

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

Decision on Party
Consolidation

•
Commentaries on
Xianggang Issue

•
Education for
Minority People



LETTERS

Articles by Deng Xiaoping

I like the articles in *Beijing Review*, especially the article by Deng Xiaoping criticizing dogmatism ("The 'Two-Whatever' Policy Does Not Accord With Marxism") in issue No. 33 and his statement on China's reunification in issue No. 32.

I am also interested in reports on the politics and culture of Beijing in the column "From the Chinese Press," particularly the articles from the Beijing press. I have learnt more about China from these articles.

For improvements in the coming year, I suggest your magazine carry more articles which will help readers understand more about ancient China, and the realities of New China after its founding in 1949. You should also publish articles showing readers that the Chinese people are diligent and good at organizational work, and will succeed in modernizing their country.

Kibangou Bantsimba
Brazzaville, the Congo

Articles and Columns

Beijing Review gives readers a wide knowledge of life in China. I think your magazine is rich in its contents and varied in its subjects.

After reading it from the first page to the last, the section which I like the best is the "Articles"

column. I also enjoy the "International" and "Culture & Science" columns, and particularly like the "Art Page."

I would like to comment more on the modernization of the People's Liberation Army. It is natural for the Chinese leaders to be determined to modernize its arsenal. Facing many strong enemies, China has good reasons to keep abreast with other countries' strength by arming itself against any potentiality; not to attack other countries, but to be able to repulse the attack of any enemy. China's political stand is one of peaceful coexistence, and I greatly admire this foreign policy.

The "Articles" section has reports which acquaint me with the history of the Chinese Communist Party. If you want to understand the thinking of the Chinese leaders, it is imperative to study Marxist philosophy and also Chinese history. The young people don't know the Chinese history — even less the history of the Chinese revolution and the history of the Chinese Communist Party. This type of article acquaints your readers with the new thinking in Chinese policy after the passing of Comrade Mao Zedong.

I am not clear why some readers are not interested in these documents. It seems as if some would like to see them disappear. We must know more about the thinking of the Chinese leaders, and analyse and study it in order to understand them better.

Your magazine carries articles about major events in China and

the rest of the world in various forms. I also like your illustrations and charts and tables.

Jaime Alberto Restrepo H.
Medellin, Colombia

Articles on Economic and Other Topics

I find your magazine always more and more interesting. Most articles are very informative and clearly reflect Chinese realities. While I also get news about what is happening in China from other sources, I find it quite possible to keep up to date just by reading your weekly.

I am most interested in articles about economics (development, planning, management, quality control, etc.), the structural changes in government and development of local and central democracy, the role and structure of the trade unions and grass-roots education.

I am sure that if China succeeds in its present plans for economic development, employment, education and the democratic participation of workers in management, it will have far-reaching consequences throughout the world. Employment and grass-roots democracy are becoming central themes in the politics of progressive people of the West, together with the struggle for nuclear disarmament and the demand for a new approach to ecology. Therefore, I think that *Beijing Review* should regularly report about these affairs.

Ragnar Baldrusson
Reykjavik, Iceland

Features on Provinces

I find your articles on China's administrative regions most interesting. I very much enjoyed reading the feature on Gansu in issue No. 25 and the feature on Yunnan in issue No. 29. I hope that you continue this series of features to cover all of China's provinces and autonomous regions, or at least the more remote and less well-known ones.

A.J. Mayes
Staffa, UK

Ancient Chinese Fables

One hundred and twenty-one of the best ancient Chinese fables — mostly from the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. as well as the 16th and 17th centuries — are contained in this volume. Written in the simple language of the people, these fables embodying the experience and wisdom of the Chinese have found their way into the hearts of many over hundreds of years. The book has twenty-eight illustrations.

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The Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Party Consolidation

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Decision on Party Consolidation

Full text of a decision on Party consolidation adopted by the recent plenary session of the CPC Central Committee. This important document outlines the fundamental principles, tasks, and policies and basic methods for consolidating Party organizations (centrefold pages).

UK Stance on Xianggang Criticized

Two commentaries, one from Xinhua and the other from *Renmin Ribao*, point out that recent statements by British officials on Xianggang (Hongkong) reveal Britain intends to continue its colonial rule and is seeking new pretexts to prevent China from exercising its sovereignty over the region. Both commentaries express the hope that Britain will co-operate with China for a fair settlement of the Xianggang issue (p. 12).

Problems in Minority Education Tackled

Education for the young people of minority nationalities remains a weak link in the modernization drive, despite the progress made since 1949. A *Beijing Review* correspondent analyses the existing problems and looks at the measures taken by the government to solve them (p. 16).

Soviet-US "New Proposals" Reveal Discord

Both Moscow and Washington have recently announced "new proposals" for limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. But, as neither side appears genuinely sincere about nuclear disarmament, any agreement seems impossible (p. 10).

Economy Moves Towards Balanced Development

Readjustment of China's economy in the past four years has led to a better balance among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. As a result, the economy is following a path of smooth and healthy development (p. 4).

Criminals Executed in Tibet

The People's Government of Tibet describes reports abroad about the execution of Gesang Luosang Wangqiu and four other "dissidents" as "rumours." It says six criminals, including two Tibetans who had committed particularly serious crimes, were publicly convicted and executed in Lhasa (p. 4).



Students of the Central Institute for Nationalities.
Photo by Xu Xiangjun

CPC Central Committee holds plenary session

A 13,000-word decision on Party consolidation was adopted by the Second Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which took place in Beijing between October 11 and 12. A preparatory meeting was held prior to the two-day session.

A communique on the session issued on October 12 said that the decision on Party consolidation is in the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. It provides the fundamental principles, tasks, and policies and the basic methods for Party consolidation. The plenary session held that the decision would ensure that Party consolidation was conducted smoothly and correctly.

A central commission to ensure day-to-day leadership in guiding Party consolidation was elected, with Hu Yaobang as the chairman. The main tasks of the commission include keeping abreast of the situation, firmly grasping the Party's policies, supervising and checking up on work, giving guidance and doing publicity work.

Presiding over the plenary session of the Central Committee were Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun made important speeches on Party consolidation at the session. Deng Xiaoping raised the



The Party Central Committee in session.

question of improving ideological work. The session decided to hold a meeting this winter or next spring to discuss the question and take decisions.

"The session is convinced," the communique said, "that by relying on the joint efforts of Party organizations at various levels and all Party members, we shall fulfil the great tasks of the current Party consolidation, achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the Party's style of work and advance the creation of China's socialist material and spiritual civilization."

The session was attended by 201 Members and 136 Alternate Members of the CPC Central Committee, 150 Members of the Central Advisory Commission, 124 Members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and 11 leading members of the central organs

and local Party committees as observers.

The economy moves towards balance

After four years of economic readjustment, China has basically remedied its once lopsided economic development, characterized by too rapid development in heavy industry, backward light industry and stagnant agriculture.

During the 13 years from 1966 to 1978, the ratio of average annual growth rate among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was 1: 2: 3. Between 1979 and 1982, however, agriculture and light industry picked up momentum, while heavy industrial development was slowed down. As a result, the ratio of the increase

rate between these three economic sectors in the 1966-82 period became 1 : 1.9 : 2.

In 1982, agriculture accounted for 33.6 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output, as against 27.8 per cent in 1978; light industry made up 33.4 per cent in 1982, as against 31.1 per cent in 1978; while the portion of heavy industry dropped to 33 per cent from 41.1 per cent in those years.

Consumer goods production has kept pace with the people's growing daily needs. In the past four years, the combined value of agricultural and light industrial output has developed at an average annual rate of 10 per cent, and retail sales of consumer commodities have increased by the same percentage. Average annual consumption has also risen by 7.1 per cent. In 1982, consumption per capita of grain, pork and cotton cloth increased 15, 53 and 25 per cent respectively, over that of durable consumer goods.

Industry and agriculture are now developing hand in hand, each promoting the other. This even development increases the peasants' purchasing power. In 1982, a total of 148,000 million yuan in commodities were sold, retail, in rural areas, an 82.6 per cent increase over 1978. This is an indication that light and heavy industrial products are enjoying an ever-broadening market.

