

# Beijing Review

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## China Upgrades Its Space Technology



BEIJING REVIEW MARKS ITS 30TH BIRTHDAY

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## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

### Beijing Review's 30th Birthday Marked

■ About 500 people, including Party and government leaders and foreign guests and experts, attended the anniversary celebration at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. (p. 5). Wang Youfen, the chief executive of *Beijing Review*, describes its major landmarks and recent measures to improve the magazine (p. 4).

### China at Frontiers of Space Technology

■ Space technology is one of China's few industries that can take pride of place in the ranks of the world's highly advanced. A special two-part report by one of China's noted space technology experts and a BR correspondent traces the development of China's rockets and satellites (p. 14).

### Order Returns to Lhasa

■ Order returned to the Tibetan capital on March 6, the day after a riot by separatists in which one policeman was killed. Lhasa residents condemned the brutality of the rioters. (p. 8).

### A Review of Japan's Foreign Aid Policy

■ A close examination of Japanese foreign economic assistance since World War II reveals changes in its goals in different periods. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was designed to open up markets for exports. In the 1970s it was aimed at ensuring that aid recipients would supply Japan with raw materials and energy. Today it is geared towards serving Japan's political ends. (p. 27).

### A Late But Fruitful Literary Start

■ Zhu Zhongli, Mao Zedong's doctor and friend since the Yanan days in the 1930s, wrote *An Unofficial Biography of Jiang Qing* when she was 63. She felt it her duty to history to write about the Jiang Qing she knew and she went on to write other successful books (p. 21).

# After Our Birthday Celebrations

by Wang Youfen\*

*Beijing Review* has just celebrated its 30th birthday.

In China, the age of 30 is considered to be extremely important in a person's life. There is an old saying, *san shi er li*. That means a man is expected to establish himself by the age of 30. *Beijing Review* is now 30 years old. Whether it has established itself, I'll leave to our readers to judge. What I would like to say is this: Over the past 30 years, *Beijing Review* has certainly matured.

*Beijing Review* appeared only in English when it was published in March 1958. Now, it has grown into five editions: English, French, Spanish, Japanese and German.

In the first eight years or so, the magazine put a lot of stress on factual reporting. It was New China's first weekly journal offering Chinese news and views to foreign audiences. It served as a tool of communication with the outside world when the need for information and messages from China had become increasingly urgent. In a sense, we were the harbingers of China's opening up.

At the initial stage, many of us worked with great enthusiasm but were rather inexperienced as journalists. I still remember some of our exaggerated or even false reports during the years of the "great leap forward" in the late 1950s, such as stories about paddy-fields with an annual yield of 75,000 kilogrammes per hectare, and a news report about pig farmers who succeeded in

making the animal grow much faster by cutting off its ears. Nevertheless, *Beijing Review* staff tried very hard to learn the best traditions of Chinese journalism and apply them in their work. In a few years the journal won worldwide recognition as an important source of information on China.

During its early years, *Beijing Review* played a positive role in promoting understanding and goodwill by providing timely information on the latest developments in China as well as its policies and views on major domestic and international issues. For example, our magazine was one of the very few Chinese sources available to Americans during those years of estrangement and animosity between the two countries. Many thousands of them came to understand China through *Beijing Review*, and some of them later played a role in improving Sino-US relationships.

Then came the "cultural revolution." Many honest journalists at *Beijing Review*, as elsewhere in China, became targets of attack. Most of them were dismissed from their posts and sent to the countryside to do farm work. The magazine was in the hands of young rebels who knew little about politics or journalism. Moreover, political circumstances were such that it was only logical for many mistaken theories and ideas to find their way into *Beijing Review* and spread beyond China's borders, thus doing a disservice to our readers. One of the uses people can

now make of the *Beijing Review* of that period is in the study of those 10 chaotic years.

After the downfall of the gang of four in 1976, *Beijing Review* was gradually brought onto the right track. "Seeking truth from facts" has been restored as the guideline for our work, and objective reporting has once again been given priority. During past several years, China's reforms in the economic, political and other fields, and the process of China's opening up have become the central themes in our coverage. Our writers are required to report not only on what has been achieved, but also on the problems and difficulties China now faces. Instead of painting everything in rosy colours, they are encouraged to present a more balanced picture that reflects the real China with all the complexities of its ongoing experimentation.

Another aspect of our effort consists in modifying and diversifying our different language editions. Since what interests third world readers may not appeal to people in the West, and vice versa, we are now paying more attention to the different needs of different regions and groups of people. That is why we have recently launched a North American edition and the French-language monthly *Chinafrigue*, which is oriented towards African readers.

Given the several thousand newspapers and periodicals in China, we must try to do a better job of reprinting or excerpting from them some of the most important, relevant and enlighten-

\* The author is the chief executive of *Beijing Review*.



About 500 people attended the reception at the Great Hall of the People.

XUE CHAO

ing articles. At the same time, we will strive to do more interviews, news stories and special reports that are of topical interest to our readers. And we must also try to improve our presentation.

Now that the anniversary celebrations are over, I would like to take this opportunity to extend our warm greetings and thanks to all institutions and individuals who have sent us their congratulations, as well as to all the readers who have written us over the years. We are looking forward to more criticisms and suggestions as we strive to make *Beijing Review* an even better magazine—a magazine which is more informative, more authoritative and easier to understand; a magazine which will, in the words of General Secretary Zhao Ziyang in his congratulatory message to us, “play an even bigger role in increasing the world’s understanding of China, enhancing its friendship with China, and promoting China’s opening up.”

## Beijing Review Celebrates Its 30th Birthday

About 500 people gathered in the Great Hall of the People on March 4 to celebrate the 30th anniversary of *Beijing Review* and the publication of the magazine’s North American edition and *Chinafrique*, its new monthly in French.

More than 200 staff members of *Beijing Review* attended the happy gathering. Song Ping, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, Huang Hua, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, and State Councillor Chen Muhua were among the guests, along with other leaders from Party departments, government ministries and people’s organizations, distinguished figures from other circles, and foreign experts and friends.

Messages of congratulation

from Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Acting Premier Li Peng were read out at the gathering. The leaders paid tribute to the magazine for its efforts to strengthen the friendship between China and other countries, and to make China understood abroad.

Speaking on behalf of Hu Qili, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of CPC Central Committee, Rui Xingwen, member of the secretariat of the Party Central Committee, conveyed congratulations and encouraged the magazine to continue its efforts to introduce all aspects of China to foreign countries. Wang Meng, Minister of Culture, urged *Beijing Review* staff to make the magazine more lively, more informative and more varied.

*Beijing Review* China’s only

foreign-language weekly on current affairs, is read in more than 150 countries. The magazine has seen tremendous changes in the past 30 years. It appeared only in English when it was first published in March 1958. To meet the needs of readers in non-English-speaking countries, French, Spanish and Japanese editions were launched in 1963, and a German edition in 1964.

"I have been a reader of *Beijing Review* since it started publishing its Japanese edition," Masao Shimizu, chief director of the Japan-China Friendship Association, said in his greetings to the gathering.

Shimizu, who said he was on his 71st trip to China, continued, "I can really understand what kinds of efforts and progress it has made. *Beijing Review* is striving to voice the aspirations of the Chinese people to other countries in the world. I think the work done by the staff of *Beijing Review* is creative, and the staff members of the magazine are artists."

The Japan-China Friendship Association has 35,000 members, many of whom are readers of *Beijing Review*. There is also a Friends of *Beijing Review* association in Japan, with about 100 members, which holds two or three meetings a year to discuss key articles.

Duncan McFarland, editor of *US-China Review*, addressed the gathering on behalf of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association; Noelle Simon spoke for the France-China Friendship Association; Martin Claus from the Federal Republic of Germany-China Friendship Association conveyed his greetings in Chinese.

Christopher Noyes spoke for China Books and Periodicals of the United States, the company responsible for printing and distributing *Beijing Review*'s North American edition. The edition carries eight pages of reports on Sino-US and Sino-Canadian relations, and other issues of special interest to North American readers, in addition to

the contents of the regular magazine.

"The establishment of the North American edition of the *Beijing Review* comes at a particularly important time," said Noyes. "Significant economic and political changes are occurring, which will shape the futures of both of our countries and indeed the future of all the peoples of the world. At this juncture, it is particularly important that the voice of China be heard and understood by those throughout the world who will be instrumental in formulating and influencing these changes."

He continued, "Though *Beijing Review* and other periodicals may not bring in much of a profit, their role in laying the bases for multi-million-dollar agreements between the financial institutions and business enterprises of our two countries and also for a profitable and ever enlarging tourist trade is most important, as is also the function of these magazines in promoting goodwill

(From left to right) Rui Xingwen, Masao Shimizu, Wang Youfen and Song Ping enjoy "*Beijing Review*"'s birthday.



and understanding between the American and Chinese peoples which can not be calculated in dollars or yuan."

Noyes presented Wang Youfen, *Beijing Review*'s chief executive, with a 2-metre-long birthday card in the form of a Chinese scroll.

The ambassadors of Benin, Niger and Ivory Coast attended the birthday reception. Addressing the gathering, Benin's Ambassador Cosme Ahannon Degenon congratulated *Beijing Review* on its anniversary and on the publication of *ChinAfrique*.

*ChinAfrique* deals with issues of special interest to African readers, such as China's efforts to feed its huge population, its battle against drought and the spreading of deserts, and the way China tackles its family planning problems. The monthly also discusses Sino-African co-operation and carries analytical reports on the development of African countries. It has received a warm response from African diplomats and students in Beijing, who have called it an expression of "South-South co-operation."

"There is no need to declare here how much the heads of African diplomatic missions accredited to China and all the people of Africa rejoice and feel honoured by the appearance in recent months of this magazine, which aims to be an instrument for the reinforcement and consolidation of the ties between the Chinese and African peoples," the ambassador said.

Francoise Vaucamps, a foreign expert in the French-language department who spoke on behalf of all the foreign experts working at *Beijing Review*, also mentioned the magazine's efforts to respond to the needs of readers in different countries.

"My almost three years of work at *Beijing Review* have been a most enriching experience for me," she said. "They have not only enabled

me to know China better, but also to make better known to French-speaking foreign readers this country, which has offered me its hospitality for what will soon be 10 years."

In his speech, Wang Youfen expressed particular thanks to the foreign experts, past and present, who have worked at *Beijing Review*, and foreign friends who have helped it. "Without their assistance, *Beijing Review*, would not have been able to come this far," he said.

Speaking on behalf of the entire staff of *Beijing Review*, Wang promised that the magazine will strive to work more effectively to promote international friendship and understanding. ■

## Deng, Kaunda Hail Friendship

**C**hinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping has endorsed Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's description of China and Zambia as "all-weather friends."

"China and Zambia are good friends, and so are the leaders of our two countries," Deng told Kaunda on March 1. The Zambian president was on his fourth trip to China.

It was the first time that Deng had met foreign guests since China entered the Year of the Dragon in mid-February. Kaunda said he was pleased to see Deng in excellent health.

Deng said the hegemonism pursued by the superpowers is still a threat to world peace. The agreement signed between the United States and the Soviet Union on dismantling intermediate-range nuclear forces was only an initial step.

"We welcome such an initial step, but the question of nuclear disarmament between the two superpowers is yet to be settled."

The two big powers have not solved the problems they should have solved. Therefore, a true relaxation of world tension will require continuous efforts by people everywhere for many years to come, Deng added.

The advance of China is important because its population accounts for one-fifth of the world total. "There will be a better guarantee for world peace when China shakes off poverty," he said, adding that the country regards its development as an obligation to mankind.

Kaunda stressed that he agrees totally with China's theory that peace and development are the two fundamental issues in today's world. "We indeed face a common task in the field," the president said.

Kaunda also met other top Chinese leaders, including Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, President Li Xiannian and Li Peng, the acting premier.

The Zambian leader told Li Peng that the South African authorities still stubbornly cling to the apartheid system, ruthlessly suppress the South African people, illegally occupy Namibia and intrude into Angola and sabotage neighbouring countries.

He urged the international community to take effective measures to improve the grave situation in the region.

Li Peng strongly condemned the recent atrocities committed by the South African authorities, adding that the Chinese government resolutely opposes their policy of racial discrimination and is disturbed by the situation in the country.

Li also expressed appreciation of and support for the efforts made by Kaunda, as chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the Summit of the Frontline States in Southern Africa, to improve the situation in South Africa. ■

## Policeman Killed In Lhasa Riot

Order returned to the Tibetan capital of Lhasa on March 6 following a riot staged by separatists the previous day.

Pilgrims were back at the Jokhang Temple. Some shops had reopened and people were clearing up the streets, Xinhua News Agency reported.

The riot started when the 10-day traditional Tibetan Buddhist grand summons ceremony was about to end, on Saturday, March 5.

Shouting reactionary slogans, rioters attacked a building in the Jokhang Temple where the Tibetan branch of the Chinese Buddhist Association was directing the ceremony.

Some set fire to a car belonging to the branch, while others stormed, looted and set fire to shops and restaurants and beat up policemen sent to maintain order.

Wielding steel bars and wooden sticks, rioters knocked down two armed policemen, Yuan Shisheng and Yang Yuchen. The two were thrown out of the window of a room on the second floor of a building after being stabbed.

Yuan was dead on arrival at hospital. Yang was being treated for serious injuries.

Lhasa residents were angry at the brutality of the rioters. At about 6:30 pm, some 20 rioters who attempted to attack the Jibenggong police station, were stopped by residents living nearby.

Local religious leaders condemned the rioters' violent actions, saying that they ran counter to the teachings of Buddhism and disrupted social order and people's normal life.

The leaders demanded justice against the rioters to maintain social order and protect the safety of lives and property.

On March 4, a Tibetan leader promised that the government of

the autonomous region would continue to implement its policy of guaranteeing religious freedom.

Cyamco, vice-chairman of the regional people's government, said in an interview with Western journalists that the policy remains unchanged despite the riot that occurred last year.

