed forces threaten China from the north, south and west. This harsh reality, in all its starkness, exemplifies the hegemonism of the Soviet Union in its relations with China. Yet the Soviet Government in a false countercharge alleges that China "attempts to influence the Soviet Union through war blackmail and put pressure on the Soviet Union in the boundary negotiations." Who will believe this?

The Soviet Government has proposed to conclude a treaty of "mutual non-resort to armed force" and of "mutual desistance from invasion," or to issue a statement on principles relating to the two countries' relations, as if this could prove that no Soviet military threat existed and the two countries' state relations could be improved. Historical experience, however, shows that it is not for lack of a statement that Sino-Soviet relations have deteriorated to the present extent. Even the existence of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance failed to pre-

vent the Soviet Government from taking so many actions like posing and stepping up military threats against China. Now the Soviet Government, while reluctant to sign even an agreement on maintaining the status quo of the border, preventing armed conflicts and disengaging the armed forces of both sides from the disputed areas, is anxious to conclude some treaties or statements devoid of any practical measures to guarantee carrying them out.

What else could they be used for besides covering up the Soviet military threat against China and hoodwinking people?

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After a study of the positions of China and the Soviet Union on the boundary question, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Firstly, the Chinese Government advocates a clear distinction between right and wrong on historical issues and confirmation that treaties concerning the present Sino-Soviet boundary were unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism when the Chinese and Russian people were powerless. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has deliberately tried to confound right and wrong on historical issues and whitewash the crimes committed by tsarist Russia in its aggression against China, asserting that these treaties were signed "to promote good-neighbourly relations."

Secondly, the Chinese Government holds that both sides should, in the light of actual conditions and taking these treaties as the basis, bring about an all-round settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations and determine the entire alignment of the boundary. China does not want to take back the Chinese territory seized by tsarist Russia in accordance with these treaties. The Soviet Government, however, has insisted on a settlement of the boundary question on the basis of a so-called "historically formed" and "actually defended" line unrelated to these treaties, attempting to incorporate into the Soviet Union the Chinese territory which tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union have invaded and occupied, or intended to invade and occupy, in violation of the treaties.

Thirdly, the Chinese Government maintains that either side invading and occupying the territory of the other side in violation of these treaties must, in principle, return the territory

unconditionally. But both sides can, considering the interests of the local inhabitants, make necessary adjustments in these areas along the border according to the principles of consultation on an equal footing, mutual understanding and accommodation. The Soviet Government, however, has asserted that there is no territorial problem existing between China and the Soviet Union, refusing to return the Chinese territory it has invaded and occupied in violation of the treaties.

Fourthly, the Chinese Government holds that a new and equal Sino-Soviet treaty should be signed to replace the old and unequal Sino-Russian treaties and that the boundary line be surveyed and demarcated. The Soviet Government, however, has counted on the Chinese Government agreeing to sign a new unequal treaty under which more Chinese territory would be ceded to the Soviet Union. Then, "boundary markers will be set up by modern means" so that its new gains of expansion could be consolidated.

Fifthly, the Chinese Government maintains that the understanding reached by the Premiers of the two countries should be implemented, and that until an all-round settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question is reached through peaceful negotiations, the status quo of the border should be maintained, armed conflicts should be avoided, the armed forces of China and the Soviet Union should withdraw from or refrain from entering, thus become disengaged in all disputed areas along the border, (i.e., areas where the boundary line was drawn in a different way on the maps exchanged between the two sides during the Sino-Soviet negotiations on the boundary question in 1964), and that an agreement on maintenance of the status quo of the border should be signed. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has violated the understanding between the two Premiers, rejected the disengagement of the armed forces in the disputed areas, and obstructed an agreement on the maintenance of the status quo of the border, so that it can retain freedom of action to violate this status quo, provoke armed conflicts and exert military pressure on China.

Obviously, the military threats and hegemonic policy of the Soviet Union against China are the fundamental obstacles to the settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question and the improvement of Sino-Soviet state relations.