An increasingly appropriate ratio between agriculture and light and heavy industries has led the national economy on to a path of smooth, healthy development. However, according to a State Statistical Bureau official, China has only just achieved a balance in the development of the three economic sectors. The economic

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Truth of Executing Criminals in Tibet

On September 30, Dalai Lama, who is living in exile abroad, sent his representative to the Chinese Embassy in India, claiming that the People's Government of Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, had announced that five people would be executed on October 1, including Gesang Luosang Wangqiu Lama of the Daipung Monastery and other dissidents.

The representative also said this action was aimed at making Dalai Lama cancel his plan to visit Tibet in 1985. On the next day, some Tibetans who had followed Dalai Lama to India gathered in front of the Chinese Embassy to "lodge a protest" against this "incident." Some foreign news agencies gave this issue continuous coverage, making it seem as if Dalai Lama's claims were true.

Our correspondent learnt from the People's Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region there was no such "incident" as the execution of Gesang Luosang Wangqiu and four others in Lhasa. The fact is that before October 1, six criminals who had committed particularly serious crimes were publicly convicted and executed in Lhasa. Of these, three were of the Han nationality, one of the Manchu nationality and two of the Tibetan nationality. One of the Tibetans was Qimei Duoqi, who sold guns for profit, committed burglary on more than 20 occasions, and had escaped from jail five times. He also resisted arrest with arms. The other one was Suolang Ciren, leader of a gang, who committed robbery 19 times.

Earlier, both the Chinese and foreign press had reported that a campaign to crack down on criminals had been launched all over China, including Tibet. China practises a policy of national unity, national equality and common prosperity for all nationalities, and applies the principle that citizens of all nationalities are equal before the law. The severe punishment for felons like Qimei Duoqi and Suolang Ciren is aimed at protecting the lives and property of the Tibetan people, and the normal order of socialist construction.

The central authorities and the People's Government of Tibet have repeatedly said that Tibetan compatriots now residing abroad are welcome to come back to visit their relatives and friends or settle down again. But they must, like other Chinese citizens, abide by the laws of the state. If they violate the law, they will be called to account legally in the same way as other law-breakers.

We hope our Tibetan compatriots now residing abroad will give no credence to rumours and guard against the schemes of the separatists and other people harbouring malice against China. The central authorities and the People's Government of Tibet sincerely welcome Dalai Lama and his followers to return to China at an early date and, together with the people throughout the country, make contributions to safeguarding the unification of China, promoting national unity and achieving the four modernizations.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

foundation is still weak; many factors that could adversely affect this balance are yet to be eliminated; and further efforts are required to attain relative stability based on still greater achievements.

Memorial meeting for Tan Zhenlin

A memorial meeting for Tan Zhenlin, Vice-Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Communist Party of Chi-

contributions to the expansion of the revolutionary armed forces, the establishment of revolutionary bases, the liberation of the Chinese people and the socialist revolution and construction.

Tan had served as Secretary of the Special Committee of the Hunan-Jiangxi border area, Political Commissar of the 12th Army of the Red Army, Divisional Commander and Political Commissar of the New Fourth Army, Deputy Secretary of the Central China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and

the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.

After reviewing Tan Zhenlin's life and contributions during different historical periods, Hu Yaobang said Tan had led a revolutionary life of wholehearted service to the people. His death was a great loss to the Party, the country, the army and the people.

Tan firmly implemented the Party's correct line and had strong conviction in the victory of the communist cause.

Hu said Tan was open and aboveboard, dared to make criticism and self-criticism, and put the interests of the people above everything else.

During the 10 years of internal turmoil, Tan Zhenlin waged a head-on struggle against Lin Biao and the gang of four, without regard for his own disgrace or safety.

Zhao Ziyang, Chen Yun, Deng Yingchao, Ulanhu and other Party and state leaders attended the memorial meeting.



The memorial meeting for Tan Zhenlin.

na, was held in the Great Hall of the People on October 5.

Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, presided over the meeting and Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, delivered the memorial speech.

Tan Zhenlin died of lung cancer in Beijing on September 30, at the age of 81.

After joining the CPC in 1926, Tan Zhenlin made outstanding

First Deputy Political Commissar of the Third Field Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

After the founding of the People's Republic, he served as Secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the CPC, Third Secretary of the East China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Member of

A major reform in banking system

Following a recent decision by the State Council, China will introduce a major reform to its banking system: the People's Bank of China will henceforth function exclusively as a national central bank and an industrial and commercial bank will be set up to take over the tasks of handling industrial and commercial credits and bank deposits which were originally performed by the People's Bank.

In recent years, the national economy has developed rapidly and national cash reserves have increased as a result of restructuring the economic system and implementing the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. The role of banking has become increasingly important. It is necessary to strengthen the function of the central bank in order to concentrate funds for economic construction.

For example, state-owned enterprises in China now have circulating funds of 300,000 million yuan. As a result, turnover is slow and economic results are poor.

As a national central bank, the People's Bank of China will concentrate on the study and formulation of overall policies on national monetary affairs, strengthen the management of credit funds and maintain the stability of currency, so as to change the over-decentralization of the management and utilization of credit funds and stimulate the national economic development.

According to state monetary policies and credit plans approved by the People's Bank of China, the new industrial and commercial bank will administer credit funds for industrial and commercial enterprises. It will handle bank deposits, loans, settlement of accounts and savings, and manage the money supply and other operations, as entrusted to it by the People's Bank of China.

China's foreign exchange will still be controlled by the State Administration for Foreign Exchange Control, under the supervision of the People's Bank. The function of the Bank of China in administering state foreign exchange transactions will remain unchanged.

China's major specialized banks and financial organizations today include the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, the Agricultural Bank of China, the Bank of China, the People's Construction Bank of China and the People's Insurance Company of China.

The People's Bank of China exercises control over specialized banks chiefly by economic means. The specialized banks must carry out the decisions made by the People's Bank and its council, a policy-making organization which will be set up very soon.

President of Gabon in China on 5th visit

Premier Zhao Ziyang spoke highly of Gabon's achievements in economic development and its increasingly important role in international affairs during talks with Gabon's President Hadj Omar Bongo on Oct. 7. He also said a beginning has been made in economic and technical co-operation between China and Gabon, and hoped for further development in this field.

President Bongo, on his fifth visit to China, said that Gabon,

which is rich in natural resources, pursues an open policy in developing its national economy. He called for more visits between the people of the two countries to create conditions for expanding economic and technical co-operation.

The two leaders agreed to adopt a greater variety of forms and open new fields in their economic and technical co-operation, based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

They also exchanged views on international issues of common concern, particularly those in Africa.

President Li Xiannian and Vice-President Ulanhu met with President Bongo on Oct. 6. The Chinese President said he was satisfied with the development of China-Gabon relations, and was glad to see the achievements Gabon has made in its economic development and international affairs.

At a banquet in his honour, President Bongo said that "the friendship between Gabon and China is based on respect of each other's characteristics and that the two countries hold identical views on many international political issues."



President Li and Vice-President Ulanhu (right) meet with President Hadj Omar Bongo.

President Bongo was in China from Oct. 6 to 9. Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Communist Party of China, met with him during his visit.

Hu Yaobang's aims for visit to Japan

Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, told a group of Japanese journalists in Beijing that the aim of his scheduled visit to Japan is to seek steady development in Sino-Japanese good-neighbourly and friendly relations.

Hu will visit Japan for six days, beginning Nov. 23, at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

In an interview on Oct. 3 with visiting department chiefs of 13 Japanese press organizations and 21 Japanese correspondents residing in Beijing, Hu Yaobang said that during his visit he will work for a long-standing, multifaceted and progressive relationship between the two countries.

While in Japan, he said, he will do three things: first, exchange views with prominent figures in the Japanese Government and other circles on questions of common interest; second, see Japan's new achievements in modern industry, science and technology to learn from its progress in these fields; and third, convey the friendly feelings of the Chinese people towards the Japanese people.