The riot has had no impact at all on the policy, which has remained and will remain unchanged. "On the contrary, it will be more effectively implemented," he said.

Tibet has not shut its doors to the outside world, he added. There are still more than 100 foreign tourists and mountaineers in Tibet, and more are expected to come in the summer, he said. ■

## Railway Minister Offers Resignation

The State Council decided on March 5 to accept Minister of Railways Ding Guangen's resignation after hearing reports on an airplane crash and a train accident that killed 196 people in January.

The decisions of the State Council will be submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for final approval.

An executive meeting presided over by Acting Premier Li Peng also took disciplinary action against Hu Yizhou, director of the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC), by giving him the most serious form of demerit.

Vice-Minister Li Senmao will take charge of the Ministry of Railways after Ding's resignation becomes official.

Ding and Hu delivered self-criticisms at the meeting, acknowledging their responsibility for the January 18 plane crash, which killed 108 people, and the January 24 train derailment, which claimed the lives of 88.

State Councilor Zhang Jinfu, head of the investigation committee, reported the results of the

investigation to the meeting.

He attributed both accidents to negligence, adding that disrepair and misuse caused fire to break out in the starter motor of the No. 4 engine of passenger plane No. 222.

According to Zhang, experts still differ on the cause of the train accident.

Some say that the train derailed after meeting some unexpected resistance while running at a high speed down a curved slope, while others attributed the accident to the breaking off of a contact wire in the electrical locomotive.

Zhang suggested further investigation into the train accident by public security and supervision departments.

Li called on railway and CAAC officials and workers to learn lessons from the accidents.

He also urged officials and workers at industrial enterprises to pay great attention to production safety and take steps to prevent accidents. ■

## Deserts Engulf Fertile Land

China's deserts are growing at a rate of 1,560 square kilometres a year, endangering fertile land all across northern China.

Desert now covers 176,000 square kilometres of the country's surface, an increase of about 39,000 square kilometres since the 1950s.

Unless urgent measures are taken, desertification will erode an additional 75,300 square kilometres by the year 2000, more than twice the area of Taiwan, a noted desert control expert warns.

Zhu Zhenda, director of the Lanzhou Institute of Desert Control under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, said desertification is one of China's major environmental problems and has aroused universal concern.

It is estimated that the world's deserts are spreading at a rate of

70,000 square kilometres a year, threatening one-third of the globe's land and 135 million people.

"Despite great control efforts made in the past 30 years, desertification is worsening," Zhu said, citing Qira and Hotan counties in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region as examples.

These counties experience 50 days of sandstorms a year and more than 200 sandy and dusty days. A day strong sandstorm can destroy large areas of crops as well as homes. Shortages of drinking water and the spread of disease also result.

According to the Qira County government, about 7,600 households live in poverty because of sandstorms. Half of them have an annual per-capita income of only 60 yuan (about US\$16), much lower than the country's poverty line of 200 yuan.

Desertification has forced the county to move three times in the past few years, and it will have to move again soon as it is once again being surrounded by huge sand hills.

Zhu called on local governments to ban excessive logging, farming and herding in these areas to help curb the rapid desertification.

He said a persistent and massive afforestation campaign during planting seasons will help improve the environment. At the same time, cultivated farm land threatened by desertification should be turned into grassland immediately by planting grass and trees.

Population growth in the desert areas must be strictly controlled, Zhu said. Farmers should be encouraged to shift to non-agricultural jobs or move to other areas.

He said that to prevent more trees from being cut down new sources of power should be explored. People in desert areas should be discouraged from using wood as fuel to cook and heat their houses. ■

## Weekly Chronicle (February 29-March 6)

### POLITICAL

February 29

■ A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman says Andrei Gromyko (then Soviet foreign minister) visited China in 1958. However, Gromyko's recollection and description of talks held during the visit do not square with fact.

The spokesman was answering questions raised by journalists about whether Gromyko visited China in 1958 and whether his account of his talks with the late Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong is correct.

March 1

■ The 17th session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) National Committee opens in Beijing.

The session decides that the first session of the Seventh National Committee of the CPPCC will open in Beijing on March 24. All the delegates will be invited to attend as observers the first session of the Seventh National People's Congress which is to open on March 25.

March 4

■ The fifth meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central

Committee closes.

During the two-day session it was decided to open the second plenary session of the 13th CPC Central Committee on March 15. The 16 members attending the meeting discussed and approved a work report to be delivered by Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang to the forthcoming session of the Central Committee. They also discussed a list of candidates for the leading state posts, which will be proposed to the Seventh National People's Congress.

■ More than 500 people from all over the country attend a forum in Beijing to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of the late Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai.

The forum was designed to be an in-depth discussion of the late premier's thoughts, which guided China's foreign and domestic affairs for over half a century during the Chinese revolution and the socialist construction.

### ECONOMIC

March 2

■ Zhao Baojiang, mayor of Wuhan, capital of Hubei Province, says a second highway bridge will be built across the Changjiang (Yangtze) River.

The new 4,184-metre bridge will consist of a 1,982-metre main span and approach spans totalling 2,202 metres. The estimated cost of the bridge is 500 million yuan (about US\$135 million).

## China Launches a Comsat

China launched a communications satellite carried by the "Long March-3" type rocket on March 7 at a launching site in Xichang in northwest China.

The satellite for domestic use, was set precisely into an elliptical with all instruments on board in good working condition. The Xian Satellite Control Centre is telemetering and telecontrolling it

as planned.

The satellite was launched to meet increasing nationwide demand for satellite communication services. The satellite and its carrier rocket were both designed and manufactured domestically, with functions and communication capacity improved on that of the operational communications and broadcasting satellite launched in 1986.



THE PHILIPPINES

## Aquino Government: Two Years in Power

*The Aquino government has been trying to steer the nation towards constitutional rule and economic recovery in the two years since it assumed power in a civilian-backed military uprising.*

Hundreds of thousands of people from all walks of life turned out in the streets of Manila and formed a giant "chain of peace" on February 25. They were celebrating the second anniversary of the revolution that toppled the government of Ferdinand Marcos and catapulted President Corazon Aquino to power. Similar celebrations took place across the country.

Relying on the political mandate of the February 22-25, 1986, revolution, the Aquino government has introduced political reforms that have yielded some initial results. But the outlook for political normality and economic development is clouded by several challenges and problems.

On the political front, a new constitution has been put into force and a new Congress is functioning. Local elections were held and finished on January 18. All this is said to have completed the constitutional process. The Aquino government has basically held its ground since it came to power, and the political situation is tending to improve after five failed military coup attempts.

On the economic front the government has lowered soaring inflation, dismantled monopolies, initiated a privatization programme, and adopted new omnibus investment code to provide incentives to investors. Some reports say foreign investment in the Philippines will grow

by about US\$2 billion this year, compared with the government target of US\$1 billion.

The economic reforms have enabled the national economy to expand, in sharp contrast to the economic contraction of the three last years of the Marcos regime.

On the social front the government has increased salaries for the more than 1.2 million government employees to offset inflation.

But despite these accomplishments, the Aquino government still has a long way to go to address the various problems facing it.

In marking the revolution, many Filipinos, including workers, peasants, business people and even church leaders, said that Aquino's promises of social change have not come true for them.

The huge coalition that participated in the revolution has disintegrated for lack of ideological cement. And the mass base of the Aquino government is being weakened.

The core of the group that initiated the revolution is fragmented. Juan Ponce Enrile, co-initiator of the revolution, and Salvador Laurel, Aquino's running mate in the 1986 presidential election, have parted company with the president because of political differences or diverging personal ambitions. Some left-of-

centre figures have been kicked out of the cabinet.

Worker and peasant groups, which were the backbone of the revolution, have broken ranks with the president over what they call her right-deviationist policies.

Moreover, a substantial political realignment of the groups in the ruling coalition has been taking place, and contradictions between the Liberal Party and its partners are becoming public. Political observers in Manila have pointed out that the realignment could mean a further loosening up of the ruling coalition.

A revamping of the top echelons of the military and a pay increase for all officers and enlisted men have left President Aquino with better control over the armed forces. The threats of new coup attempts have subsided.

But the military is still split into factions. The disgruntled young officers of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), which initiated the bloody coup attempt last August 28, openly opposed the recent appointment as defence secretary of Fidel Ramos, who played a key role in putting down the coup. Reports say the RAM officers want a bigger say in drafting government policies while they wait for a chance to grab power.

As the government entered its third year in power, political observers questioned whether it will be able to address the many challenges and problems before it.

The Philippines and China are friendly countries. President Aquino is expected to visit China next month. If her visit goes ahead as scheduled, we Chinese people hope it will be a complete success. We hope the visit will further strengthen the friendly relations between our two countries.

**Zhai Shuyao**

## SOUTH AFRICA

# New Apartheid Action Condemned

*The South African government invited worldwide condemnation with its recent bans on the activities of major anti-apartheid groups in the country.*

The South African regime's latest bans on all political activities of 17 anti-apartheid organizations have aroused strong condemnation both at home and abroad.

The new restrictions announced on February 24 were intended to end what the South African government calls the revolutionary climate in the country. According to reports from South Africa, the force of the curbs began to hit home when the government placed restrictions on 18 leaders from the 17 organizations, including United Democratic Front (UDF) co-presidents Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede. They were ordered not to leave their houses without police permission. They have been barred from interviews with the media and from addressing any gathering of 10 or more people.

The crackdown on black opposition raised a storm of outrage in South Africa. Spokesmen for the 17 effectively banned organizations told a press conference in Johannesburg that they would fight the latest crackdown in court and, if necessary, operate underground. Sisulu declared, "We warn the government that no amount of oppression is going to distract our attention from our goals. We will not take this lying down."

The African National Congress of South Africa also strongly condemned the government decision which, it said, demonstrates that the South African regime is irrevocably committed to the suppression of freedom and justice in the country. It pointed out that prohibition of the democratic

movement is "an open challenge to all patriots to either submit to the police state or devise new and better means of continuing the struggle in prohibitive conditions."

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu condemned the crackdown as an "unmitigated disaster for South Africa," saying that many people will see the bans as a declaration of war.

Pretoria's ban has also drawn condemnation from countries outside the African continent. UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar strongly deplored the move, stating, "The clampdown on political expression could well aggravate existing tensions within the country and lead to new violence." He urged the South African government to rescind the regulations and restore to the organizations concerned, as well as to the opposition leaders, the right of political expression.

On February 25, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that Pretoria's latest crackdown on anti-apartheid groups constituted a major setback to progress in peaceful negotiations in South Africa. Britain also expressed its total opposition to repressive

measures within South Africa. However, Thatcher added that she was still convinced that economic sanctions against South Africa would be ineffective.

The United States described Pretoria's move as a giant step backwards. Canada, the Netherlands and many other countries also criticized the ban.

On February 25, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Chinese government strongly condemns the act of the South African authorities. He said the Chinese government and people are infuriated by this latest crime against the South African people. He also pointed out that China will continue to support the South African people in their struggles for racial equality and against apartheid.

On March 2, the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament and the Chinese Association for International Understanding, two non-government organizations, sent a message of support to Archbishop Tutu, expressing China's appreciation and respect for his continued efforts to support the South African people in the fight to safeguard peace and justice and oppose apartheid. Archbishop Tutu was arrested during a march on February 28 whilst protesting against the government crackdown on anti-apartheid organizations. He was released later following strong international pressure.

by Xia Hu

## UNITED STATES

# Shultz's Difficult Middle East Mission

*US Secretary of State George Shultz completed a hasty Middle East tour offering a new US peace plan almost certainly destined for failure.*

From February 25-29, US Secretary of State George Shultz flew hurriedly between

Israel, Jordan, Syria and Egypt, in an attempt to push a new US peace plan. But as he wound up his trip,

he told reporters before his departure for London, "If I had to describe the situation, I would say that nobody has signed up to our proposals but everybody wants us to keep working."

In Israel, Shultz was met by a divided government and had to hold separate talks with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres; in Israeli-occupied territories, he could find no Palestinian representative willing to talk with him; Jordan's King Hussein decided to go to London for dental surgery before Shultz arrived, and the talks between Shultz and Syrian leaders produced no agreement. Only in Cairo did the US Secretary of State find some support for his package, but Egypt is not one of the main participants in negotiations on the Palestinian question.

The new US Middle East peace plan, the details of which have not yet been published, reportedly involves two phases: working out an interim settlement for the 1.5 million Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip by granting them limited autonomy, and conducting direct talks between Arabs and Israelis on final land settlement, that is, the realization of the "land for peace" formula (Israel's return of part or all of occupied Arab territories to achieve peace), on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

Arab states pointed out that the plan ignores the consistent stance of Arab countries on the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that an international conference should be convened with UN sponsorship and the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all conflicting parties. Nor does the new initiative mention any legitimate rights, including na-

tional self-determination, of the Palestinians. A senior PLO official said on March 2 that Shultz's proposals aim "to end the Palestinian people's uprising" rather than ending Israeli occupation, which was the root cause of the uprising. "Shultz wants to see elections in the occupied territories," he said, "but we don't support any elections under occupation."

As a matter of fact, the plan was doomed to fail from the beginning. Arab countries certainly won't change the position they have maintained for so long. And in the United States, with 1988 an election year, powerful Jewish lobbyists are exerting all possible pressure to influence US foreign policy. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are likely to press the Israeli government to make major concessions. The Israeli government, on the other hand, has all along rejected the "land for

peace" formula.

Observers see the underlying aims of Shultz's shuttle tour as quelling the prolonged Palestinian uprising in occupied territories as well as reassuring moderate Arab countries of renewed US efforts in the Middle East peace process. The United States earlier this year vetoed the UN Security Council condemnation of Israeli violence in the occupied territories, which further angered Arabs who had already expressed their disapproval of US coolness towards the Middle East issue in recent years. Another reason for Shultz's hasty trip is that the United States does not want to see Soviet involvement in the Middle East peace process. Washington fears that the Soviet Union could make use of the Palestinian unrest to enter the traditionally US dominated area and thus damage long-term US strategic interests in the region.

by Zhao Zhong

## SOUTH KOREA

### Roh Faces Bumpy Road

*On February 25, Roh Tae Woo was sworn in as president of South Korea. Many believe his future will be fraught with difficulties.*

Since Roh Tae Woo's victory in South Korea's first direct presidential election, he has been carrying out a series of activities aimed at strengthening his political position. Roh became South Korea's 13th president by winning 36.6 percent of the votes in the December 16 election.