□



## Military Regimes and "Democratization"

SINCE the mid-60s, the military has taken over in 13 Latin-American countries. However, the national-democratic movement has been developing in depth in recent years. The political situation is constantly changing and even military juntas are declaring themselves for a "transition to democracy." Panama started the ball rolling in 1978, handing power over to a civilian government. This was followed by Ecuador and Peru. A host of other countries have announced a timetable for the restoration of "constitutional government."

### From "Caudillismo" to "Gorillas"

The history of military juntas in Latin America goes back to the emergence of *caudillismo* after the wars of independence between 1810 and 1826. *Caudillos* were military leaders holding political power in the interests of the big feudal plantation owners. These chieftains with their own military following battered on the people and used every means to enrich themselves at the expense of the country. They were rapacious dictators who demanded unswerving loyalty to themselves alone and reduced constitutions, parliaments and elections to mere trappings.

After World War I, the imperialists, in order to tighten their control and effectively plunder Latin America, actively supported the reactionary army men in power and *caudillismo* became even more subservient to imperialism. The succession of Right-wing army men who climbed to power through coups d'état came to be called the "gorillas." The juntas they set up looked after the interests of the big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie. They were all rabidly anti-communist and carried out brutal suppressions at the least sign of discontent among the people. They sold out state sovereignty and national rights.

The early post-World War II years saw the disintegration of the colonial system and the development of the people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Military juntas became extremely unpopular in Latin America. Collapsing like nine-pins, they were replaced

by civilian governments. By the end of the 50s, only three military regimes — Nicaragua, Guatemala and Paraguay — were left. Even these were forced to introduce some measures of reform to stay in power. During this period, the developing national bourgeoisie in Latin America was relatively weak and the proletariat was not strong enough to effectively challenge the status quo. By the early 60s, however, a vigorous national-democratic movement appeared and, in some Latin-American countries, radical organizations mounted guerrilla operations with the aim of seizing power through armed struggle. Continuing clashes dominated the political arena and almost the entire South American continent was ablaze. Sharpening social contradictions led to frequent strikes, land seizures by the peasants and student boycotts. The economic situation grew from bad to worse and political turbulence was on the rise.

To maintain its hold on what it regarded as its "backyard" and to prevent the Soviet Union and Cuba from making further inroads, the United States instigated or backed the military in many countries to seize power. Latin America, which had a tradition of military rule, then saw a rash of new juntas. In 1964, the military seized power in Brazil, and then other countries followed suit. By 1976, when a coup was staged in Argentina, nearly half the countries in this region were ruled by the military.

### New Characteristics of Juntas

With the exception of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, which retained their semi-feudal dictatorships and vestiges of traditional military rule, most countries ruled by the military, however, show evidence of being different from the old dictatorial juntas. A number of these regimes retain a parliament and elect presidents through controlled elections after seizing power. Some even lend legal status to parties, allowing them to carry on a semblance of political activity. In general, these regimes are tinged with nationalism and place economic development high on their list of priorities. Some adopt a comparatively open economic policy, encouraging a free economy and private

enterprise and bringing in large quantities of foreign capital. Others carry out socio-economic reforms, introduce laws to protect domestic natural resources, and to some extent loosen the hold of foreign monopoly capital. These measures help to develop their national economies.

On foreign policy, most of these regimes stress defending national independence and state sovereignty, oppose control and intervention from the outside and urge the establishment of a new international economic order. Some push actively for the setting up of a Latin American economic community and uphold the struggle for a 200-nautical mile economic zone to safeguard the regional interests of Latin America. Some of them clash with the United States over a number of important issues and tend to move away from the United States. These regimes are generally alert to the threat of Soviet hegemonism.

At home these military regimes all exhibit the following features: high-handedness, suppression of the opposition and harsh economic exploitation, resulting in an extremely wide gap between the rich and the poor, serious unemployment and inflation. The inflation rate of Brazil, Argentina and Chile in 1980 was 115, 88.9 and 31 per cent respectively.

Overall, class contradictions are acute in these countries, and, beset with economic and political crises, the military juntas are finding it more and more difficult to keep the situation under control.