Hu stressed that Sino-Japanese relations should be based

on peace, friendship, equality and mutual benefit. China and Japan must not confront each other again, he said, adding that neither should claim to be more powerful than the other, try to dominate the other, or take advantage of the other.

Referring to the friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, he said, "We must first consider how to maintain our peaceful, friendly and good-neighbourly relations up to the end of this century and the early period of the 21st century, that is, for 30 to 60 years."

Hu noted that the relationship should include economic, cultural, scientific and technological, educational, sports and other fields. Exchanges in these fields can be expanded and exchanges in other fields explored, he said.

"Our relations should keep improving year by year," Hu

added. "Seeking a steady development of friendly relations between China and Japan is high in the priorities of China's foreign policy."

Zhao sees closer ties with Europe

Premier Zhao Ziyang said Europe and China should combine their strong points to make up for their weaknesses, when he met with Federal German Minister of Economics Otto Graf Lambsdorf and his delegation on Oct. 7. This economic alliance will also be conducive to world stability, Zhao said.

The Premier said China hopes to see a strong and united Europe, while a prosperous and stable China is in the interests of Europe. "A strong China will not constitute a threat to Europe, nor will it become

China's View on Soviet-US Arms Reduction

A senior Chinese official says China is particularly concerned about the dismantling of nuclear missiles already deployed in Asia and the prevention of possible future deployment of such missiles in this part of the world.

Qi Huaiyuan, Director of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department, made the statement at his weekly news briefing in Beijing on Oct. 5.

Referring to the proposals for reducing medium-range nuclear weapons recently put forward by the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, Qi said neither proposal can lead to an agreement on limitation and reduction of these nuclear weapons.

"It is understandable that the world's people, the European people in particular, feel dissatisfied with and concerned about this issue," he said.

"We hope the United States and the Soviet Union will take a responsible attitude towards world peace and security and earnestly carry out serious negotiations to reach an agreement truly conducive to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the reduction of nuclear weapons rather than hide their true purpose of nuclear arms expansion under cover of negotiations."

Qi said China hopes the Soviet-US negotiations will neither impair the security and interest of other countries nor intensify their own nuclear arms race in Asia.

Europe's economic rival," he added.

There is a solid foundation for co-operation between China, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany, and other EEC member states, on the other, the Premier said. They have no conflicts of fundamental interests.

"China wishes to expand economic and technical co-operation with West European countries," he said. "We hope that these countries will perceive this co-operation from a long-term point of view."

Zhao said China will give preferential treatment in trade to those European countries which help provide China with advanced technology.

The visitors were in Beijing for the third meeting of the joint economic co-operation committee of the Federal Republic of Germany and China.

China and Federal Germany signed an investment promotion and protection agreement on Oct. 7, which calls on each side to encourage the other's investors, and guarantees that they be given fair and reasonable treatment.

Foreign Minister Wu visits Canada

During his seven-day trip to Canada, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian met with Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on Oct. 5 and had two rounds of talks with Canadian Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs Allan MacEachen on Sino-Canadian relations and a wide range of international issues.

At the talks, both sides expressed satisfaction with the de-

velopment of relations between the two countries since they established diplomatic relations in 1970. They also exchanged views on how to strengthen bilateral relations, particularly economic and technical co-operation, and develop trade between China and Canada.

The two sides also discussed current East-West relations, North-South dialogue, disarmament and the Kampuchean and Afghan questions.

On Oct. 5, a general agreement on developing co-operation between China and Canada was signed by Wu Xueqian and MacEachen.

At a press conference on Oct. 6, Foreign Minister Wu said that Premier Zhao Ziyang will pay an official visit to Canada in late January 1984 at the invitation of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. He also answered reporters' questions on a variety of topics.

Sino-Soviet Relations. China hopes normal relations between China and the Soviet Union can be realized at an early date, because it is not only in the interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples but also beneficial to world peace.

He said that without the removal of the three major obstacles (see *Beijing Review*, No. 40, p. 9), normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is impossible, because these obstacles constitute a great threat to China's security.

Question of Xianggang (Hong-kong). Asked about the question of Xianggang, the Chinese Foreign Minister pointed out that China hopes "the British Government will be sensible, because the question of sovereignty (over Xianggang) is not negotiable."

China's policy on Xianggang

is known to all, he said. China will work out a specific policy in accordance with Xianggang's special conditions, and the interests of foreign investors will not be affected after China resumes the exercise of its sovereignty over Xianggang.

Chinese-Canadian Ties. Minister Wu said economic and technical co-operation between the two countries has great potential. He noted that the volume of trade between China and Canada has increased seven-fold since the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1970, and said he believed it will expand considerably in the future.

Friendship, Co-operation With Other Lands

Japan. The Chinese people will spare no efforts to promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Japan, said General Secretary Hu Yaobang on Oct. 5 when he met with Hideo Den, representative of the United Social Democratic Party of Japan, and an old friend of the Chinese people.

In their 90-minute exchange of views on the international situation, Hu expressed thanks to Japanese government leaders and public figures for their contributions to the enhancement of Sino-Japanese friendship.

Hideo Den spoke of his visit to the liberated areas in Kampuchea and said that he appreciated China's position on the Kampuchean issue. He said the Japanese people have made donations to provide medicine to the Kampuchean fighters and civilians in support of their just struggle.

Yugoslavia. General Secretary Hu Yaobang told Stane Dolanc, Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs, on Oct. 4 that China and Yugoslavia's state security work have two points in common; both state security departments work to prevent subversion by others and co-operation in this field is sincere and is based on mutual trust.

*Moscow-Washington***'New proposals' reveal discord**

SINCE the beginning of the latest round of Soviet-US arms reduction talks in Geneva, Moscow and Washington have announced "new proposals" for limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Yet despite these proposals, an agreement seems impossible before the end of this year without substantial concessions from both sides.

Soviet Offer

The proposal, announced by Soviet leader Yuri Andropov on Aug. 26, set out that the Soviet Union would reduce its Euromissiles to the same level as the combined number of British and French missiles and would "liquidate" those that were left, provided the United States relinquishes its plan to deploy new missiles in Europe. The United States and other Western countries welcomed the "liquidation" proposal as a positive sign. However, it is reported in the West that Moscow later retracted this statement, saying only missile launchers, rather than the missiles themselves, would be destroyed. Anyway, the basic Soviet position of preserving its monopoly on land-based medium-range missiles in Europe and keeping US missiles off the continent remains unchanged.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union continued to insist on including the British and French missiles in the Geneva talks and intended to exclude its SS-20 missiles deployed in Asia from any limitation. Thus, the Soviet proposal has been reject-

ed by the West as "unacceptable" and "aimed at propaganda benefits."

Reagan's Countermove

To counter the Soviet move, US President Ronald Reagan announced his three-point proposal on Sept. 26 at the United Nations. It included US willingness not to seek full deployment in Europe under a global ceiling on warheads, a readiness to discuss limits on bombers, and an agreement to reduce Pershing II as well as cruise missiles if the overall number of missiles could be

lowered to equal levels. Although hailed in the West as a sign of US "flexibility" and "concessions," Reagan's move was dismissed in Moscow as a "deception." On Sept. 28, Andropov personally attacked Reagan's proposal as a ploy "to play for time and then start the deployment in Western Europe of ballistic Pershing II and long-range cruise missiles." The Soviet leader warned that Moscow would make a "proper response" in the event of a disruption of military balance, saying that Soviet "words and deeds will not be at variance."

Lack of Sincerity

Analysing the Soviet and US proposals, one can see that they

ASEAN Rejects Hanoi's Proposal

VIETNAMESE Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has recently put forward a proposal to the ASEAN states, asking them to cancel their demand for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, in exchange for a Vietnamese promise to concede the UN seat to Democratic Kampuchea. The foreign ministers of these countries present at the UN General Assembly have maintained their firm stand and flatly refused the Vietnamese offer.

Since Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea in 1979, the four successive UN General Assembly sessions have adopted resolutions asking Viet Nam to completely withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and safeguarded Democratic Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations. However, the Vietnamese authorities have stubbornly persisted in their aggression against Kampuchea and ignored the UN resolutions.