The newly elected president revised the constitution of his ruling Democratic Justice Party and promised to expand democracy within the party. He has held talks with the leaders of the opposition parties on the questions of the general assembly elections and national reconciliation. On the eve of the swearing

ceremony, he declared an amnesty for selected political prisoners. But despite all these measures, many difficult problems remain unresolved.

First, Roh must appease supporters of the political opposition. Many students under the influence of the main opposition parties, the Reunification Democratic Party and the Party for Peace and Democracy, still maintain that there was fraud in the election. Moreover, the memory of the army's suppression of the Kwangju people's uprising in May 1980 remains strong. Recent mass rallies and demonstrations in Seoul and Kwangju demanded

that Roh be held responsible for the Kwangju incident, accused him of winning in a fraudulent election and appealed for a boycott of his presidency. The question mark over the legitimacy of Roh's position as president will undoubtedly create troubles for the new regime.

In the face of opposition demands and student unrest, Roh has repeatedly promised to follow a policy of total democracy and national reconciliation. But it will be hard for him to keep his promises.

The coming assembly general elections are another headache for Roh. In the second half of last year, the ruling and opposition parties held consultations and decided that the elections would be held two to four months after the voting for president. Both sides see the elections as crucial, particularly since the functions of the national assembly have been strengthened. At the two interim assembly sessions, the ruling and opposition parties failed to reach agreement on the boundaries of the electoral districts and the apportionment of assembly seats. As a result, there will be a heated struggle over revisions to the election law.

The new president announced his cabinet on February 19. It includes no members of the opposition, while eight key former ministers remain in their posts. Roh had said after his election that he would absorb members of the opposition parties into his new cabinet and form a coalition government.

The opposition pointed out that the cabinet does not reflect the desires of the people and that Roh had not so much formed as shuffled the cabinet.

If Roh follows in the footsteps of his predecessor Chun Doo Hwan, he will face even more difficulties in the future.

by Zheng Baoqing

PANAMA

## Political Turmoil Escalates

*The already strained political situation in Panama has grown even more complicated in recent weeks, first with the indictment in Florida of General Manuel Antonio Noriega on drug charges and then the dismissal by the National Assembly of Panama's president.*

A new political crisis broke out in Panama on February 25 when President Eric Arturo Delvalle tried to fire General Manuel Antonio Noriega as head of the country's defence forces, citing the recent US allegations that the general has been involved in drug trafficking and other crimes.

On February 26 the National Assembly came to Noriega's defence and dismissed Delvalle. Education Minister Manuel Solis Palma was named acting president.

The US indictment not only exacerbated US-Panamanian relations, but also heightened dissatisfaction with Noriega in Panama. Delvalle's move to dismiss Noriega as head of the country's defence forces was seen by some observers as an attempt to better the image of his government, improve relations with Washington, and get more foreign economic aid to end the domestic economic crisis.

The world is watching how the United States reacts to the power struggle in Panama. As soon as the crisis broke out, the US government proclaimed its "unqualified support for civilian constitutional rule in Panama." At the same time, the Reagan administration keeps reiterating that it had no involvement in Delvalle's move to dismiss Noriega and that it is not considering military intervention. But, according to reports, Washington is considering other sanctions, including an economic embargo, against Panama, with a

view to forcing Noriega out.

The crisis in Panama reflects the country's internal social and political conflicts, compounded by contradictions between the United States and Panama.

The Reagan administration, unhappy with what it called Noriega's "dictatorship" in Panama, has long called on him to withdraw from politics. Washington has been putting pressure on Noriega. Last July it suspended economic aid to Panama. The recent indictment of Noriega on drug charges was another form of pressure.

Noriega and his supporters condemned Washington for attempting to prolong US administration of the Panama Canal by creating trouble with the Panamanian government. Noriega also said that his indictment resulted from his refusal to make Panama a US bridgehead against Nicaragua.

Panama is of great strategic significance to the United States. The US Southern Command in Panama has a force of nearly 10,000 with a mandate to protect US interests in Latin America. Earlier Noriega threatened to drive the command out of Panama if the United States went too far. The United States would be unwilling to see this happen. That is why Reagan has taken only limited action. Noriega and the new government, confronted with both internal and external challenges, also seem to be holding back.

It is difficult to predict what will happen next.

by SI Wei

# China at Frontiers of Space Technology

Space technology is one of China's few industries that can take pride of place in the ranks of the world's highly advanced. With relatively little investment and no international support, it made its progress through the hard work of the Chinese scientists and technicians with the support of the state and the co-operation of the relevant departments. The advances in China's space technology give expression to the Chinese nation's will and ability to make its mark in the world. China offers its space services internationally. This special report, written by Min Guirong, one of China's noted space technology experts, and Yao Jianguo, our correspondent, traces the development of China's satellites and carrier rockets.

## Commercial 'Long March' Rockets

by Our Correspondent Yao Jianguo

In October 1985, when China announced that it would provide satellite launching services to other countries using its Long March rockets, it did not create much of a stir. It was not until the explosion of the *Challenger* and the subsequent failed launchings of the Atlas and Ariane rockets in the United States and France in January 1986 and after China's successful launch of a communications and broadcasting satellite into a geosynchronous orbit in February of that year, that overseas companies began to pay serious attention to China's offer.

Over the last two years, some companies and countries have approached China in that connection; and a few contracts and agreements have been signed.

Although China is where rockets originate, its modern rocket research history is only 30 years long. The progress was achieved in fairly difficult economic and technological conditions. Today, China has not only

the Long March carrier rockets — all developed in China, but also established launching centres and satellite telemetry and telecontrol systems.

### Reliable and Accurate

In April 1970, China launched its first satellite with a Long March I rocket, becoming the fifth country in the world to launch a satellite with its own carrier rocket (after the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Japan).

In November 1975, China sent into orbit a retrievable satellite with a Long March II carrier rocket, making it the third country in the world to be using such technology.

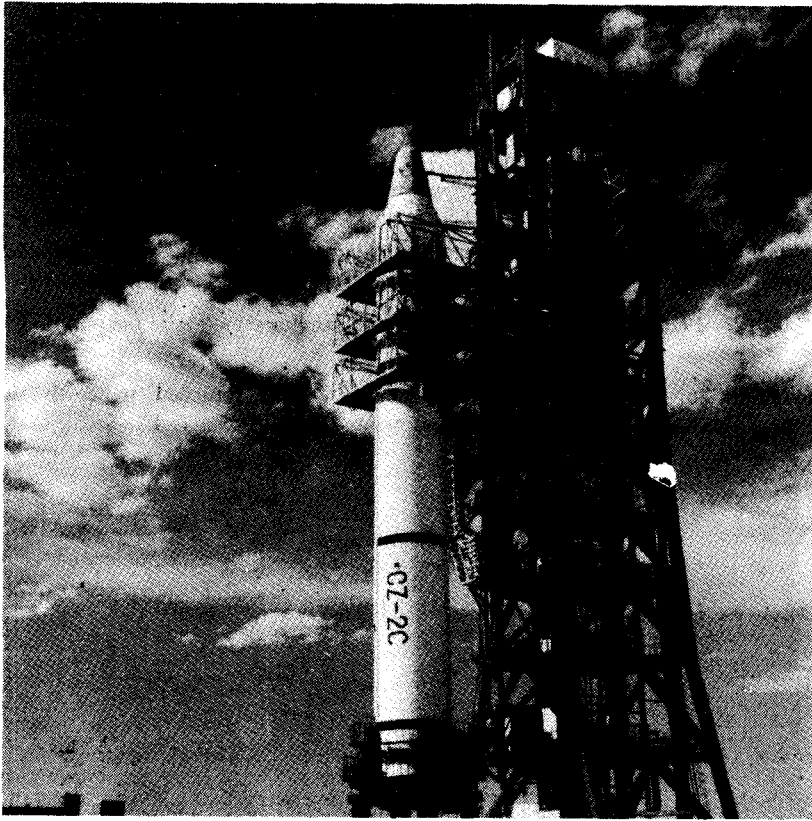
In April 1984 and February 1986, China used Long March III rockets to send two communications and broadcasting satellites into geosynchronous orbit. The third stage of the rocket propulsion uses liquid hydrogen

and liquid oxygen as the fuel. At present, only a few countries have this technology.

China is a developing country and its limited financial resources mean it cannot invest exorbitant sums of money in the development of space technology. According to available statistics, its investment in this area over the past 30 years was only 0.5 percent the value of the United States and the Soviet Union's investments, or 10 percent of the amounts Japan and Western Europe put in. Yet China has launched roughly the same number of satellites as Western Europe and Japan.

Of the 21 satellites of different types China has launched successfully, 15 were sent into their orbits by Long March rockets. The success rate of Long March carrier rocket launches is higher than France's Ariane rockets.

After four visits to China inspecting China's space equipment, Roy Gibson, ex-director of the European Space Agency and



A "Long March" rocket on the launch pad.

now director of the British State Space Centre, said that Western companies should have full confidence in launching satellites on Chinese Long March carrier rockets.

In addition, China is working to develop a reinforced model of the Long March II and the improved model of Long March III rockets. The two kinds of rockets can send heavier satellites into near-Earth orbits and geosynchronous orbits, and are suitable for launching communications, broadcasting, meteorological and navigation satellites.

### Launching Centres

At present, China has two launching centres. One is in Jiuquan, Gansu province, which mainly launches satellites into near-Earth orbits. Of the 21

satellites China has launched, 18 were launched there. The other is in Xichang, Sichuan Province. From here geosynchronous satellites are launched. The best launching window is from October to May.

### Space Experiments

To provide overseas clients with opportunities to conduct experiments in space, China began in March 1987 to offer recoverable satellite services.

According to Sun Jiadong, vice-minister of Astronautics Industry, China has put to the international market two models of recoverable satellite—FSW-I and FSW-II. The two models have effective payloads of 300 kg and 500 kg respectively, with 150 kg and 250 kg recoverable. The control systems and precision of the

satellite can be readjusted on demand. Foreign companies may rent space in a satellite and send a payload of under 50 kg and of less than 0.1 cubic metre to be put in the recoverable capsule within 24 months after the contracts are signed. They can conduct experiments in micro-gravity for the production of new materials and new medicines as well as various biological experiments in zero gravity. They can also use the remote sensors to survey the natural resources and geological structure of their territory on Earth. The whole recoverable satellites can also be rented.

Only the United States, the Soviet Union and China have so far mastered the technology to recover satellites. Since November 1975, China has launched 10 recoverable satellites, with a 100 percent success rate.

On August 5, 1987, two 15-kg experimental devices were installed in a Chinese recoverable satellite by SA Matra of France to conduct experiments in little gravity. Satisfactory results were achieved. The co-operation was concluded in only half a year. Frederic Bard, the company's representative in Beijing, praised it as the shortest, the most effective and the most satisfactory space co-operation his company had enjoyed.

### Telecontrol

Both the launching and recovery of satellites cannot be carried out without reliable telemetry and telecontrol. Although China has made public all its satellite launches, it keeps its telecontrol technology to itself.

China's satellite telemetry and telecontrol network comprises three parts: One is the telecontrol centre in Xian, Shaanxi Province; the second is the satellite monitoring stations scattered over 10 provinces and autonomous

## Satellite Launch Chronology

Name	Launch date	Remarks
1. "Dongfanghong 1"	April 24, 1970	"East Is Red" music beamed from the satellite
2. Practice I	March 3, 1971	In orbit for eight years, sent back scientific and experimental data
3. Technical experimental satellite	July 26, 1975	Instruments on the satellite functioned normally
4. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	November 26, 1975	Functioned normally and returned to earth as scheduled after three days in orbit
5. Technical experimental satellite	December 16, 1975	Functioned normally
6. Technical experimental satellite	August 30, 1976	Functioned normally
7. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	December 7, 1976	Functioned normally and returned to earth as scheduled
8. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	January 26, 1978	Returned to earth on schedule after completing scientific experiments
9. Practice II	September 20, 1981	Three satellites launched by a single carrier rocket;
10. Practice IIA	September 20, 1981	transmitted various scientific survey and testing data
11. Practice IIB	September 20, 1981	back to earth
12. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	September 9, 1982	Functioned normally and returned to earth as scheduled after five days in orbit
13. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	March 19, 1983	Functioned normally and returned to earth as scheduled
14. Experimental satellite	January 29, 1984	Important experiments carried out
15. Experimental communications satellite	April 8, 1984	Positioned above the equator at 125 degrees east longitude; trial transmission of broadcasts, telegrams, telephone calls and facsimile for some areas of China
16. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	September 12, 1984	Functioned normally and returned to earth as scheduled
17. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	October 21, 1985	Surveyed land resources, returned to earth after five days in orbit
18. Communications satellite	February 1, 1986	Is functioning normally; positioned above the equator at 103 degrees east longitude, for domestic telecommunications purposes
19. Retrievable remote-sensing satellite	October 6, 1986	Surveyed land resources; returned to earth after five days in orbit
20. Retrievable experimental satellite	August 5, 1987	Experimented on satellite technology and micro-gravity, returned to earth after five days in orbit
21. Retrievable experimental satellite	September 6, 1987	For scientific surveys and technological experiments, returned to earth after eight days in orbit

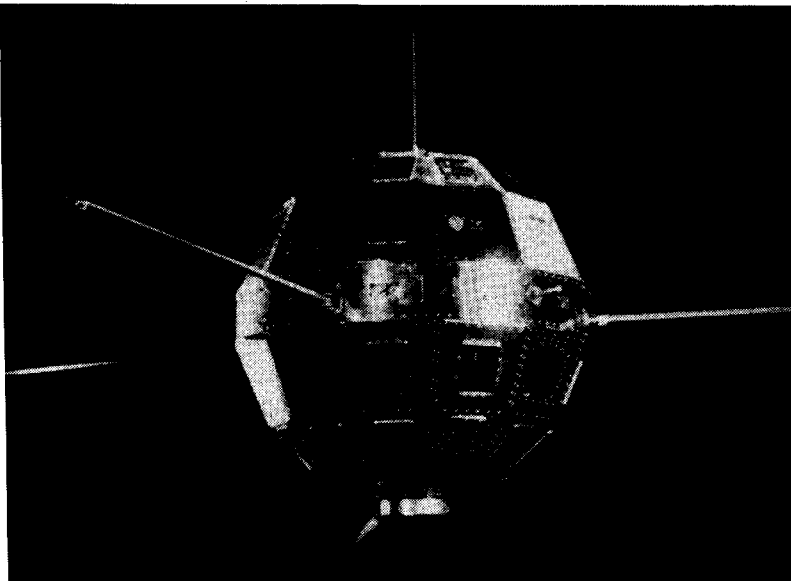
regions; and the third is ocean-going monitoring ships. As China can only rely for the most part on its home monitoring stations, the area covered by the telemetry and telecontrol network is only about one-third of that of the United States and France.