### **Background to "Democratization"**

Owing to the ever-deepening social, economic and political crises, contradictions between the people and the ruling class, particularly the military junta, are sharpening. In recent years, wave after wave of popular struggle have emerged. This reflects increasing popular dissatisfaction. The people want their basic democratic rights restored. The Nicaraguan people's armed victory over the Somoza dictatorship as well as the struggle against imperialism and dictatorship of other countries in Central America have fuelled the struggle against dictatorship and for democracy. Deeply disturbed, some regimes have been compelled to make certain concessions. They have promised to introduce partial reforms. Some steps have also been taken to bring about the process of "democratization."

At the same time, with the steady growth of national capital in Latin America, the national bourgeoisie as a class has acquired greater

economic might and improved social status. Members of the national bourgeoisie are politically more active. They are against the obsolete, conservative social structure. At the same time, they are even more afraid of radical social reforms. What they are in favour of is gradual reforms to boost the development of private enterprise. To this end, they want to see the establishment of a representative system of government to replace military dictatorships. This constitutes their main political platform. In March 1979, former constitutional presidents from 14 Latin-American countries met in Caracas, and called for political democracy, human rights and better legal systems. In October the same year, 22 Latin American bourgeois political parties jointly founded a "Latin American Congress of Nationalist, Democratic and Anti-Imperialist Parties." To win over the masses, they advocated, in the name of democracy and anti-imperialism, opposition to military dictatorship and respect for human rights and democracy. The activities of the members of the bourgeoisie and their political parties are playing a role in pushing forward the process of "democratization."

External causes are also behind the "democratization" programme of military regimes. First of all, the widespread development of the national-democratic movement in the world is a powerful factor encouraging the Latin American people to fight against dictatorship and to strive for democracy. Secondly, the United States wants to prevent the Soviet Union and Cuba from exploiting the political unrest to meddle in and infiltrate Latin America, in order to hold on to the continent and preserve its own interests there. It has exerted pressure on the Latin-American military regimes to adopt a modicum of change. This has contributed to the military regimes' announcement for a "transition to democracy."

Under domestic and external pressures, these regimes have felt the need to improve their international image and to dull class contradictions at home. This is the common political background behind the "democratization" process now being undertaken by the military regimes in Latin America, despite different conditions inside each country.

### **The "Democratization" Process**

At the moment, most military regimes in Latin America have on the agenda plans for the "return of political power to the civilian." The Uruguayan regime has announced a time frame

for handing over power. But because the referendum of November 1980 rejected the new constitution, it now declares that a new plan is being worked out for "restoring the constitutional system." The Brazilian Government has approved a draft "political reform" programme promulgated by parliament, which relaxes the restrictions placed on the political parties' activities. The Chilean Junta Commission has made public a new constitution and said that political power will be handed over to civilian officials "when time is ripe." The Argentine military has published a document on the political basis for reorganizing the state and proposes permitting political parties to resume their activities soon. Honduras also has a plan for a transition to constitutional government. A parliament was elected in April 1980, and plans are afoot to elect a president in the next few months. The rulers of El Salvador say a con-

stitutional parliament will be elected next year and a president in 1983. Although no "democratization" programme has been officially raised by Paraguay and Guatemala, there are signs of "relaxation" in their domestic policy. Guatemala is preparing to elect a president next March.

Since the "democratization" process now being carried out by the ruling circles has no mass basis, any reform measures adopted are bound to be limited, partial and incomplete. Furthermore, Right-wing conservatives are sure to try and obstruct and even wreck these programmes. So, "democratization" will run a tortuous course in Latin America. The national-democratic movement on the continent, however, is irresistible. The people are against dictatorship and for democracy and, what the people want, they will eventually get.