Knowing that their aggression will be again condemned and opposed as the UN discusses the Kampuchean question, the Vietnamese authorities have worked out this new trick to get out of their difficult predicament and alleviate the pressure from the international community. They are trying to cajole the international community into recognizing the fait accompli of the Vietnamese aggression and occupation of Kampuchea. This fully shows how weak and wrong the Vietnamese authorities feel in the face of world opinion.

The new deal which Nguyen Co Thach has proposed is doomed to failure, because safeguarding the legal seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations and demanding Vietnamese withdrawal both oppose aggression and expansion and defend normal international practice and the Charter of the United Nations. These reflect the common demands and desires of the international community.

are diametrically opposed. There are two main points of controversy: Moscow is bent on keeping new US missiles out of Europe and Washington is bent on deploying them there; and the Soviets insist on taking into account the British and French nuclear weapons while the Americans, supported by the British and French, refuse to do so.

Why are the Soviets so concerned over the deployment of new US missiles in Europe? In Moscow's view, these missiles, once deployed, can hit the Soviet heartland and, in the case of the Pershings, can reach their targets accurately within minutes. With their speed and accuracy, these missiles would pose a grave defence problem. Above all, if the deployment could be blocked, Moscow could hope to maintain its nuclear superiority in Europe, a trump to coerce the European countries into submission.

On the part of the United States, the Soviet nuclear monopoly in Europe, where there are no US land-based medium-range missiles, is intolerable. Washington sees in the cruise and Pershing missiles the only counter-measure against the Soviet SS-20s in the contest for supremacy in Europe. It regards the deployment of these missiles as a way to prove the credibility of its nuclear umbrella for West European nations and to prevent them from buckling under Soviet pressures. This clash of fundamental interests has landed the Geneva talks in a constant deadlock.

The negotiations of the past two years indicate that a lack of sincerity on both sides is the stumbling block to an agreement. This has manifested itself in three ways: First, the true intention of both sides is not to seek a genuine power equi-

librium but to weaken the opponent; second, both are proceeding from a position of strength, exchanging mutual accusations and threats; and third, in place of good faith at the negotiation table, both sides have resorted to propaganda manoeuvres to win public opinion so that in the event of the talks failing they can put the blame on the other.

Bonn

Chancellor Kohl's first year in office

IT has been a year since Federal German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's coalition government of the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union and the Free Democratic Party took office. There has been enough time for the new government to establish its foreign and domestic policies. It is worth looking at how these compare with those of the former government, led by the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party, and how Kohl's coalition deals with the present economic and political situation.

Economic Situation

Facing a financial deficit and economic depression, the Kohl government has readjusted the financial and economic policies of the former government since coming to power, and particularly since being re-elected last March. It has cut government spending and social welfare and reduced taxes in the private sector, in an attempt to balance incomes and expenditure and stimulate an economic recovery.

The economic situation in the country experienced a slight upturn this year, partly as a result of Kohl's economic policy. The main signs of recovery are

It can be anticipated that more "proposals" by the two superpowers are on the way in their rivalry for nuclear superiority. But, as long as the Soviet Union and the United States are not genuinely sincere about nuclear disarmament, a true arms limitation agreement is impossible, no matter how many "proposals" they may advance in the future.

— Tang Shan

an upswing in the gross national product, financial improvement due to increased taxation, and a rise in production in the building, auto and chemical industries.

However, a number of difficulties still exist despite these positive signs. For one thing, the economic upswing is slow and uneven, with some industries still in a serious recession. Federal Germany's foreign trade in the first half of this year suffered as a result of the shrinking world market. Steel and shipbuilding are two cases in point.

Unemployment remains a serious challenge to the government, with 2.2 million, about 9 per cent of the workforce, on the dole queue last August.

Foreign Relations

In foreign affairs, Kohl's coalition has basically followed the policy of its predecessor's, differing only slightly in some names and methods.

Realizing the importance of US-Federal German relations to NATO, Kohl has held frequent consultations with Washington, and has never publicly complained about the United States. The two countries appear to be

more cordial and closer than ever before. Of course, this does not mean that there are no longer contradictions between them.

In the European Economic Community (EEC), Kohl has worked to maintain his country's "special relationship" with France, as Federal Germany needs continued French support for its defence and security. But the two countries have a number of disagreements concerning trade and their economies.

In its relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries, the Kohl government has followed the policy of *Ostpolitik* pursued by the former Social Democratic-Free Democratic coalition, namely, "defence plus detente" and "security plus dialogue." It is noteworthy that the Kohl government has made some progress in relations with the German Democratic Republic.

As a staunch supporter of NATO, Chancellor Kohl has repeatedly declared that his country will go ahead with the planned deployment of new US medium-range nuclear missiles, should the US-Soviet Geneva talks on Euromissiles fail.

It should be pointed out that the Geneva talks might have a certain effect on the domestic and foreign affairs of Federal Germany. With the date for the new missiles' deployment approaching, the Federal German anti-nuclear movement is gaining momentum. There are growing anti-nuclear feelings among the general population. The Green Party, too, has opposed the deployment of the US nuclear missiles from the start, and the number of anti-nuclear supporters inside the Social Democratic Party is increasing.

The slow economic recovery and the social problems caused by high unemployment are probab-

ly becoming a hidden danger in the political situation there.

— Zhu Minxin

World Bank and IMF

Meeting yields few positive results

THE 38th joint annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has produced few concrete results that can meet either the demands of developing countries or the urgent need for strengthening economic cooperation between the developed and developing countries.

The meeting, held in Washington, comes at a time when the Western industrial countries are tiding over a protracted recession (the eighth and most serious in postwar years), while most developing countries, especially those in Latin America, are groaning under the burden of international debts.

Representatives from many developing countries pointed out that, as a rule, a worldwide recession hits their countries the hardest, and they benefit last from an economic recovery in its early stages.

They demanded that the World Bank and the IMF actively expand financial resources, offer more loans to developing nations and ease the terms of borrowing. They also urged industrial countries to lift restrictions on imports from third world countries and to open markets to them.

However, some industrial countries, led by the United States, were reluctant to increase loan assistance to the developing countries. They did not deny the importance of supporting the IMF in easing the

international debt crisis of some developing countries, but they stressed that the most important contribution must come from the debtors themselves.

At the insistence of the United States, the meeting decided to reduce the developing countries' borrowing limits in the IMF. This approach by the United States aroused discontent among many developing countries, and some developed countries.

Wang Bingqian, Chinese Finance Minister and Governor of the World Bank for China, called on the IMF and the World Bank to expand their fund resources to meet the growing demand of the developing countries.

"If one ignores the developing countries' urgent need for economic growth and fails to actively help them overcome their economic difficulties, it will be difficult for the developed countries to achieve real economic recovery," Wang warned.

Rejecting the argument that the economic recovery of the industrial powers will automatically revitalize the developing countries as "hardly credible," Wang urged the developed countries to adopt "a wise and far-sighted policy to promote the economic growth of the developing countries in the commodity, trade, financial and monetary fields."

— Zhong He

Commentaries on Xianggang Issue

The following are two commentaries by Xinhua and "Renmin Ribao" about the British officials' statements on Xianggang. — Ed.

On British Prime Minister's Statement

BBRITISH Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's recent statement on the Xianggang (Hongkong) issue again revealed Britain's intention to continue its colonial rule over Xianggang and to find new pretexts to prevent China from recovering its sovereignty over the region.

Mrs. Thatcher said in her statement to American reporters in London on September 23 that "but for the peculiar situation of Hongkong and the leases (of the 'New Territories'), but for that, had it been an ordinary British colony, she would have been independent years ago. She would have been another Singapore."

She stated that Britain "cannot be accused of colonialism in any way" in relation to Xianggang.

"Britain doesn't take a penny piece out of Hongkong" and is only concerned about the "benefit" of the people of Xianggang, she claimed.