Hao Yan, the 49-year-old director of the Shaanxi satellite telemetry and telecontrol centre, said that in order to make up for

control and China was asked to help track it. Soon, the monitoring stations located it. The satellite telecontrol centre analyzed the data collected by the stations and forecast the life and course of the satellite and calculated the time and place of re-entry on June 24. The satellite fell to Earth at midnight on July 12, proving the accuracy of the Chinese prediction.

as China predicted.

To meet its new international commitments, China is now upgrading the original monitoring stations and equipment. A new satellite telecontrol centre has been put into operation. According to an official of the centre, the centre is equipped with advanced equipment for telecommunications, data processing and command.



"Practice I" satellite.

the smallness of the area covered, China has installed advanced equipment in the various monitoring stations and fitted them with a complete applied software system. Highly automatic, these stations can measure the distance, speed and angle of a satellite, and can very quickly pick up and track a target. Over the past two decades or so, the network has been put to work in the launching of 21 satellites and various kinds of strategic rockets as well as in the tracking, measuring and monitoring of other targets. Its precision is as good as other systems.

In June 1979, an American space-lab satellite went out of

In January 1983, a Soviet nuclear-powered marine reconnaissance satellite went out of control. As the satellite was carrying a nuclear device, many countries went on alert and called on those with the monitoring abilities to do their best in forecasting the point of impact with Earth. From January 11 to February 7, China's satellite telecontrol network made repeated accurate forecasts of the orbit of the falling satellite and the time of impact. These forecasts were made known to the world through the official Xinhua News Agency. The satellite fell into the southern Atlantic on February 7,

## Good Service

Zhang Jianye of the Great Wall Industrial Corp. said China's charges for its satellite launching services will be lower than the standard international prices, and will allow for more flexible payment methods, especially for developing countries.

Zhang said that China will keep any secrets overseas clients require about their technology and experiment projects, in line with international conventions or stipulations in contracts. For launching a satellite in China, the overseas clients need only supply details of the weight, size and external connectors of the satellite. The period from when a satellite enters China, to the launching will be treated as transit through Chinese territory, and customs and excise procedures will be simplified. Meanwhile, China will provide protection for the satellite, unless the client sends its own personnel for that purpose. Unless the client requires it, China will not conduct any tests on the satellites.

Zhang reiterated that it is not China's intention to obtain technological patents or secrets through providing launching services for overseas clients.

The People's Insurance Company of China is willing to provide insurance and re-insurance services to overseas companies at reasonable premiums.



## Development of Earth Satellites

by Min Gulrong, director of the China Space Technological Research Institute

China started developing its space technology in the late 1950s and used outer space to benefit humanity and serve China's socialist construction. In the past 30 years, remarkable achievements have been made in the research, manufacture, application and development of satellites and carrier rockets. This article will deal mainly with China's satellites.

### Background

China began in 1965 to research its first earth satellite, the Dongfanghong I. The establishment of the China Space Technological Research Institute in February 1968 strengthened the leadership over China's space research and in April 1970 China successfully launched its first satellite, which weighed 173 kilogrammes. The high inclination of the orbit, the tracking equipment, the signal transmission methods and the thermal control of the satellite were all unique. The normal functioning of the satellite in orbit showed that China's space technology had caught up.

China sent a scientific experiment satellite into space on March 3, 1971, using a comparatively advanced solar power system, thermal control and long-term telemetry technology. All the instruments on the satellite functioned normally in orbit for eight years. Its telemetry system sent back clear and varied information. It confirmed that even early on China's space equipment had a long and reliable service life.

In the late 1960s China started the research, manufacture and

testing of retrievable satellites and successfully launched one in November 1975. The satellite returned to earth as scheduled after orbiting in space normally for three days, and much valuable telemetry data was obtained. Nine other retrievable satellites launched by China returned and landed safely in China's northwest as scheduled, after operating in space for three to eight days. Thus China became the third country in the world to master retrievable satellite technology after the United States and the Soviet Union. China had solved a series of technical problems including the return brake, attitude control, thermal control, re-entry speed control and thermal protection, and in-space remote sensing technology.

In the mid-1970s, China began the research and manufacture of space geophysical survey satellites and sent three such satellites into orbits with a single carrier rocket on September 20, 1981, becoming

the fourth country to master the technology for launching multiple satellites with a single rocket. The equipment on one of the three satellites was powered by solar cells, and the satellite had spinning stabilization capability and attitude control vis-a-vis the sun. These new technologies provided valuable experience for research on geosynchronous communications satellites. The three satellites sent back a vast amount of scientific data on the space magnetic field, on ionospheric electron concentration, on the particle spectrum and intensity of internal radiation strips and on space electromagnetic radiation. The data is of great value to space physics and electronics research.

To update its communications, China successfully launched an experimental communications satellite in April 1984. The satellite was positioned above the equator at 125 degrees east longitude. Experiments with telecommunications and television transmissions were made. The satellite has worked for four years in its geosynchronous orbit some 35,800 kilometres above the earth, exceeding its expected service life. All the instruments on the satellite

Retrieving a satellite.



(including the thermal control, tracking, telemetry, attitude control and solar cells), and its payload are functioning normally.

In February 1986, China launched its second telecommunications and broadcasting satellite which was positioned above the equator at 103 degrees east longitude. Unlike the orientational horn antenna for global communications used on the experimental communications satellite, this new satellite carries the narrow beam parabola antenna. The communication capacity of the new satellite is four to five times higher than that of the experimental one, and its transmission quality exceeds the standard of rented satellites and far exceeds the first experimental communications satellite. Television picture quality from the new satellite as received by the ground station with a three-metre antenna is close to the quality of the pictures from the experimental satellite as received with an antenna of 13 metres. The picture quality from the new satellite, as received by the ground station with an antenna of 4.5 metres, is equivalent to the pictures from the international rented satellites using an antenna of six metres. The results of television broadcasts transmitted by the new satellite are much better than using the experimental satellite, although the latter is still operating well.

China has successfully launched 21 different types of satellites (see table) which have been used for scientific and technological experiments, ground observation, surveys of earth resources, communications and broadcasting.

## Application

The four scientific experiment satellites launched in the 1970s

obtained a vast amount of data on space physics, magnetic field, space particle radiation, infrared radiation, ultraviolet radiation, solar X-ray and density of atmosphere. The data has provided the basis for our further study of the physical environment in the upper atmosphere, the solar system and other planets, and laid the foundation for China's designing of spacecraft.

The pictures obtained from the two satellites about land resources are of high resolution and information value. They have been useful in oil prospecting, geological surveys, mapping, routing railways, studying the grasslands and forest areas, monitoring of environment, earthquake prediction and archaeological research.

The use of communications satellite has boosted China's broadcasting, its transmission of information, digital simulated telephone calls and of data and tables, helping bring remote provinces and regions into closer touch.

China has launched several retrievable satellites in recent years and included in the experiments the retrieval of remote sensing films and tapes and the use of CCD cameras. With the new body stabilization capability, the retrievable satellite can conduct experiments on special materials in micro-gravity. In August last year, China conducted experiments on 12 materials, including AcGa semiconductor materials, YBa Cu superconductor material and aluminium-tin alloys. Some were the very first experiments of their kind. On September 9, 1987, China conducted scientific experiments with 34 satellite piggyback devices on its newly improved retrievable satellite. Good results were obtained in the two experiments, thus raising the curtain on China's research into space material science, material

processing and space biology.

## Direction of Development

In the future, China's space technology will develop in the following ways:

— **Developing applied satellite systems.** This will include large communications and broadcasting satellites urgently needed for China's modernization drive, various meteorological satellites, resources survey satellites as well as other practical satellite systems. These should all make a big difference to the rapid growth of the national economy, and provide services for other countries. For instance, geosynchronous communications satellites, after being improved, can be used in dispatching trains on the rail network.

— **Aiming at space high-tech.** China can only maintain its advanced position in space exploration in the 21st century by concentrating resources on high-tech research. The establishment of permanent space stations is the next goal of the international space industry. China will also research into its own space station. China is now technically capable of developing spacecraft, but its limited financial resources mean China can only do some early stage preparatory work for the time being.

— **Develop civil products with space technology.** Many scientific breakthroughs achieved within the space industry are of significance to industrial and agricultural production, transport, communications and other areas of life. Hundred of space research results have been applied generally, producing remarkable economic and social results. This will continue in the future so the space industry will make still greater contributions to China's economic construction. ■

# Beijing Review and Me

by A. Tom Grunfeld

It didn't begin very well, my relationship with this publication. I was very young at the time and knew nothing about China except what I had read, and not very carefully at that, in the Western news media.

I happened to be in Hong Kong late in 1966. I was there for no particular reason. Since I knew nothing about China, my knowledge of the dramatic events unfolding just a few kilometres across the border was limited to glances at the headlines of the newspapers on the ubiquitous newsstands of the city.

It did arouse some curiosity, however, and I reckoned there was no better way to find out what was happening than going straight to the source: a periodical published in China. By chance someone staying in the same hostel as I had a copy of *Peking Review*, as it was then known.

My anticipation that I would soon understand the "cultural revolution" was quickly dashed when I tried to read the articles. I didn't understand a thing. It was not that I didn't understand the words — they were straightforward enough — but I couldn't comprehend what most of the stories were all about. I shrugged the incident off, content in the knowledge that it had nothing to do with me anyway.

In fact I was wrong. My years in East Asia had generated in me a lifelong interest in the region and especially in the history of China. As I went through the process of

studying Chinese history I returned to *Peking Review* often and discovered that my previous difficulty was a direct result of my lack of knowledge about contemporary Chinese political affairs. *Peking Review* (certainly in those years) was not intended for a general audience. A reader had to have a considerable background in Chinese affairs in order to find it useful.

Once I became conversant with the culture, history and politics of China, *Peking Review* became more comprehensible to me. I found that my thirst for information about events in China grew in direct proportion to how much I was learning. However, there was a paucity of information because of restrictions on the exportation of published materials and the limited number of both foreigners going to China and Chinese visiting outside. In that circumstance *Peking Review* came to be an important trough from which to quench my thirst being there in the library (and later in my mailbox when I began subscribing in January 1974) every week.

It was not a forum for open discussion nor did it become (until quite recently) a general purpose periodical. Extensive knowledge about China was always a prerequisite for reading it. Yet, every week, it gave its readers access to the official Chinese position on both domestic and foreign events. Reading between the lines allowed me to make some educated guesses as to what the nature of the political debates were. And the publication of complete texts of speeches, government pronouncements, treaties, etc. let me quickly get at the original documents which I

needed for my research and teaching.

In the course of my research endeavours I had the opportunity to go through back issues of *Peking Review* and even its predecessor journal *People's China*. This opportunity gave me a good overview of the journal throughout its history.

The latest incarnation, *Beijing Review*, is quite different from its earlier siblings because the political situation in China is different. *Beijing Review* has become more accessible to a wider audience. Should someone uninformed about China encounter it now they would have no difficulties in understanding it. The writing is clearer. It is more explanatory. It reads more like a newspaper than a polemical broadside. It covers a wider range of topics. It takes note of foreign opinions of Chinese affairs and responds to them.

This is not to say it cannot improve but to say that it has improved a great deal already.

It remains a valuable source of information on China. The weekly nature makes it topical; its continued policy of publishing original documents in full makes it still an invaluable resource; and its new willingness to take on "hot" issues by arguing China's position (take, for example, the recent riots in Lhasa) adds to its value. Its willingness to change itself in search of a better product is commendable.

I wouldn't know how to begin to add up all that I have learned about China from this periodical in the two decades that I have been a regular reader. So I am pleased to be able repay some of that debt by being part of *Beijing Review's* 30th anniversary commemoration. I hope the process of improvement and change continue. I will be watching; for I intend to remain a regular reader.

A. Tom Grunfeld teaches history at the State University of New York/Empire State College and is the author of *The Making of Modern Tibet*.

# A Start in Writing at the Age of 63

by Our Correspondent Zhang Wei



Zhu Zhongli in her study.

In the autumn of 1980, just after the trial of the gang of four (Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan) in Beijing, a book entitled *An Unofficial History of Jiang Qing* raised a sensation in Hong Kong. There were queues in front of local bookstores to buy the book, of people curious to learn about that mysterious woman, Mao's wife Jiang Qing. The 200,000-word book presents a detailed picture of Jiang's life—from her childhood to her marriage with Mao Zedong, her command of the political arena during the "cultural revolution" and her final downfall. A best seller that year, it was later reprinted many times, although the author, Zhu Shan, was hardly known in literary circles. Who was she? How did she know Jiang Qing so well? For many years, the author remained an unknown. A journalist from the US *Times* made a special trip to Beijing to look for her, but failed.