— Qin He

## RESOLUTION ON CPC HISTORY (1949-81)

RESOLUTION  
ON CPC HISTORY  
(1949-81)

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- Mao Zedong  
- The "Cultural Revolution"  
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CINEMA

Best Productions Awarded

Long stifled by the disastrous "cultural revolution," the Chinese cinema today is in the midst of something of a renaissance. Among 1980's best productions awarded recently, there were films of love as well as tragedy in socialist China, subjects long tabooed in China's art world. New heroes also emerged from these productions, cast with fresh young faces and exuding a depth and human realism painfully missing for more than a decade. Artistically, technically and thematically, today's films embody a process of searching and innovation that promises to develop the untapped creative potential of the country's motion picture field.

The only film of this year to win a Best Film rating from all three of China's motion picture awards was *The Legend of Tianyun Mountain*. One of the first works to deal with the 1957 anti-Rightist movement, it traces the life and suffering of a young cadre wrongly attacked as a Rightist and the woman who remains loyal to him throughout. Not only does the film capture the passion and pain of those years in moving detail, but it does so with highly skilled artistic techniques that underscore the pathos of the story. Director Xie Jin, now considered one of the most brilliant film artists in China, received a Best Director award for his masterful work on this film.

*Evening Rain* is another of this year's innovative and award-winning films. Set on a one-night boat ride in the midst

of the "cultural revolution," the story focuses on the thoughts and feelings of a group of people thrown together as they travel down the Changjiang (Yangtze) River. In departing from the conventional plot of super hero and super villain in Manichean conflict with one another, the characters of *Evening Rain* are allowed to be more complex and human. A persecuted poet and his youthful Red Guard escort, an aging peasant woman, an opera singer, the boat crewmen—all are common folk portrayed with uncommon realism that reveals diverse individual characters as well as subtle popular opposition to the turmoil of the times. A well-produced music score of traditional Chinese instruments adds further interest and quality to the overall production.

Other prize-winners this year include *Love at Lushan*, a film particularly popular among young people, about a romance between the children of once-rival Communist and Kuomintang army men; a documentary on Liu Shaoqi, the late Chairman of the People's Republic of China; a Beijing opera film based on a legendary love story; and a science film entitled

*Life and Protein*. Young artists, who wrote, directed and starred in more than half of the year's 82 feature films, were also recognized; 23-year-old actress Zhang Yu, for example, received top awards for her leading roles in both *Evening Rain* and *Love at Lushan*. Naval engineer and part-time author Ye Nan also won a Best Screenplay award for his *Evening Rain*.

Films and current trends are certainly not without difficulties, however. Still recovering from years of dormancy, fewer motion pictures are produced each year than are expected by the public and overall quality is still not so good. Some thematic imbalances have also occurred; romance, long forbidden from the screen, has been injected into so many of the recent films that movie viewers and critics are already growing tired of it. Other critics have charged that some subjects of today's cinema are false, unrealistic or bourgeois. Vice-Minister of Culture and film critic Chen Huangmei, for example, has called on film artists to bear in mind the realities of Chinese society and produce works reflecting the lives, work and study of the nation's peasant and worker population. The general sentiment, however, views current changes as mainly positive trends which forecast rapid progress and growth in Chinese film artistry in the years ahead.



Zhang Yu (right) and Da Shichang, the best actress and actor.

There are cur-

rently three organizations judging and presenting honours for top Chinese film productions annually. The Golden Rooster awards, newly established this year by the Chinese Film Artists Association, are determined by a panel of 25 veteran performers, directors, critics and technical specialists. Prizes are given for everything from best films and director to best music score and dubbing.

Popular Cinema magazine sponsors another set of film awards, the Hundred Flowers, based on a yearly poll it conducts of millions of film viewers. Established in 1962, it was suspended throughout the "cultural revolution" years, during which eight "model" films dominated the screen and few new ones were produced at all. It was revived in 1980.

The third group of motion picture awards, given by the Ministry of Culture, are primarily designed to encourage and stimulate the development of the nation's various film studios. One of the 28 awards it gave this year was for a children's film entitled *The Young Teacher*. Simple, instructive, yet not necessarily one of the year's best productions, this film seeks to fill the need for positive new children's

films, and was therefore praised to encourage other studios working on such films.