It is known to all that Xianggang has, since ancient times, been part of Chinese territory. It was only in 1840 that British colonialists crossed vast oceans and seized Xianggang Island, and later Kowloon, with gunboats. The "New Territories" too were "leased" under duress to Britain for 99 years. For over a century, the Chinese people, in the face of national humiliations, have never accepted the three unequal treaties imposed on China. In every way, these treaties are illegal and invalid.

Xianggang does not fall into the category of commonly defined colonies. The question is only for China to resume the exercise of its sover-

eighty there; there is absolutely no question of "independence."

As early as March 1972 the Chinese representative to the United Nations explicitly stated China's position on Xianggang in his letter to the Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization.

Mrs. Thatcher knows only too well that the independence of Xianggang is impossible, and that the Chinese Government and people will never agree to this. Then why has she made such remarks? Did she want to instigate our Xianggang compatriots to separate themselves from their motherland? Did she attempt to exert pressure on the Chinese Government so as to block its recovery of sovereignty over Xianggang? Or did she have both in mind? One cannot but be seriously concerned about these questions.

The Chinese people firmly oppose and strongly condemn any statements or actions to dismember a country or split a nation. It would be wise not to forget the waves of protests on China's territory, including Xianggang, following a speech in September last year maintaining that the three unequal treaties on Xianggang are "still valid."

Further, it sounds ridiculous to claim that "Britain doesn't take a penny piece out of Hongkong." The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation admitted in a report last June that substantial and profitable British investment is evident in almost every sector of the Xianggang economy. Britain's revenue in Xianggang has exceeded its present visible trade deficit. Even British Minister of State Richard Luce had to acknowledge that Xianggang is vital to Britain since it is British largest export market in the Far East.

Since some British officials have stated time and again that Britain has a "moral responsibility" for Xianggang, then, they should change their ways and stop putting obstacles in the way of Xianggang's return to the embrace of its motherland. This should be Britain's "moral responsibility."

Now in the 1980s, it is clearly impossible for anyone to have his way by reviving the policies of the 19th century. We hope that Britain will go with the tide, abandon the lingering dream of a colonial empire, and co-operate sincerely and constructively with China for a fair settlement of the Xianggang issue, so as to ensure the stability and prosperity of Xianggang.

— *Xinhua Commentator*, October 4

On Richard Luce's Recent Statement

SOON after the fourth round of Sino-British talks on Xianggang ended, Richard Luce, British Minister of State, made a statement in a press interview on September 28 in Xianggang, unjustifiably attacking the Chinese Government for making "public comments on the British Government's position." He also warned that if the talks on Xianggang failed and a successful solution could not be found, "there will be turbulence, there will be buffeting." All people who are concerned about the future of Xianggang can see that Luce's absurd remarks can only add new problems to the Sino-British talks on the Xianggang question and hinder the finding of a reasonable solution to the problem.

Luce accused China of breaking the agreement on the "confidentiality of the talks" and "negotiating in public." He alleged that this would pose a threat to the prospects for a smooth solution. His remarks were clearly meant to confuse public opinion.

The Chinese Government has never made public the proceedings or agenda of the talks. However, the Chinese Government has decided to recover the whole Xianggang area, regard the resumption of exercising sovereignty over it and maintenance of its prosperity and stability as its overall, indivisible objective. This is an unswerving principle known to all, and not a secret at all. The Chinese leaders and press have every right to inform their people, including their compatriots in Xianggang, of the government's basic stand on the issue. How can this be interpreted as "negotiating in public"? Mr. Luce has

acknowledged that the British leaders, including he himself, have time and again made speeches publicizing the goal the British Government wants to reach in solving the Xianggang question. Is the "goal" not the stand of the British Government? While you British may publicize your stand, the Chinese Government is not allowed to tell its own. What kind of logic is this?

The British side has made every effort to publicize their idea of "exchanging sovereignty for administration." They want to continue British rule over Xianggang as before, while recognizing China's sovereignty. This is, in fact, a means to put pressure on China through the British mass media. These views appearing in the British press are certainly unacceptable to the Chinese Government and people, and must be refuted. Now, Mr. Luce in turn has criticized China for its "public comments on British Government's position," saying that this is tantamount to breaking the "confidentiality of the talks." Here, we want to ask Mr. Luce: By criticizing the Chinese response to the wrong views in the British press, are you acknowledging that they represent the position of the British Government in the talks? Is this not making public the "secret" of the talks? We must point out to Mr. Luce that his attitude is not a responsible one.

It is also necessary to remind Mr. Luce that Youde, Governor of Xianggang, has taken part in the talks as a member of the British delegation, and it is natural for him to be responsible to the British Government. However, he has time and again briefed the members of the Xianggang executive council on the talks. Isn't it clear who has broken the "confidentiality of the talks" and made public their contents?

In the interview, Mr. Luce also said, "The Chinese Government wants a deadline on talks; we take the view very strongly that deadlines aren't helpful." This cannot but touch upon the true nature of the talks on the Xianggang issue between China and Britain, which is that Xianggang is part of Chinese territory and is still occupied by Britain. As a sovereign state with a part of its territory under foreign occupation,

The Decision of the Central Committee Of the Communist Party of China On Party Consolidation

—Adopted by the Second Plenary Session of the 12th
Party Central Committee

(October 11, 1983)

The 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China has decided on an overall rectification of Party style and a consolidation of Party organizations over a period of three years beginning in the latter half of 1983. The Second Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee has discussed the question of how to carry out this important decision and decided that the overall consolidation of the Party should begin in winter this year.

(1) The Necessity and Urgency of Party Consolidation

Ours is a long-tested, great Marxist Party. In spite of the serious damage sustained by our Party in the 10-year domestic turmoil, the ranks of our Party remain, on the whole, politically pure and highly militant. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party has reaffirmed the Marxist line, accomplished a shift of the focus of work of the Party and state, launched the socialist modernization drive with economic construction as the central task, handled in an appropriate manner many major issues left over from the past, systematically summed up the historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic, restructured the government organizations and readjusted the leading bodies at all levels, strengthened the building of socialist democracy and legal system, waged struggles to combat grave criminal activities in the economic sphere and other serious crimes and

to rectify various acts detrimental to the interests of the state and the people, and conducted education in reviving and promoting the fine traditions of the Party and in socialist and communist ideology. As a result of such work and struggles, initial success has been achieved in rectifying Party style and consolidating the Party organizations, the situation in the Party has noticeably improved, and the healthy force has gained the dominant position in the Party. This abundantly proves that our Party, by relying on its own strength, is fully capable of overcoming its seamy side, of correcting its mistakes, and of forging ahead with greater vigour.

However, while carrying out the intense work and struggles mentioned above in the last few years, our Party did not have the time to carry on an overall and systematic rectification of the many problems existing in the spheres of ideology, style of work and organization of the Party. Education among the Party members has been neither widespread nor adequate. The pernicious influence of the 10-year domestic turmoil has not been eradicated. It is entirely correct that we have adopted the policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the national economy. But, under the new historical conditions, there has been an increase in the corrosive influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and remnant feudal ideas, while the work and struggles we have undertaken to resist and overcome such corrosive influence have not been effective enough. For these

reasons, there are still many serious problems in the Party. Some Party members lack a correct understanding of the great significance of setting things to rights and have not shifted their stand on to the Marxist line; other members have a vague and confused idea about the basic principles and superiority of the socialist system and about the bright communist future. On the ideological front, some members turn a blind eye to anti-Marxist and anti-socialist ideas, and some even openly spread these ideas. Some Party members and cadres have succumbed to individualism in a serious way. Seeking to advance personal interests and the interests of a small group, they have unscrupulously resorted to all means to harm the interests of the state and the people and embarked on the road of committing crimes. A number of Party members and cadres have a very weak sense of organization, are lax in discipline, and are listless and inert, failing to play an exemplary vanguard role. Some Party organizations are soft, weak and lax, or are even in a state of paralysis, failing to play their role as fighting bastions. The Party has not yet cleared its ranks of three types of persons, namely, persons who rose to prominence by following the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in "rebellion," those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, and those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting. Such serious impurities in ideology, style of work and organization, which are of great harm to the Party, must be resolutely and effectively dealt with.