Eight years have passed since

then. With the publication of a dozen other works by the same author, the name Zhu Shan is now known all over the world. At a literary forum held last year, Zhu Shan, invited to give a lecture, made her first debut. The grey-haired old woman addressed the forum: "My name is Zhu Zhongli. I was a doctor. I began writing when I was 63...."

## 'Why I Wrote Jiang Qing'

The first question most people want to ask Zhu is: "How could you write so vividly about Jiang Qing?" Zhu would reply: "History chose me, and my duty urged me to write."

Zhu is a native of Changsha, Hunan Province. Her father, Zhu Jianfan, a noted educator and president of the Zhounan Women's College of Hunan, worked together with Mao Zedong and other predecessors of the Chinese revolutionaries at the

time of the May 4th Movement. At 16, Zhu Zhongli was arrested for participating in Communist Party-led underground activities. After her release, she entered the Dongnan Medical College in Shanghai and, graduating with a masters degree, later started work at the Zhongyang Hospital in Nanjing.

Like many other young people who yearned for revolution, Zhu Zhongli went to Yanan in 1938 when she was 23. She became a surgeon at a hospital in the revolutionary base area in northwest Shaanxi Province and worked for a while with the dedicated Canadian Doctor Norman Bethune. Red Army soldiers fondly called her "our Doctor Zhu" for her kindness and skilled care. She was later appointed head of the clinic of the central units and became Mao Zedong's personal doctor.

Since Zhu's father and Mao were old friends from the same province, Zhu and Mao were close. Zhu said soon after she arrived in Yanan, Mao met her in his own cave dwelling. Mao smoked very heavily, almost constant chain smoking. Zhu told Mao: "For your own health, please quit." Mao replied: "I'll think about it in the future, but, for the time being, no. I'm too busy." But Mao never gave up smoking, even right up to his death. Zhu would frequently take away cigarettes from his hand or mouth. She was probably the only person who would dare do so.

Seeing that Mao worked so hard day after day at his desk, Zhu persuaded him to relax by playing mahjong and learning to dance.

"It took a lot of talking to convince him, as he was not

interested in dancing at all," Zhu recalled. She dragged Mao outside his cave dwelling and started giving him lessons. "Mao was quite absent minded at the beginning," said Zhu. "His movements were no different from soldiers' drills." Mao teased Zhu: "What a willful girl you are. How dare you order me around?"

Later, Mao was able to dance all kinds of Western ballroom dances, even the tango. Between 1949 after nationwide liberation and 1966 when the "cultural revolution" began, Zhu often danced with Mao in Zhongnanhai where the Party Central Committee sits.

Zhu first met Jiang Qing in November 1938. One day when she was walking down Baota Hill in Yanan, she met a young woman who said her name was Jiang Qing and asked her to treat a polyp in her nose. Jiang told Zhu she was a famous film actress from Shanghai and wanted to be operated on by a good doctor. She complained much of the poor conditions in Yanan. During the operation she cried and wailed loudly though the operation was only a minor one.

Zhu later married Wang Jiaxiang, then head of the General Political Department of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee (Mao was their go-between), and Jiang Qing married Mao. In Yanan, the two families were neighbours. After liberation, leaders of the Party Central Committee moved into Zhongnanhai in Beijing and the two families were once again neighbours. But during their frequent contacts Zhu always kept a respectful distance from Jiang.

"I couldn't know Jiang Qing any better. Her peremptory manner, pretentiousness, hysteria and arrogance are still fresh in my mind," Zhu said. "Later events proved she was a careerist. During the 'cultural revolution,' her desire for power exploded. She per-

secuted many veteran revolutionaries, my family included."

After liberation, Zhu's husband Wang Jiaxiang became ambassador to the Soviet Union and later put in charge of the Liaison Department of the Party Central Committee. He was a widely respected high-ranking leader of the Chinese Communist Party. During the "cultural revolution," on the instructions of Jiang Qing, the couple were put under isolated examination and later exiled to rural Henan Province. Before long Wang was persecuted to death.

In 1974, Jiang Qing met with Roxana Witke, an American journalist, in her capacity as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. During the meeting, Jiang sensationally exaggerated her life. Witke later published a book in which Jiang Qing is presented as a woman leader of China. "I feel that I have a duty to present Jiang Qing's real nature, and let the world know the truth," Zhu said. "We were together for a long time and I know her better than others. It must have been my duty to history that drove me to write about her."

Zhu completed the book in only two months. When it came off the press, she was 65 years old.

Ross Terrill, professor of the Asian Studies Centre of Harvard University in the United States, said the book *An Unofficial History of Jiang Qing* depicts an important figure in modern China by recording actual events and as such it is undoubtedly a major achievement in literature and history studies in China.

### Filling a Gap

Prior to the publication of the book about Jiang Qing, Zhu had published her first work, a novel called *Love and Hatred*, at the age of 63. She chose to use the

penname Zhu Shan in memory of her husband as both characters in the name have the character component Wang.

*Love and Hatred* tells the story of a group of female university students who embarked on the road to revolution in the 1930s. Traces of the author and her family and friends can be detected in the novel. Asked if the descriptions in the book are factual, Zhu said: "It is neither a reportage nor a memoir. It is a novel which of course involves artistic creation. But all the events in the book are based on facts and most of them are from my own personal experiences."

Xiao San, a noted Chinese writer, speaks very highly of the novel. "The book's greatest achievement is its artistic depiction of Yanan of the time, which fills a big gap in the literature," he said.

Zhu became the country's first woman hospital director after the founding of New China. What made her leave medicine to take up the pen? Zhu explained that after the death of her husband, she felt very depressed. One day, her niece told her: You have had so many unusual experiences. Any one you choose at random would make an interesting story. This prompted Zhu to pour all her thoughts on her husband into writing.

Zhu had some literary background. She began reading the Chinese classics *A Dream of Red Mansions* and *Outlaws of the Marsh* when she was only eight years old and in secondary school she became very fond of Goethe's works. Still she met with tremendous difficulties when she started writing. "Although the events in my life flashed back one after another in my mind, when I picked up the pen, I was at a loss for putting together a story and portraying the characters," she recalled.

"At the beginning, I only meant to try. But after I began writing, I started to feel I had returned to the places where I shared years with my comrades and loved ones. Thoughts began to gush from my mind like a fountain," Zhu said.

During those days she put all her energy into writing. Suffering a great deal from spinal neuralgia, Zhu could hardly sit at her desk. She had frequently to change her writing posture, sometimes standing and sometimes bending on her knees. She wrote faster and faster, 7,000 to 8,000 words a day. It took her only four months to complete the 600,000-word book.

Another of her works is *Firing Red Maple Leaves*. In direct prose style, it is a collection of anecdotes of a number of veteran proletarian revolutionaries, including Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Dong Biwu. This book has also gained wide popularity. One literary critic comments: "Working and living alongside high-ranking Party leaders for a long time enables the author to produce a natural but meticulous picture of the leading figures."

Zhu's 270,000-word novel, *A Sacred and Pure Love* describes the pursuits, changes and the fate of the youth in the revolutionary

base area and Shanghai when the Great Revolution was at a low ebb. "I hope it will help today's young people gain an understanding of history and life," Zhu said.

During the past decade, Zhu has contributed 14 other literary works, including the autobiographical novels *The Spring Dew Nurtures Me*, *The Rosy Clouds Accompany Me* and *The Bright Sun Shines Upon Me*, and a biography *Daybreak and Sunset Glow*. Some of her works have been translated into foreign languages. In recognition of her valuable contributions, the Chinese Writers' Association recruited her as a member in 1980.

### 'Disco Makes Me Young'

Since the end of the 1960s, Zhu has lived in a quiet courtyard near Beihai Park in Beijing. She bore no children, having undergone a sterilization operation in the 1930s in Yanan. She was perhaps the only Chinese woman to have the operation at that time. "Life then was very tense and it would have been inconvenient to have children around me," Zhu said. She dedicated the prime of her life to her career and saved the lives of many revolutionary fighters,

many of whom later became high-ranking officers of the People's Liberation Army.

In the early 1950s, Zhu adopted a young girl. She bought her a piano and also found a tutor for her. Zhu herself also practised and could later play very well. Today, when she is tired, she likes to relax by playing Beethoven or Liszt. "I like Beethoven, because he is deep," Zhu said.

Zhu's other hobby is growing flowers and plants, which she thinks can fill people with vitality. Her favourites are roses, narcissi and vines.

Zhu now lives on her own, but she never feels lonely. Many young people come to visit her and listen to music and dance with her. Zhu is not only good at Western ballroom dancing but is also able to dance disco very well and has earned the nickname "queen of disco." Zhu said disco dancing makes you shake your body, the music is a form of stimulation which is very good for people who sit over a desk writing all day long.

Talking about her writing, Zhu said she never expected to become an outstanding novelist nor to enter the pages of history. "I only wanted to present my experiences in an artistic form. I hope they can help enlighten the younger generation," she concluded. ■

## Latest Research Results of Dunhuang Art

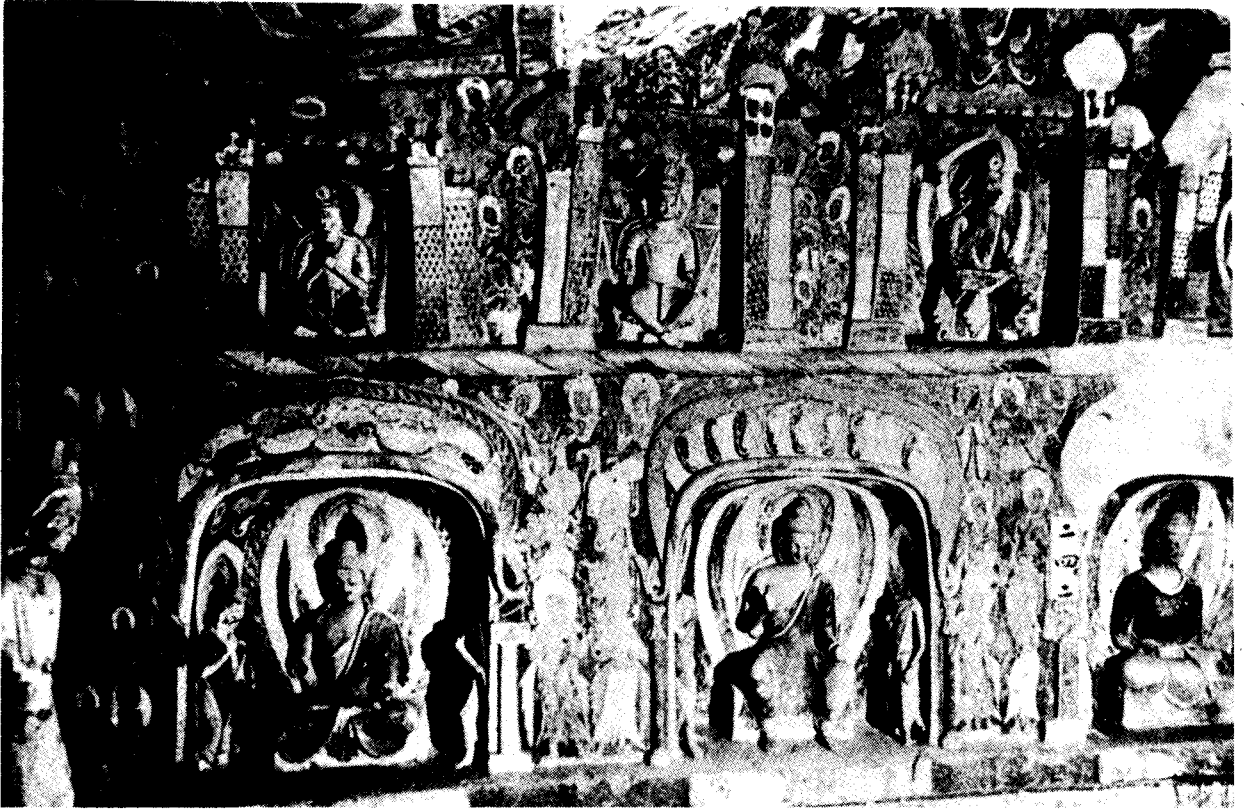
**This is the second instalment of the series on the 1,600-year-old Dunhuang Grottoes and their art. The first, a description of the grottoes and their story, appeared in Issue No. 9 — Ed.**

by Our Correspondent Ling Yang

In September last year China sponsored an international seminar on the Dunhuang Grot-

toes in Gansu Province, northwest China. Around 40 foreign scholars from ten countries and regions

and a similar number of their Chinese counterparts were there. Some 50 papers were read at the



Coloured Buddhist statues in niches, the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534).

seminar discussing art, aesthetics, archaeology, religion, history, architecture, music, dance and foreign contacts.

ladders. In the first few centuries as they were being created, the frequent political upheavals bases and the population migrations as

well as the subsequent changes in ideology, local customs and aesthetic value resulted in rich varieties of style.

### Artistic Style

Buddhism and Buddhist art were introduced to the Western Regions (a Han Dynasty term for the area west of Yumenguan, including what is now Xinjiang and parts of Central Asia) from India via the Silk Road in the first century AD. Located right on the caravan route linking Central Asia with China, the Dunhuang Grottoes became a sacred place for Buddhist pilgrims and a cultural centre.

The grottoes were carved out of steep sandstone cliffs in a layered honeycomb pattern and connected by wooden walkways and

Hunting, the Western Wei Dynasty (535-556).



In his paper, Duan Wenjie, the president of the Dunhuang Art Research Institute, pointed to the way the grotto murals are examples of the different styles prevalent in the first 200 years of the grottoes being created. Duan believes that the evolution of murals is an integral part of the development of the Western Regions, Central Plains and Dunhuang art.

The earliest murals are filled with delicately drawn figures in foreign costumes whose broad faces show prominent cheekbones and noses set high on the face—suggesting influence of Indian and other Western Regions. Later murals depict slender figures with short faces and draped in light, baggy robes with wide sleeves. The two types coexisted in Dunhuang, forming a style which was not exactly Western Regions', nor Central China's. The two gradually became mixed in the middle of the 6th century.