## MINORITY NATIONALITIES

### *Costumes and Ornaments Exhibition*

Traditional costumes and handicrafts of the Tibetans, Mongolians, Koreans, Uygurs, Kazaks and many others of China's 55 minority nationalities have been on display since May Day this year at the Nationalities Cultural Palace in Beijing.

Among the 1,200 items exhibited are ceremonial and everyday clothing, jewelry, furniture, pottery and such arts and crafts as papercuts, wood carvings and kites. The highlight of the exhibition is its costume section, filled with the colourful hand-embroidered patterns and motifs for which China's minority peoples are so well known.

Minority nationalities account for 5-6 per cent of China's population, inhabiting more than 50 per cent of its land area. Because of their varied economic and cultural development,

very distinctive styles of dress and folk art have evolved among them. Characterized by unique colours, designs and techniques, these cultural items reflect the different traditional social customs, habits and aesthetic standards of the various minority nationalities.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### *New Discoveries at the Site of Dingcun Man*

New discoveries at the site of Dingcun (Tingtsun) Man in Xiangfen County, southern Shanxi Province, in the past few years indicate that culture existed there throughout the early, middle and late Paleolithic Period instead of just during the middle period as was formerly thought.

These new discoveries include stone artifacts of the early Paleolithic Period — heavy pointed implements, choppers, scrapers and stone balls. On the west bank of the Fenhe River opposite Dingcun Village, microliths were dug up which belong to the late stage of Dingcun Culture.

Dingcun Culture was first discovered in 1954, when fossils of three teeth of human origin were unearthed together with stone implements and vertebrate fossils. With this find, man of these fossils was named "Dingcun Man" and the site "Dingcun Culture." The entire site covers an area of 11 square kilometres.

Started in 1976, the new excavations are still continuing. Some 1,000 stone artifacts and a dozen mammalian fossils have been found at 24 locations. Traces of a child's parietal bone has been unearthed at the site, which shows a possible kinship between Dingcun Man and Peking Man.



## Marxist Sociology

THE study of sociology in China has only recently been revived after 30 years of neglect. As a branch of learning, sociology deserves its place in the system of Marxist social sciences.

Sociology has a class nature. There are both bourgeois and proletarian sociologies, and while they are related, the two cannot be confused. Marxist and bourgeois sociologies are two antagonistic ideological systems. Both came into being in the first half of the 19th century. Both share a common historical background, scientific and technical basis and somewhat similar ideological sources as well. But since the class stand of Karl Marx was profoundly different from that of French philosopher Auguste Comte, the two men differed widely in inheriting their predecessors' ideological achievements, in their views on social contradictions and problems; and so their social viewpoints and theories were essentially opposed to each other.

In formulating a theory of proletarian sociology, Marx proceeded from the standpoint of the working class, assimilating the rational and progressive aspects of German classical philosophy, British classical economy and French Utopian socialism. After investigating the living conditions of the proletariat and analysing the capitalist economic system, he founded the theories of historical materialism and scientific socialism.

In contrast, Comte, proceeding from a bourgeois stand,

adopted the conservative aspects of French Utopian socialism and explained human society with the principles of physics and biology; thereby establishing bourgeois sociology.

Marxism is an ideological weapon guiding the proletarian revolution. Bourgeois sociology is a theoretical tool used by the bourgeoisie to carry out social reforms which ultimately preserve, rather than change, the capitalist system. Among many Western sociologists today is the view that Marx and Comte are equally the "fathers of sociology," and that Marx's specific ideas are simply a separate branch of theoretical sociology concentrating on economics. This viewpoint ignores the differences of principle between Marxist and bourgeois sociologies.

Undoubtedly, Marxists must adopt a critical attitude towards the idealist theories of bourgeois sociology. But criticism

does not mean complete negation. While the fallacies of its idealist viewpoint are repudiated, the rational aspects of bourgeois sociology must be assimilated and its methods of scientific research and the numerous data collected through investigation fully affirmed.