Our Party is faced with the new historical task of carrying out socialist modernization. This is a great, glorious and yet extremely arduous task. The strong leadership of the Communist Party is indispensable to the socialist cause. The Party Central Committee pointed out long ago that it is essential to uphold and also to improve Party leadership. Today, in addition to the serious impurities in ideology, style of work and organization as mentioned above, there are many other aspects in our Party which do not conform to the needs of the new situation and new tasks facing us. The general aim and requirements of the present Party consolidation are, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and by relying on the revolutionary consciousness of all comrades in the Party, correctly using the sharp weapons of criticism and self-criticism and enforcing Party discipline, to expose and deal with manifestations of the serious impurities that exist in the Party in ideology, style of work and organi-

zation, so as to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the Party, raise the ideological level of the whole Party and the level of its work, strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses of the people, and strive to build the Party and make it a strong core of leadership for the cause of socialist modernization.

The present Party consolidation is a major step which our Party must take to achieve fresh great victories in the new historical period. It is a fundamental guarantee for achieving, under the precondition of constantly raising the economic results, the magnificent goal of quadrupling the nation's gross annual output value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century, a goal set forth at the 12th Party Congress, and it is also a fundamental guarantee for building China into a modern, culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country.

(2) The Tasks of Party Consolidation

The Party Central Committee holds that the tasks for the present Party consolidation are **the achievement of ideological unity, the rectification of the Party's style of work, the strengthening of discipline and the purification of the Party organization.**

First, the achievement of ideological unity means making further efforts to bring about a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout the Party and correcting all erroneous "Left" and Right tendencies that run counter to the four basic principles and to the Party line that has been adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

The entire history of our Party shows that maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity is a basic condition to winning victory in revolution and construction. The line, principles and basic policies of the Party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have been worked out by combining the four basic principles with the concrete practice under the present historical conditions, through the process of correcting "Left" errors and combating Right mistakes, and in compliance with the requirements of socialist modernization. Proven correct in practice, they have won the wholehearted support of the masses of Party members and cadres. All Party organizations and members must maintain unity with the Central Committee on the basis of persisting in the

four basic principles and in the Party line adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This is required by the Party's political discipline. Whether a Party organization or Party member can do this constitutes the main criterion for judging the ideological and political soundness and the sense of discipline of that Party organization or member.

On this question, there are now two erroneous tendencies in the Party. One is that a number of Party members and cadres who have not yet freed themselves from the shackles of past "Left" ideas distort the four basic principles and assume a resisting attitude towards the Party line, principles and basic policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; some even feign compliance while covertly opposing the Party line, principles and policies or openly refuse to carry them out. The other tendency is that some Party members and cadres, who have failed to stand the test of historical setbacks and succumbed to the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, doubt and negate the four basic principles, deviate from the Party line, principles and basic policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and propagate bourgeois liberalization. Both these erroneous "Left" and Right tendencies are incompatible with the character and programme and historic mission of the Party.

Most of those who have committed such mistakes have done so because of their ideology and understanding, and they should be helped to deepen their understanding and correct their mistakes by studying and summarizing the historical experience and through patient criticism and education. As for the few who persist in their wrong political stand and refuse to correct their mistakes, they should be seriously criticized and ideological struggles should be carried out against them; in addition, due disciplinary action should be taken against them.

To maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee does not mean professing unity in words alone, but everyone must uphold unity in deeds. It is essential to resolutely change the state of flabbiness in ideological-political work, to correctly and willingly carry out the line, principles and policies of the Party Central Committee, and to resolutely resist and overcome the influence of erroneous "Left" and Right tendencies.

To maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee, one must integrate the line, principles and policies of the Party Central Com-

mittee with the actual conditions of one's locality, department or unit; one must also bring into full play one's own initiative and creativity and work in an independent and responsible way. It is essential to overcome subjectivism, conduct careful investigation and study, proceed from reality and seek truth from facts in all matters, and combine revolutionary vigour with scientific approach. Only thus can we ensure that the line, principles and policies of the Party Central Committee be correctly carried out, and only thus can we continuously enrich and develop them with the new experience gained in practice and carry the cause of the Party forward.

Second, rectifying the Party style means promoting the revolutionary spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, checking various acts of seeking personal gains by taking advantage of one's power and position, and opposing the bureaucratic attitude of not holding oneself responsible to the Party and people.

Our Party has no particular interest of its own other than the interests of the working class and the masses of the people. For more than half a century, our Party has continuously achieved successes in the revolution and in construction precisely because it has by its deeds demonstrated its selfless character and the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, thereby winning the people's sincere love and trust. During the years of revolutionary wars, the Party would not have been able to hold its ground and avert defeat if it had not worked for the interests of the masses, won them over, relied on them and obtained their full support. This is easy for our comrades to understand. However, in the long years since our Party took over the political power of the whole country, quite a number of our comrades have become unclear in their thinking about such necessity. They fail to understand that the question of the Party's style is a question of life and death for a party in power. Because the Party's position has changed, all its activities concern the interests of the people and the destiny of the country; if it is divorced from the masses and does not take resolute measures to correct it, then the Party will inevitably lose the people's trust and support and will meet with failure.

Now, some Party members and cadres have totally forgotten the basic principle of serving the people wholeheartedly. They are not correctly using the power and working conditions given them by the Party and the people to work for the welfare of the masses, but are seeking personal gains by every possible means for them-

selves and for those close to them. They ask the Party for higher positions and better treatment. They openly violate financial regulations and discipline, sabotage state plans, violate state economic policies and illegally retain taxes and profits; they invent all sorts of pretexts to squander, waste and occupy state and collective funds and property. With regard to the distribution of housing, the increase in wages and many other matters — such as the employment, education, promotion, job assignments and changing from rural residence registration to urban residence registration for their children, relatives and friends as well as foreign affairs work — they take advantage of their power and position, conveniences provided by their work and personal relations to seek special privileges, violate the law and discipline, and encroach upon the interests of the state and the masses. They ignore the law, protect and shield criminals, and they even take a direct part in unlawful activities, such as smuggling, selling smuggled goods, corruption, accepting bribes and profiteering.

Some Party cadres in leading positions are seriously affected by bureaucratism; their revolutionary will has been waning, eating three full meals a day yet doing no work. They pay no attention at all to the weal and woe of the people; they are unconcerned about the expansion of production, the reform of government structure and the development of socialist ethics and culture; and they argue back and forth, trying to shift the responsibility on to others and even counteracting each other's efforts in their work. Their serious neglect of duty has caused horrifying waste in the country's production and construction, serious errors in state administration and huge economic and political losses for the Party and government.

These unhealthy tendencies and decadent phenomena, which are seriously sabotaging the nation's socialist modernization, have greatly impaired our Party's image among the people, weakened the confidence of the Party members and the masses in the superiority of the socialist system and the bright future of communism, and dampened their enthusiasm for politics, production, work and study. We must be resolved to solve this problem in the present Party consolidation and resolutely eradicate these unhealthy tendencies. Party members and cadres who took advantage of their power, position and other conveniences to seek personal gains after the Party Central Committee promulgated the Rules of Conduct for Inner-Party Political Life in March 1980 should be required to make

self-criticisms. Those who have committed grave mistakes should be dealt with according to Party discipline and administrative discipline, and those who have violated the law should be punished according to law. Those who have profited at the government's expense should, on the basis of thorough investigations and on the merit of each case, be required to return what they had unlawfully taken or pay compensations. Those who committed such mistakes before the promulgation of the Rules of Conduct should also be handled in all seriousness if their mistakes are particularly serious or if they refuse to mend their ways. Necessary disciplinary action should also be taken against bureaucrats who have neglected their duties with serious consequences, and some should be dismissed from the leading posts or expelled from the Party.

Third, the strengthening of discipline is to adhere to the Party's organizational principle of democratic centralism, oppose the patriarchal system, factionalism, anarchism and liberalism which completely ignore Party organizations and discipline, and correct the softness, weakness and laxness of the Party organizations.