Duan says that the murals from the first 200 years of the grottoes demonstrate the national style, the time, different artistic schools and different personal styles. The national styles derive from a



A deva-dancer, the Western Wei Dynasty.

number of dynasties, the messages in the paintings change over time. The two together can be studied in the context of the different painting schools.

Duan, a painter, came to Dunhuang in the mid-1940s. Since then, he has copied and studied the murals, and familiarized himself with the paintings in each grotto. This enables him to be one of the most accomplished experts on

Dunhuangology today.

Two papers at the seminar were on the Sui Dynasty murals. Although the Sui was founded in 581 and lasted for a mere 37 years, about 100 grotto caves were dug in that period, as the then rulers were fervent Buddhists. Thus the Sui carved a prominent place for themselves in Dunhuang grotto art history.

The Tang Dynasty (618-907) murals form a peak in Dunhuang's art. Form, spirit and colour are better harmonized, resulting in a far more typically Chinese style than in earlier periods.

In his paper, Lang Shaojun, a fine arts history researcher from Beijing, agrees that the murals and sculptures of the 200-plus Tang caves are the grandest and most reliable Tang Dynasty art remaining. He sees their style as an expression of the self-confidence of the Chinese nation and its highly developed spiritual and material life at the time.

### Social Factors

Shi Weixiang, a famous painter and senior fine arts researcher,

Fighting, the Western Wei Dynasty.





examined the social factors which contributed to the creation of Dunhuang. These included the maturing of the Chinese culture which dates back to five centuries earlier.

The extensive social exchanges and frequent contacts with China's interior and the Western Regions wrought their influence on ways of life and religious belief, and thus too affected the Dunhuang art.

The third social factor, Shi said, is the secularization of religious belief, resulting in the depiction of longevity, happiness, wisdom and many other beautiful things.

Shi's paper also mentioned the impact of the Confucianism-based feudal system and social ethics on the mural paintings.

### Grotto Caves

There are very few records on the actual digging of the hundreds of grottoes in Dunhuang. Very often, the date and method of carving must be surmised from the structure of the cave and the style of the art inside it.

Between 366 when the first grotto cave was carved, and the 13th century, and the later period of the digging, political power changed hands 15 times; falling to Han, Tibetan, Mongolian and other ethnic rule.

Fan Jinshi, the vice-president of the Dunhuang Art Research Institute, talked in her paper about the characteristics of the grottoes and paintings carved and painted in the 160 years of the early Tang Dynasty. Her detailed analysis and fine conclusions based on a great deal of on-the-spot studies were acclaimed by the seminar participants. An archaeology major, she went to work in Dunhuang after her graduation from the Beijing University in the 1960s.

In his paper, Liu Yuquan said



The Statues of Bodhisattva and Ananda in the Mogao Grottoes, the Tang Dynasty (618-907).

ALL PHOTOS BY CHEN ZHONGLIE

that of the caves believed to have been dug during the Northern Song (960-1127) and Xixia State periods, 23 were dug by Huihu people, predecessors of the Uygurs in present-day Xinjiang. Huihu people participated in cave digging in Dunhuang between the late 10th and the early 12th centuries, according to Liu who compared the murals of those 23 caves with other Huihu art in Xinjiang.

### International Exchanges

The papers presented by the foreign scholars dealt with topics such as the high level of Buddhist development in the 4th and 5th centuries in the long, narrow Gansu corridor; the comparative styles of Dunhuang grotto art, Buddhist art in Xinjiang, and in Japan and Pakistan.

Takayasa Higuchi, a Japanese

scholar, read a paper entitled "From Bamiyan to Dunhuang." Bamiyan Valley is an ancient Buddhist shrine at the western tip of Buddha's early influence. Its grottoes and murals carry strong Indian overtones and also influences of Byzantium and Rome. Higuchi's paper surveys the two Buddhist grottoes along the ancient Silk Road, and concludes that the architectural system originated in the Bamiyan grottoes.

During the seminar, many foreign scholars showed slides of Dunhuang relics kept abroad.

Auspicious Image is a silk painting kept first in India and now in England. It is very tattered. Dr. Roderick Whitfield of London University reported on his efforts to restore it to its original condition.

The meeting of Chinese and Indian cultures were at the heart of the discussion. Yun-hua Jan compared two murals dealing with the subject of subduing the demons, one in India's Ajanta Grottoes and one in Dunhuang. The Canadian Chinese scholar found that although the grottoes were dug at around the same time

and the two murals depict the same subject, their figures have different gestures; it seems there was little cross-influencing there..

Tang Zhong from India cited many elements purporting to show the extent to which Chinese culture derived from the Indian. He said that Dunhuang murals are evidence of this. His thesis that China's dragon is derived from Naga, the snake god of India, was much discussed at the seminar. Many Chinese scholars disagreed with him but appreciated the boldness of his suggestion. ■

## Changes in Japanese Foreign Aid Strategy

**Japanese foreign economic assistance used to focus on furthering the country's economic interests. Today it is geared towards serving Japan's political ends. Japanese aid is proportionally lower in quantity and poorer in quality than that of many other countries. But this situation seems bound to change.**

by Lu Guozhong

In recent years Japan, having become the largest creditor nation in the world, promised to provide economic assistance everywhere. At the June 1986 summit of seven major Western powers, former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that Japan would implement a "capital recycling" plan which would provide an additional US\$20 billion in loans to developing countries in the following three years (US\$10 billion had already been promised earlier in 1986).

This proposal—which became known as the Japanese version of the Marshall Plan—aroused the interest of many countries, which are closely following developments in Japanese foreign aid.

Japan's postwar foreign economic assistance began with

the signing of war indemnity agreements with Southeast Asian countries in 1954. The scale of aid was relatively small in the 1950s and 1960s, and has gradually expanded since 1978 as a result of the implementation of three plans aimed at doubling Japan's foreign aid. In 1986, Japan's official development assistance to third world countries rose to US\$5.6 billion, second only to the United States among the Western nations. If private investment and loans from commercial banks are included, Japan's foreign "monetary co-operation" reached US\$14.8 billion, the highest in the world.

In the years since the war, the aims of Japan's foreign economic assistance have differed in different periods. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was designed to further

the country's economic interests and open up markets for exports. Japan has provided free ships, building materials and equipment to Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries under the rubric of war indemnities since 1954. But this so-called assistance was actually designed to increase Japan's commercial exports.

More recent economic assistance to the developing countries has mainly consisted of Japanese yen loans and export credits with conditions attached. Japan has used such assistance to enable its commodities to flood into the recipient countries and dominate their markets. This is how Japan replaced the United States as the most important trading partner of Southeast Asian countries.

In the 1970s, the aim of Japan's assistance was to ensure that the country could import the resources it required. Because of the international shortage of raw and processed materials and energy, especially after the "oil shock" of 1973, Japan went all out with its "resource diplomacy." It provided assistance to oil and raw material producers in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America in exchange for promises of stable supplies of energy and other key materials.

In the 1980s, Japan's foreign economic assistance has mainly served its political strategy. The comprehensive security strategy put forward by the government of former Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira at the end of the 1970s was partly based on economic assistance. Since the early 1980s when Nakasone publicly put forward the proposal to turn Japan into a "political power," economic aid has been seen as an important way for Japan to raise its international position and extend its political influence.

Japan has declared time and again its determination to fulfil its international duties as "a member of the West." To support Washington's Soviet strategy, Japan decided to provide strategic assistance to countries which are key to Western security, such as Pakistan, Turkey and the Philippines. The decision marked the first time that Japan's economic assistance possessed such a clear political motive.

Japan also provided assistance to Iran and Iraq and other countries in the Middle East, with the aim of putting itself in a position to play a "special role" in international politics. The country's "humanitarian assistance" to Africa and its aid to island countries in the southern Pacific and some influential third world countries such as India have been given with a view to extending its international polit-

ical influence. In Japan's current assistance, political rather than economic gains are frequently the main consideration. This is the result of the adjustment of its economic aid policy in the early 1980s. The capital recycling plan put forward in 1986 is the continuation of this adjustment.

### Aid Out of Line

Although Japan is providing more foreign economic assistance than any other country, the amount is still small compared with its gross national product (GNP). In 1986, Japan's official development assistance to third world countries represented only 0.29 percent of its GNP. This is far from the 0.7 percent target suggested by the United Nations and lower than the 0.36 percent average for members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. As an aid donor, Japan occupies 14th place among the 18 members of the committee.

The quality of Japan's assistance is also comparatively low. There is a trend towards more Japanese yen loans with conditions and less unconditional loans, grants and technological assistance. Japan had the lowest proportion of grants and technological assistance among the members of the Development Assistance Committee.

This situation, which is out of line with Japan's current economic position and strength, has aroused strong grievances among the developing countries. Even officials of Japan's Foreign Affairs Ministry agree that expanding and improving assistance and softening the conditions for aid are urgent matters.

### US Pressure

Japan has come under repeated

US pressure over its foreign aid programme. As Washington sees it, Japan has profited from the nuclear umbrella provided by the United States, under which it has been able to devote itself to the postwar reconstruction. Now that Japan is among the top economic powers, it ought to share more international responsibility for economic assistance, particularly to certain developing countries.

US Secretary of State George Shultz said in testimony before Congress in January 1986 that since some Asian countries are worried about Japan's militarization, it would be better for Japan to replace the United States in filling the aid gap than to increase its military spending.

Congress passed a bill in September 1986 urging the Japanese government to set aside more money for foreign assistance. The bill stipulated that by 1992 Japan should increase its development aid budget to 3 percent of its GNP and most of the assistance should be unconditional.

Meanwhile, some US officials have repeatedly criticized the Japanese government for its bilateral aid to some Asian countries, which is designed to guarantee more markets for Japanese machines and equipment. They have urged Japan to extend its foreign aid beyond Asia and to contribute more to international organizations such as the World Bank.

Japan has enjoyed a tremendous surplus in international trade since 1976. This has been a cause for complaint among its trading partners and has led to many clashes. To placate these countries, Japan initiated in 1978 three plans to double its economic assistance. The third one set the goal of raising the total amount of foreign assistance between 1986 and 1992 to US\$40 billion.

Japan's balance of international

trade grew more favourable as it entered the 1980s. In 1986, its trade surplus topped US\$100 billion, making Japan the world's trading leader. The imbalance has not only led to increased trade conflicts between Japan and its partners, including the United States and the European Community, but has also blocked the economic development of many nations. Despite calls for Japan to open up its national markets, stimulate domestic demand for foreign goods, increase economic assistance to developing countries and help them resolve their debt crisis, Tokyo has in recent years indulged in spending monstrous sums on investments in US bonds, stocks and real estate, and on speculation. The government's philosophy of putting profit first has brought criticisms from other countries. These led Japan to propose its capital recycling plan, which it says will return some of its surplus to the developing countries.

## Japan's Own Needs

Japan's development calls for an increase in its foreign assistance. As the world's biggest creditor nation, with constantly increasing economic power, Japan regards stepping up its foreign assistance as not only a possibility but a necessity. Japan has used foreign aid to further its goal of becoming a major political power. Some high-ranking Japanese officials have even pointed out that foreign assistance is a necessary expense for a political power. Given that most Asian countries are sensitive to a revival of Japanese military power, Japan's foreign assistance can be a double-edged tool, helping broaden its political influence on the one hand and satisfying the demands of both developed and developing countries on the other.

The current world debt crisis has made terms for loans and credits so tight that there is a glut of international capital. And the revalued yen has made Japanese loans less attractive for those countries which are short of funds. In recent years, Japan has been seeking more channels for its excess capital, but it has not found enough borrowers although it has promised loans to some countries and increased its loan budget.

The revalued yen has also made Japanese goods less competitive in international markets. To guarantee adequate markets for its exports, Japan is moving some of its production to low-cost developing countries (most of them in Southeast Asia) and selling the products locally and elsewhere. Another way that Japan supports its exports and safeguards its competitiveness is by importing low-priced components and spare parts from developing countries.

As a result of these tactics, Japan badly needs to increase its loans to and investment in developing countries both to help them develop export-oriented production and improve its relations with the sources of its raw materials and components. Japan believes that this strategy, which it calls "international division of labour," will help maintain its current level of exports while promoting the readjustment of its domestic industrial structure.

## Problems, Prospects

Although the recently formed cabinet of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita realizes the importance of Nakasone's capital recycling plan, Japan will have difficulties in providing the promised US\$30 billion in aid to developing countries within the specified three years.

The first problem is that the

terms for the aid are by no means favourable. The plan is based on commercial loans rather than the government assistance advocated by other countries. Grants are to account for only a few hundred million of the first US\$20 billion in aid; government loans at low interest rates will account for US\$3-5 billion; and the rest will be commercial loans with high rates of interest. Many hard-pressed developing countries which were hoping for grants or concessional loans were disappointed by the plan.

To remove misunderstandings among the developing countries, the Japanese Finance Ministry moved quickly to correct the view that its capital recycling plan is a Japanese version of the US Marshall Plan. (Under that plan, 80 percent of the US\$13 billion in post World War II US aid to European countries was in the form of grants.) Whether developing countries will accept the unfavourable loans in the future remains to be seen.

Another problem that Japan faces in trying to implement its plan is differing opinions among various government departments and within the business community on how this should be done. The Foreign Ministry, which must keep the country's strategic interests in mind, stresses bilateral government development assistance, while the Finance Ministry is afraid that the loans will become bad debts in the future. The Finance Ministry wants aid channelled mainly through the World Bank and other international monetary institutions so that other countries jointly take the risks. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry is opposed to providing multi-lateral and unconditional aid. It wants to ensure that benefits from the aid flow back to Japan by preventing aid recipients from using Japanese money to buy

goods from other countries.