In many of his writings, Lenin criticized the theories of bourgeois sociology, but he never negated the existence of sociology as a branch of learning. On the contrary, he said that the emergence of Marxist historical materialism for the first time "elevated sociology to the level of a science" and "made a scientific sociology possible." (*What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats.*)

In conclusion, a correct study of ever-changing social phenomena in New China must be guided by Marxism.

(Excerpts from "Renmin Ribao," March 31, 1981)

## China's Technical Structure

IN the development of the national economy, while some progress in the existing foundation is necessary, it is impossible in the near future to go beyond the limits of the present multi-layer technical structure, which mainly consists of three layers — work done by hand, semi-mechanized and mechanized technical equipment, and new automatic industry which is based on modern science and

technology. Therefore, for a long time to come, our science and technology should be developed in the following manner:

1) Rely on workers, peasants and scientific and technical personnel to make inventions in the course of their work and promote the renovation of their enterprises; that is, to create products of the 70s and 80s with the technical equipment of

the 50s and 60s while gradually replacing old equipment in the enterprise with the new.

2) Sum up ancient traditional scientific experiences, especially those in agriculture, traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacy.

3) Import techniques according to actual needs and possibilities. In the meantime develop modern science and technology on the basis of the existing enterprises. In mounting this effort, it should be remembered that impetuosity is incongruous with objective reality and stagnation is detrimental to the public good.

In the multi-layer technical structure, old and new techniques exist side by side. Such a technical structure is beneficial to mobilizing the initiative of scientists and technical cadres with special knowledge and the broad masses of workers and peasants, and to opening up more opportunities of employment so that there will be a certain balance between the disposition of the labour force and the needs for industrial development. In addition, the structure is beneficial to the natural transition from low-grade to high-grade production equipment and skill and to the devel-

opment of a wide range of products to meet the different public needs.

Naturally, the coexistence of old and new techniques is not something immutable. The trend of new techniques eventually replacing old ones is inevitable. Nevertheless, this will only happen when the new techniques achieve superiority both qualitatively and quantitatively. The veracity of this statement has been shown repeatedly in the history of science and technology.

(Excerpts from "Wenhui Bao" May 21, 1981.)

## Dissent Over "Gone With the Wind"

LAST year the American novel *Gone With the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell was republished in Chinese, prompting a discussion of the book's merits within Chinese literary circles. Two distinct views have emerged:

The majority view holds that despite the work's world fame and its brisk sales for more than 40 years, "it never rose above the limits of a popular novel, and was never recognized by authentic literary history." Why? "One reason might be its reactionary content — it openly spoke for the notorious slave system in the United States; another reason might be its artistic quality, which is rather common."

*Gone With the Wind's* portrayal of the American Civil War and Reconstruction periods differs substantially from the one presented in *Jubilee* by the

Afro-American writer Margaret Walker (1915- ). *Gone With the Wind* lamented the demise of the slave system and regarded the South's rebellion as a war in defence of the rights of the states. Margaret Walker, on the other hand, truthfully mirrored the misery of the blacks and affirmed the justice of the war between the North and South. These two works represent two distinct traditions of depicting the American Civil War in literature.

The minority opinion on how to evaluate *Gone With the Wind* holds that it has been influential on a global scale, a fact which cannot be written off simply by labelling it "reactionary." The novel "has created a women character from a Southern plantation who fought against extinction when her homeland was ruined in the hurricane of the war between the North and

South and who struggled into a bourgeois society." This book is "realistic and successful." "Its portrayal of some unawakened Afro-Americans is also true to history." The Northern army's killings and burnings were by no means a slander to the just war between the North and South. Rather such a terrorist policy against the slave-owners was precisely what destroyed the slave system in the South. "This is a fact." Of course, the novel in some ways expressed the prejudice of the white racists, but it also reflected to a certain extent the sufferings of the black people. "Although the blacks were liberated in name, they were, in essence, extremely poor and vulnerable." The novel, of course, has some serious shortcomings, but on the whole it "tallied with history and was realistic, and it had certain artistry."

(Excerpts from the monthly "Dushu" [Reading] published in Beijing, No. 3, 1981.)

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