To maintain the Party's strict organizational discipline and uphold democratic centralism is an important guarantee for the realization of the Party's programme and tasks and for the strengthening of the Party's fighting capacity.

At present, the pernicious influence of the 10-year domestic turmoil has not been eradicated among a number of Party organizations and members, and violations of the Party's system of democratic centralism are rather serious. Some leading cadres place themselves above the Party organizations, where collective leadership exists in name only. In fact, only one or two individuals make the final decisions. Some of them have even turned the units under their charge into territories where their will holds sway and where they rule as overlords. In other cases, some Party members and cadres disregard the Party's organizational principle and Party discipline, and are seriously affected by anarchism, liberalism, decentralism, departmentalism and sectarianism. It should be pointed out in particular that up to now factionalism which developed during the 10-year domestic turmoil among a number of Party members and cadres has not yet been overcome. They still maintain factionalism instead of the Party spirit. They use their faction as the line of demarcation and appoint people by favouritism while elbowing out of their way those who hold different views; they form cliques to pursue selfish

interests, seriously impairing the unity and solidarity of the Party and hindering the Party from carrying out its line, principles and policies. Party activities in a number of Party organizations are far from regular, with neither criticism nor self-criticism; Party discipline is not strictly observed, and violations of Party discipline and other unhealthy tendencies are not checked and corrected. Instead of taking the lead in criticism and self-criticism and combating unhealthy tendencies, some leading cadres, abiding by the principle of giving no offence to others, evade contradictions wherever possible, while others suppress criticism and retaliate against those who criticize them. These phenomena must be done away with completely during the present consolidation of the Party. After the Party consolidation, criticism and self-criticism should become an established practice in the Party organizations, especially within the leading bodies, so as to bring about a vigorous and lively situation in which there are both democracy and centralism, unity and strict discipline.

Fourth, to purify the Party organizations means to sort out elements who persist in opposing and harming the Party, and expel them from the Party in accordance with the Party Constitution.

Purifying the Party organizations is a major purpose of the present consolidation of the Party. Since the three types of persons oppose and harm the Party, they are bound to be a hidden peril if they are not thoroughly sorted out and expelled. To sort out and expel the three types of persons is of crucial importance in our effort to purify the Party organizations. The first type, those who rose to prominence during the "cultural revolution," refers to those persons who closely followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk, formed factions and cliques, seized political power in "rebellion," rose to high positions, and committed evil with serious consequences. The second type, those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, refers to those who in the "cultural revolution" period vigorously publicized the reactionary ideology of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, and formed cliques for doing evil. After the downfall of the "gang of four," they have continued, either openly or covertly, with their factionalist activities. The third type, those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting during the "cultural revolution" period, refers to those who during the "cultural revolution" framed and persecuted cadres and the masses, extorted confessions by torture, and

seriously ruined their victims' health; it also refers to those chief elements and those behind the scenes responsible for the smashing of institutions, the seizure of files by force and the damaging of both public and private property; it also refers to those who plotted, organized and directed violent confrontations which resulted in serious consequences. The basis for distinguishing whether a person belongs to the three types of persons is the damage done to the Party and the people and not the title or membership in a particular faction during the "cultural revolution." A serious and prudent attitude should be taken in determining whether a person belongs to any of the three types, and his performance during the "cultural revolution" should be analysed from a historical point of view. Wherever and whenever controversy arises, it should be submitted to the Party committee at the higher level for discussion and decision. In principle, the three types of persons should be expelled from the Party, except those who have proved to have really mended their ways after a long period of examination.

With the exception of the three types of persons mentioned above, the principle of dealing with different cases in different ways will be applied to Party members and leading Party cadres who made mistakes or had other problems during the "cultural revolution." Mistakes of a general character will not be brought up again during this Party consolidation. As for those who committed serious mistakes but conclusions have not yet been drawn and they have not been dealt with, conclusions will be drawn and due measures taken during this Party consolidation; as for those who have already received a judgment and have been dealt with, their cases will not be considered again this time if no new major problems have been discovered.

Those who stubbornly resist the policies of the Party Central Committee adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, those who have committed grave crimes in economic matters and other criminal offences, and those who have seriously violated the law and discipline must all be expelled from the Party.

For those who are expelled, appropriate arrangements should be made in work for those who are still fit to be cadres; those unfit to be cadres should be provided with opportunities to find jobs and earn a living. Ideological help and political concern should be shown them, and they should be encouraged and helped to remould their ideology and make progress.

(3) Demands on Party Members and Leading Party Cadres

The Party Central Committee requires that all Party members take an active part in the Party consolidation without exception. The broad masses of Party members should strive to enhance their communist consciousness and strengthen their Party spirit so that they will become qualified members and then make still greater efforts to become outstanding members of the Party. The criteria of a qualified member are the basic demands set by Article 2 and the eight duties prescribed by Article 3 of the Party Constitution.

The leading Party cadres at all levels should shoulder particularly important responsibilities in the political life of the Party and the state and in the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies. In addition to meeting the requirements of Party members mentioned above, they must meet the six basic requirements prescribed by Article 35 of the Party Constitution. At present, it is particularly important for them to enhance their understanding of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on them, raise their sense of dedication to the revolutionary cause and their sense of political responsibility, dare to combat all hostile forces disrupting socialism, fight against decadent bourgeois ideology, against acts of creating spiritual pollution and against the abuse of power and position for personal gains so that they will set a good example for the broad masses of Party members and guide the masses to make efforts to become people with high ideals and morality, cultural knowledge and sense of discipline.

The broad masses of young Party members are distinguished for their lively thinking, their courage to blaze new trails and their vigour and vitality. However, the majority of them know little about the basic theories of Marxism and the fundamental knowledge concerning the Party; they lack experience in revolutionary practice and in inner-Party political life. Because they were ideologically influenced by anarchism and other passive phenomena during the 10-year domestic turmoil when their world outlook was taking shape, their ability to correctly distinguish between right and wrong with regard to political affairs is, generally speaking, fairly poor. During this Party consolidation, close attention should be paid to enhancing their ideological and political consciousness, strengthening their Party spirit and raising their ability to resist the corrosive influence of bour-

geois ideology so that they will mature as quickly as possible and become capable of really shouldering their historic task as successors to the Party's cause.

As far as the broad masses of Party members are concerned, in judging whether they conform to the standard set by the Party Constitution, the emphasis is on their concrete actions in all aspects since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

(4) Steps and Basic Methods of Party Consolidation

The present Party consolidation will be carried out according to the following steps: It will proceed from the central level to the grassroots organizations, from the top downwards by stages and in groups. Rectification of the Party organization of each unit should also proceed from the top downwards in the order of the leading bodies, leading cadres and ordinary Party members.

The Party now has 40 million members, including more than 9 million cadres, and about 2.5 million Party organizations at the grassroots level and above. Party consolidation will be completed in three years, beginning in this winter, in two stages. During the first stage, beginning in winter this year, the work will be the consolidation of Party organizations of the leading bodies at the central level and at the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional level (including the Party organizations of the various ministries, commissions and offices, departments and bureaux of these two levels) and the Party organizations in the leading bodies of all the general headquarters, services and arms and great military areas of the People's Liberation Army. During this period, the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional Party committees may designate some Party organizations at the prefectural and county levels which have already completed structural reforms to carry out Party consolidation as pilot cases. Similar experiments may also be conducted in the army. In the second stage, beginning in winter 1984, all the remaining Party organizations will be consolidated, and the various provincial, municipal and autonomous regional Party committees and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army may make concrete arrangements, in accordance with their actual conditions, on the ways of carrying out the work by groups during this stage.

After this decision is released, all the Party organizations should organize their members to

seriously study the documents on Party consolidation decided upon by the Party Central Committee in order to enhance their ideological consciousness and put the regular activities of the Party organizations on a sound basis. Party members and Party cadres who have committed various kinds of mistakes should take the initiative to correct their mistakes and should not wait until Party consolidation begins in their respective units.