The Japanese government is asking businesses and banks to provide money for the loans but they are reluctant to do so, particularly the banks. They have asked the government to assume some of the risks and give them tax concessions. Some people have proposed that the government levy an economic co-operation tax and solicit private funds. The many conflicting views will make the plan hard to implement.

A third problem is the difficulty of balancing the assistance internationally. On the eve of his visit to the United States in September 1986, Nakasone said the plan would stress aid to Central and South American countries, as the United States eagerly desired. On the other hand, the main target of Japanese economic aid has consistently been the Southeast Asian countries. During his visit to Thailand in 1986 and on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Nakasone repeatedly reaffirmed his pledge to increase aid to ASEAN. With the recent tension in the Gulf area, Japan has sought to expand economic aid to the Middle East to help defuse the Gulf situation and ensure the security of ships in the waterway. Moreover, African countries are seeking Japanese government aid. When Japan allocates its US\$20 billion in assistance, it will be difficult to balance the number of loans, the ratio between government and commercial loans, and preferential aid among the various regions and countries. The government is worried about the consequences if it does not deal with these problems correctly.

### Coming Changes

As a result of both international pressure and Japan's own needs,

its foreign aid will not only increase but the conditions for aid will be eased and the methods of delivering it improved.

First, there will be a large increase in grants and technological aid, and the proportion of "free" money and unconditional loans will increase.

Second, policy aid has increased and will probably increase further. Japan used to provide assistance for construction projects in developing countries. Now it is willing to increase aid in support of the countries' economic and political policies. Such aid is comparatively flexible and has been welcomed by aid recipients.

Third, multilateral aid will be increased. Formerly 70 percent of the Japanese government's development aid was bilateral while 30 percent went through international institutions. The United States and other developed countries criticized Japan for its bilateral aid, which was aimed at boosting its exports. To counter international criticism, Japan promised that the initial US\$20 billion of the capital recycling plan will mainly consist of multilateral aid. Only US\$3 billion in assistance will be bilateral; US\$8 billion will go through the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank and US\$9 billion will go through Japanese state and private banks in co-operation with international monetary institutions. Increasing multilateral aid could hurt Japan's exports of equipment, which were assured under bilateral pacts. But because many countries are currently heavily indebted, it will be beneficial for Japan to reduce its risks in this way.

Japan's foreign aid since World War II has generally been beneficial to the developing countries, as well as to its own economic development. At the same time, the assistance has strengthened the relations be-

tween Japan and other countries. If Japan expands its aid on the basis of equality and mutual benefit in the future, this situation will undoubtedly continue. Japan will improve its international image and raise its international position.

It is hoped that Japan will focus its efforts on economic cooperation and peaceful development. But it must be pointed out that there are certain people in Japan who think that the country should strengthen its arms, expand its sphere of influence through military might and seek to become a military power. This point of view, which is dangerous both for Japan and other countries, must be guarded against.

Moreover, some Japanese people see aid as "charity," while others seek to quiet criticisms with money. Still others have grown cocky and domineering in the face of requests for aid and go so far as to say the developing countries are "rubbish." If, with its foreign aid increasing, Japan loses its perspective, is arrogant and pursues the policy of great-nation chauvinism in an attempt to issue orders and even intervene in other countries' internal affairs, this will ultimately lead to strong opposition from other countries and could bring tragedy for Japan.



GREETINGS FROM OUR READERS

## On the 30th Anniversary of Beijing Review

Congratulations and best wishes on the 30th anniversary of the founding of your fine journal. As a regular reader of *Beijing Review* for more than 12 years, I have seen *Beijing Review* grow from a flimsy and dull magazine to an attractive, sophisticated, informative publication that, in a sense, reflects the transformation and maturation of China's social and economic position to become a progressive leader in world thought and action. Truly, the appearance and quality of the magazine now equals the best in world journalism for its honest and open reflection of thinking and happenings in the most populous of nations. Long life and success for at least the next 30 years!

A. J. Auerbach  
Illinois, USA

Cordial congratulations for *Beijing Review's* 30th anniversary.

I am a researcher in international politics and have been a reader of your magazine since you first started publication.

The past 30 years were ones of great change both for the world and China. My understanding of China's view on international affairs has constantly improved through *Beijing Review*, particularly the articles on socialist theory and practice; it is very helpful to my work.

I hope *Beijing Review* will continue to develop by the day.

Sadakuni Takaya  
Kyoto, Japan

Very glad to read your announcement of February 1, 1988. Congratulations on the 30th anniversary of the founding of *Beijing Review!*

Indeed, your magazine has made herculean efforts to strengthen friendship and co-operation between us Chinese and the people of the world. Innumerable foreigners (especially English-speaking readers) have come to know our country better and better through this source.

*Beijing Review* is my favourite magazine. I read your first issue when I was still an English teaching assistant at Heilongjiang University in 1958. I've continued reading it in earnest.

Many teachers of English in China hold that to learn idiomatic English one should read publications from England only. I think this is an out-and-out prejudice. It is of great benefit, even to Chinese, to read such publications as *Beijing Review*. We can learn how our own news and views are expressed in English. In my opinion, it is far from adequate for foreign-language workers to read publications from Britain alone. I've learnt a lot from this magazine. I've never missed an issue, and I've been a subscriber for many years.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," *Beijing Review* has achieved very great progress in its presentation and layout, and even in language. I wish it even greater success!

Li Shengxin  
Fujian, China

Congratulations on *Beijing Review's* 30th anniversary.

I "met" your magazine about 10 years ago. During this period, the textbook problem of concealed historical truths about the Japanese invasion of China, and other similar events came to light.

Your articles were from time to time distorted by Japan's bourgeois press. The Japanese people are still exploited by capitalists, they look "rich," but on the contrary, the people's health has suffered and their culture is becoming more impoverished. The mass media nevertheless have followed the will of the ruling class to sing praises of this "prosperity," thus beautifying capitalism and distorting socialism as outdated. They did not carefully read your articles but confused right and wrong. From this point of view, your magazine has a very important role in introducing the advantages of socialism and concerning itself with struggles of the people in Japan and other countries.

I hope your magazine will continue to grow.

Yotaro Saito  
Sakura, Japan



## Neolithic Site Found in Henan

In May 1987, a 6,000-year-old site of civilization was unearthed in Henan Province.

The site covers 50,000 square metres of waste marshland at Xishuipo in Puyang County on the west bank of the Huanghe (Yellow) River. To date, more than 1,000 square metres have been excavated. The findings include houses, cellars and tombs; animal figures formed by shells; stone knives, axes and shovels; bone needles and awls; millstones and stone pestles; pottery tripods, bowls, jars and bottles.

**Special Tomb.** The No. 45 tomb is remarkable for its large size and the burial method used. The tomb, which is in the shape of a human head, is about 3 metres long, 4 metres wide and 0.5 metres deep. Buried in the tomb was a middle-aged man who was 1.84 metres tall. He lies on his back in the centre of the tomb with his head to the south. Three younger people are buried in the eastern, western and northern niches of the tomb chamber. The person buried in the western niche is believed to have been a 12-year-old girl. On her skull is a mark left by the cut of a knife.

**Exquisite Dragon Designs.** On the older man's left and right sides are dragon and tiger designs formed by shells. On the same level and 20 metres away from the northern and southern ends of the tomb, there are two more groups of dragon and tiger designs formed by shells.

The three groups of designs are different. In the first group, the dragon on the man's right side is 1.78 metres long. It is holding up its head and curving its body and looks as if it is flying in the clouds. The tiger on the man's left side is 1.39 metres long. It is baring its fangs, brandishing its claws and

looks as if it is roaring in the forest.

In the second group, a dragon and a tiger have merged into one animal, with a deer lying on its back. In the third group, the figures of a dragon, a tiger and a person who is on the dragon's neck are separate and well-formed.

Pointed shells were used to form the dragons' and tigers' teeth and claws, round ones to form their eyes, and oblong ones to form their tongues. The inside of clam shells was used for the manes and tails and the outside of the shells for the dragons' and tigers' other parts. The dragon and tiger designs give a sense of depth and motion. These artistic dragons from New Stone Age are the largest and earliest ones that have been found in China. They have become known as China's first dragons.

**Great Significance** This important archaeological site provides materials for the study of the neolithic people's life and social environment, social aspects of the Yangshao Culture and the origins of China's civilization.

In the early 1960s, the social character of the 5,000-6,000-year-old Yangshao Culture was discussed in Chinese academic circles. When scholars researched Yangshao farming methods, pottery and the social position of women, most of them concluded that the culture was matriarchal.

But some scholars thought archaeological findings indicated that men had occupied an important position during that age. Tombs of Yangshao Culture age with people found buried alive with the dead seem to testify to the fact that the society had entered the stage of communes consisting of patriarchal clans, a wide gap

had appeared between the rich and poor and class polarization had appeared. The latest discovery, which includes small tombs with no or a few funerary objects and some dead bodies without feet or arms buried in disorder in the pits, stands testimony to these scholars' opinions.

An appraisal of the site's significance to the development of China's civilization will not be made until large-scale excavation has been completed.

## Man and the Biosphere Programme

The *Nephila imperialis*—a giant forest spider that consumes at least 6.8 grammes of insects for every gramme it weighs—has Chinese scientists to thank for its new home. After years of efforts, scientists from the Southern China Institute of Botany, under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, working with the local water and soil conservation station, have changed 433 hectares of wasteland in Guangdong Province into a tropical forest. There the spider has flourished since 1980s.

The forest is situated in the Xiaoliang, Dianbai County, on the northern border of the tropical zone. Damage caused by man led to the disappearance of the region's original rain forests more than 100 years ago. And the resulting soil erosion left the land barren.

Today Xiaoliang is a research centre for the study of tropical forest ecosystems and forms part of China's Man and the Biosphere Programme. The forest is a good example of how nature can be artificially transformed. Water and soil erosion have basically been controlled and the environmental conditions have been improved.

The new forest consists of 400 hectares of eucalyptus and pony-tail pine and 33 hectares of various kinds of broad-leaf trees. More than 100 people have settled there.

Since 1979, scientists have been conducting systematic investigations into the region's plants, insects, birds, animals, micro-organisms, soil, climate, topographic features and hydrology.

In 1972 China formally joined in the Man and the Biosphere Programme sponsored by the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The programme is aimed at studying the relations between humans and the environment with stress on the comprehensive survey of the diverse aspects of the management of interrelated resources.

In 1978, China set up the State Commission of Man and the Biosphere. Sun Honglie, vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, is chairman of the commission.

The protection of nature is an important part of the Man and the Biosphere Programme, which includes the establishment of a global network of nature preserves. Six Chinese nature preserves have been selected to participate in the international biosphere protection network. They are China's northeastern Changbai Mountains; Dinghu Mountain, Fanjing Mountain and the Wuyi Mountain range in southern China; the southwestern Wolong Mountain; and the Xilin Gol Grassland in northern China. The preserves represent forest ecosystems in the temperate and subtropical zones and a grassland ecosystem.

The Man and the Biosphere Programme is a major channel for international scientific co-operation. In recent years, Chinese scientists have conducted broad international co-operation through the programme, includ-

ing co-operation on grassland ecology research with France and forest research with Britain. Last year China and the Federal Republic of Germany agreed to conduct the large-scale Co-operative Ecology Research Project, which includes co-operative research on forest ecology, urban ecology and environmental protection. Work on the project has started in China.

Also last year, ecologists from Canada, France and the Federal Republic of Germany came to the Xiaoliang research centre to work with Chinese scientists on a training and co-operative research programme.

by Wei Liming

## "Parisians" on Beijing Stage

The play "Parisians," presented by the Beijing People's Art Theatre, took Beijing audiences back to the year 1871 and the outbreak of a workers' uprising which results in the establishment of the Paris Commune. After the commune was set up, Rodelin, the member of the Commune Committee in charge of financial affairs, came to realize that the commune must take over the banks to consolidate its economic base. However, Otemie, a newspaper correspondent with whom he was in love, insisted on a solution through peaceful negotiation," as she considered "humanism the highest ideal." Adopting this theme, the play portrays the characters of different people—peasants, tailors, doctors, teachers, generals of the commune force and rank-and-files of the Versailles government army, who, in the short-lived but historic revolution, experience tests of the body and soul, and become

dedicated revolutionary fighters. Some of them even give their lives to safeguard the future of the first proletarian political power. The play presents their loves and hates, joys and sorrows, and their selfless revolutionary spirit. Their experiences tell of the importance of seizing political power by the proletariat and the truth that "the principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed," as was predicted by Karl Marx when Paris was still bathed in the smoke of the uprising gunfire.

The Paris Commune is a great historical event which won the admiration and respect of generations of young Chinese. Gu Wei the playwright said that after reading Lissagalay's "Geschichte der Kommune," he was deeply impressed and moved by the heroism of the revolutionaries. Since the ten-year tumult of 1966-76, however, many young people have remained ignorant of this significant event. Asked in an entrance examination why the Paris Commune failed, one young man answered: "because it did not follow the example of Dazhai (a model production brigade in a people's commune in Shanxi Province. The people's communes were set up in late 50s all over China's rural areas.) The playwright said that when he heard about this, he was so saddened that he decided to write a play about the movement.

But this was no easy task. Chinese drama faces the challenge of a new generation of audiences with very altered aesthetic values. Many people, especially the young, shun the stylized didactic manner of Chinese plays. They demand that plays provide artistic entertainment and new ideas. Historical plays are too readily seen as "orthodox" and people tend to keep a respectful distance from them. Despite these difficulties, Gu pressed on and the script was completed after ten





revisions. During the writing process, he was helped by many renowned historians and artists, as well as his colleagues. The leaders of the Beijing People's Art Theatre also gave him much encouragement.

The play is divided into eight acts and involves more than 40 characters. Well-known composer Liu Zhuang and conductor Zheng Xiaoying were invited to work with the performers and their contribution adds to the play's success.

Beijing audiences can witness the dedicated pursuit of a better future shared by a united band of Parisians 117 years ago. In the final scene the hero and heroine are talking together how to report this to the revolutionary leader Marx who was then in the Great Britain. Just as the revolution is about to be suppressed by the Versailles Government the revolutionary ship is about to sink.

She: She.....she struck a reef?

He: She is not well Prepared for a long voyage.

She: But she has left the harbour.

He: There are not enough sailors and the compass is inaccurate.

She: Then what's the point of her voyage?

He: She has set the course for future ships.

It is this understanding that saved the Parisians from losing heart when the commune failed

and this is the most precious offering the play makes to its audiences. ■

## Archaeological Finds Shed New Light

Archaeologists recently discovered a number of inscribed animal bones and tortoise shells among the Jiahu New Stone Age ruins in Henan Province, central China. The inscriptions are believed to be the world's earliest written characters dating back about 8,000 years, even before the inscriptions on animal bones and tortoise shells of the Chinese Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-1100 BC), and on the ancient Egyptian papyrus scrolls which were claimed to be the earliest written record in the world.

Central China is one of the birthplaces of Chinese civilization. The world-famous Yin ruins where a large number of inscribed animal bones and tortoise shells have been unearthed since 1899 are located in this region. Some of the symbols in the Jiahu inscriptions are similar to those found in the Yin ruins, indicating that the two kinds of inscriptions have some relations" and providing important clues to the study of the origin of Chinese characters.

Also unearthed were a number of flutes made of the bones of animals or birds of prey. The flutes are 20cm long and most of them have 7 holes. During a press conference on the finding, the audience listened to a tape of the bone flute piece "Little Cabbage" played by a researcher from the Music Institute of Chinese Academy of Arts. The bone flute is the oldest musical instrument to be discovered in China.

The Jiahu ruins cover about 50,000 square metres and it is believed that great variety of cultural relics are buried there. Since 1983, archaeologists have made six excavations and discovered a large number of home sites, kiln sites and tombs. ■

CORRECTIONS: The sixth line, first column, p.14, issue No.9 should read: "sharply with its 80-year-old" and the first line, third column, p.15 should read: "industrial production. The 30"

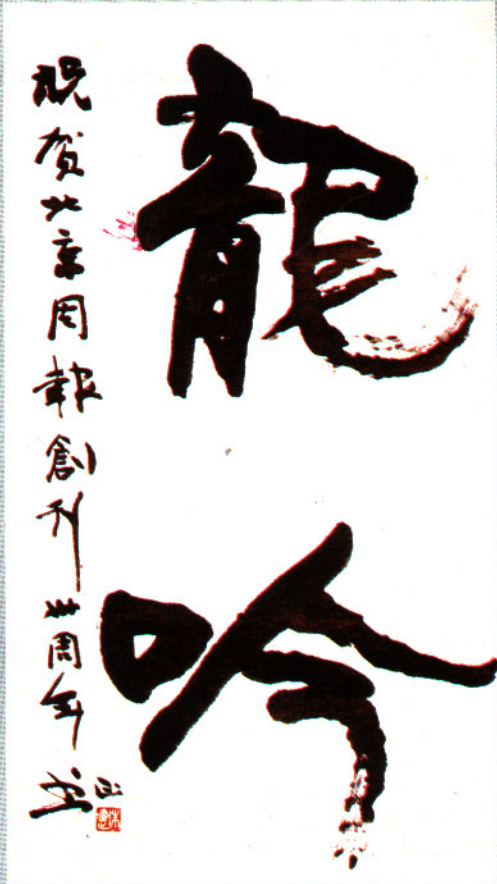


*Zhao Zhunwang*

## 30th Anniversary Contributions

We wish to take this opportunity to sincerely thank the famous artists who kindly contributed their traditional Chinese paintings and calligraphy to mark the 30th anniversary of *Beijing Review*. Their works will appear in this and coming issues.

Editorial Board



*Zhu Naizheng*



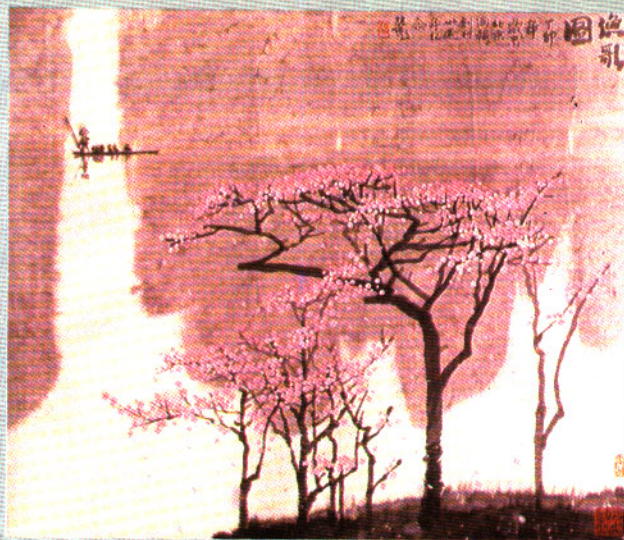
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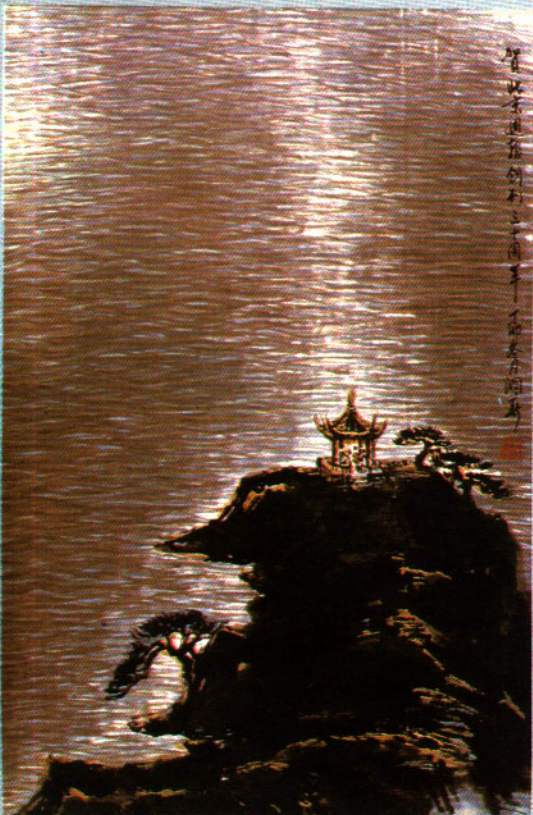
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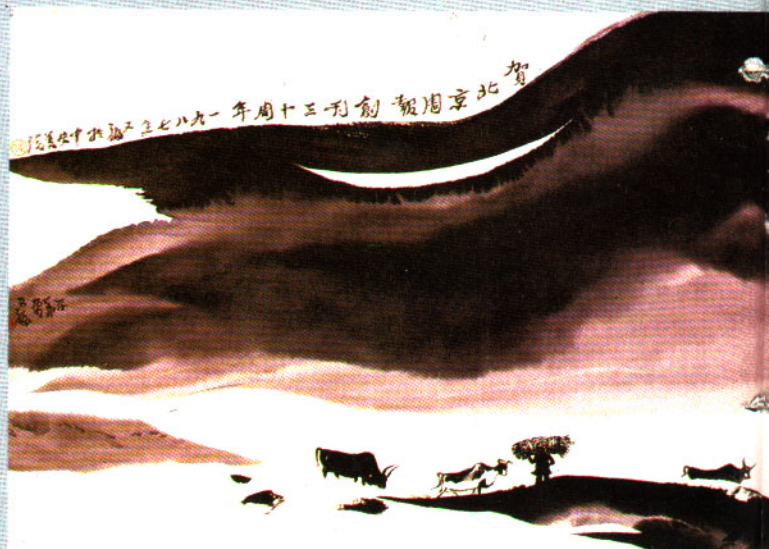
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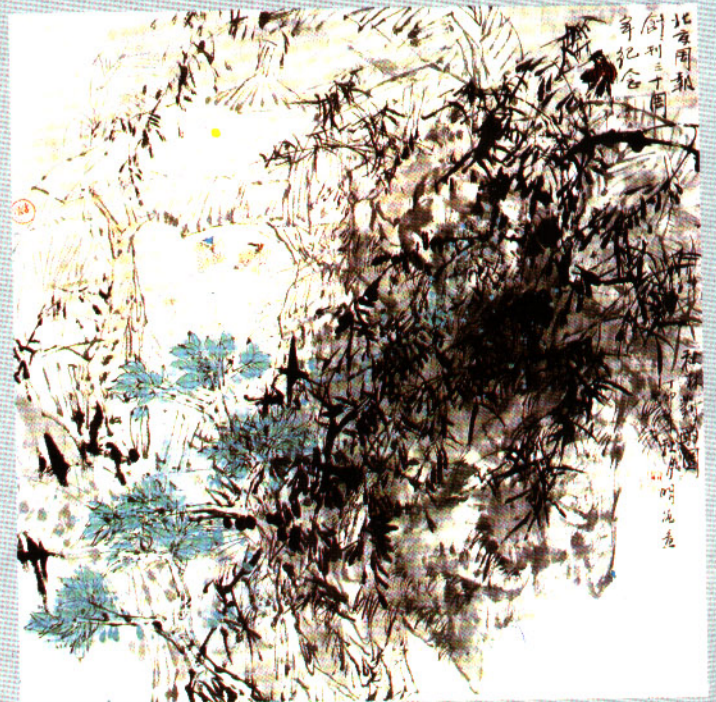
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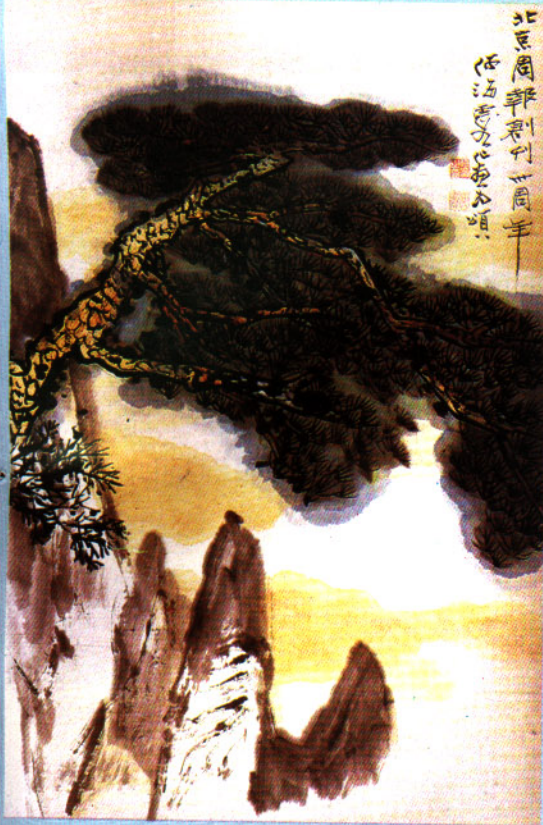


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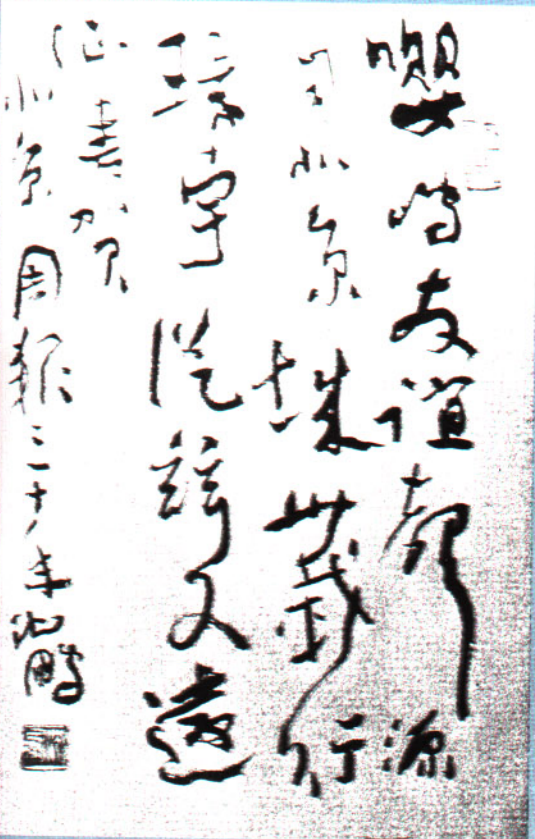




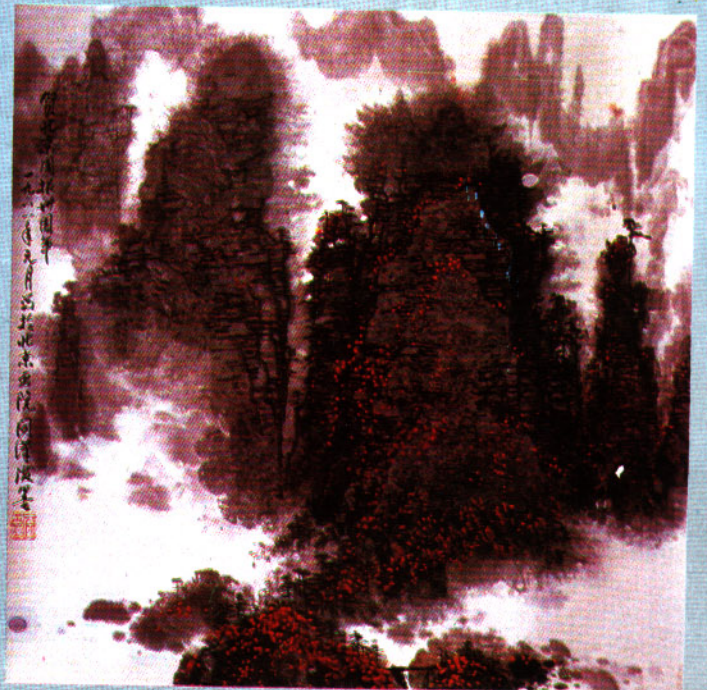
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