The basic methods of the present Party consolidation are, on the basis of a careful study of documents and enhancement of ideology and understanding, to make criticism and self-criticism, distinguish between right and wrong, correct mistakes and purify the Party organization. In the process of Party consolidation, ideological education should be strengthened from beginning to end so as to raise the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of Party members.

To meet the needs of Party consolidation, the Party Central Committee has decided to edit and publish *A Must Book for Party Members*, *A Concise Edition of Important Documents Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee*, *Comrade Mao Zedong on the Party's Style of Work and Party Organization*. These three books and the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* will be the documents for study during this Party consolidation. For Party members who lack the ability to read, the Party committees at and above the county level will be responsible for organizing and training people to read and explain to them the main contents of *A Must Book for Party Members* and the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*. All Party members must, through the study of these Party consolidation documents, raise their understanding of the character, programme and task of the Party, and raise their understanding of the criteria for Party members and of the line, principles and policies of the Party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The Party organizations of the leading bodies at the central and provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels should, after the completion of Party consolidation in their own units, organize Party cadres to earnestly study some basic Marxist works. (A list of books will be decided later.) Other Party organizations should also organize their Party cadres to study these books after Party consolidation in their units is completed.

To study the documents and raise understanding is to create the necessary conditions for solving contradictions within the Party,

while correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism is an effective method to solve these contradictions. Without conscientious criticism and self-criticism, none of the aims of Party consolidation can be achieved. Not daring to criticize and fight against erroneous ideas and acts within the Party is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit; suppressing criticism and retaliating against people who have made criticisms is abominable behaviour which violates Party discipline. While making criticism and self-criticism, we must strictly follow the principles consistently stressed by our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong: We must proceed from the desire for unity, help those who are criticized, and act in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient"; we must be practical and base our criticism on facts and we should allow the people concerned to defend their cases; we must keep to the truth and not spare the feelings of those who are criticized; we must combine the seriousness and acuteness of criticism and self-criticism with a scientific attitude and attain the goal of clearing up ideology, correcting mistakes and uniting with our comrades to make common progress.

The mass line must be followed in the present Party consolidation. First of all, we should take full heed of the opinions of the masses of Party members and Party organizations at the lower levels and give full play to the positive role of the Party members in consolidating the Party. In the meantime, we should also fully heed the opinions of non-Party members. We should actively consider and accept all correct opinions, and give explanations if the opinions put forward are wrong. All the problems arising in the course of Party consolidation should be solved through discussions by the related Party organizations. On no account should the past erroneous practice of "letting the masses consolidate the Party" or letting non-Party members decide issues in the Party be repeated.

In the process of consolidating the Party organizations, we should resolutely and promptly solve all problems which can be solved immediately so that people both inside the Party and out can see in good time the actual results of the Party consolidation.

The production and work of all units should not be disrupted by the work of Party consolidation. While doing a good job in the Party consolidation, all units should strive to promote production and work.

The Communist Youth League, which is the Party's assistant and reserve force, should or-

ganize its members to study the documents on Party consolidation so as to raise their ideological and political levels.

The Party consolidation is aimed solely at solving the problems within our Party. The various democratic parties, therefore, are not required to rectify their style of work or readjust their organizations.

(5) Organizational Measures and Registration of Party Members

Organizational measures towards Party members should, generally speaking, be taken in the latter period of the Party consolidation.

For Party members who have committed minor errors, the stress is placed on criticism and education, and they are required to correct their mistakes in an earnest way. For Party members who have made grave mistakes, due disciplinary action should be taken towards them, in addition to criticism and education. Party members who have violated administrative discipline should be dealt with by the administrative departments according to administrative discipline; those who have violated the state law should be dealt with by the judicial organs according to law. If we fail to resolutely punish Party members who deserve punishment, or if we fail to resolutely expel members who should be expelled from the Party, we will not be able to maintain the solemnity of Party discipline and purify the Party organizations, and this will inevitably affect our Party's fighting power.

When taking organizational measures towards Party members, we should uphold the principle of seeking the truth from facts and strictly abide by the procedures prescribed in the Party Constitution. No ratios or quotas whatsoever should be fixed beforehand in this regard.

After rectifying ideological and organizational matters and work style, and after handling issues that should be handled, every Party organization should finally carry out, in a prudent way, the registration of Party members.

(a) Party members who are up to, or basically up to, the requirements for Party membership are allowed to register.

(b) Party members who are still basically not up to the requirements after education, but who have expressed the determination and have through their deeds shown that they are willing to mend their ways and to be tested by the Party, may have their registration postponed for no longer than two years. Registration of Party members who have been placed on proba-

tion within the Party as a disciplinary measure should also be postponed.

(c) Party members whose revolutionary will has waned, who do not honour their obligations as Party members, who cannot live up to the requirements for Party membership, or who refuse to repent despite repeated help and education should be persuaded to withdraw from the Party and should not be allowed to register.

(d) Party members who request to quit the Party, or those who have already given up their memberships and refuse to participate in the Party consolidation should have their names removed from the Party and should not be allowed to register.

Whether a Party member should be allowed to register or not or whether his registration should be postponed should be discussed and decided upon at the meeting of all members of the Party branch. The names of Party members whose registration is to be postponed or who are to be refused registration should be submitted to the Party organization at the higher level for approval. Party members whose registration is postponed do not have the right to vote, elect or be elected. Party members who have met the requirements for membership by the time the period of postponement expires should be allowed to register, and those who fail to meet the requirements should have their names removed from the Party.

Conscientious ideological and political work should be done among Party members whose registration has been postponed so as to help them pull themselves together and strive to make progress and become qualified Party members as quickly as possible. Solicitude should also be shown, ideologically and politically, to those who have been refused registration; they should be united with and encouraged to be good citizens or good cadres.

(6) Guard Against Perfunctoriness

Leading Party cadres at all levels, especially the high-ranking cadres, should play a truly exemplary role in guarding against perfunctoriness in the work of consolidating the Party organizations. Leading cadres of every Party organization should actively participate in the Party consolidation as ordinary members. They should be strict in analysing themselves and be courageous in making sincere, profound and realistic self-criticisms of their own mistakes and shortcomings; and they should also dare to use the same attitude in criticizing other leading cadres' mistakes and shortcomings. In this way

they will be able to lead the masses of Party members to make Party consolidation a success.

To prevent the Party consolidation from proceeding perfunctorily, it is also necessary for the Party organization at the higher level to supervise its subordinate organizations and vice versa. The Party organization at the higher level should strengthen its leadership over its subordinate organizations and strictly supervise their work of Party consolidation, as well as study and help solve in good time their problems arising in the course of the Party consolidation. Every Party member should play a supervisory role and actively report, with a high sense of responsibility, problems in the Party consolidation of his own unit to the Party organization of his unit or to the Party committee at the higher level. The main leading members of every Party organization should be held responsible for the success or failure of consolidating their own organization, and the Party committee at the higher level should also assume responsibility. The Party organization at the higher level should promptly inform its subordinate organizations of the situation in its own consolidation, so that they can exercise supervision and put forward their criticisms.

To guard against perfunctoriness in the Party consolidation, the Party committee at the higher level should organize acceptance tests whenever a subordinate organization has finished its consolidation work. Such acceptance tests should have the participation of representatives of the Party members and should proceed by fully soliciting the opinions of the masses of Party members. The standards for the acceptance tests are as follows:

(a) Can the leading body correctly implement the Party's line, principles and policies and maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee and has it become a united and strong leading core?

(b) Have stern measures been taken against anti-Party elements and those who have brought damage to the Party, especially the three types of persons?

(c) Have the problems much criticized inside and outside the Party been earnestly solved, especially the problem of taking advantage of one's position, power and other conveniences to seek personal gains?

(d) Has the Party members' political quality been raised? Have they heightened their sense of organization and discipline, and are they capable of conscientiously implementing the Party Constitution and actively playing an exemplary vanguard role? Have the primary

Party organizations given full play to their role as fighting bastions and have they strengthened their ties with the masses?

(e) Has noticeable progress been achieved in the production and work under the charge of the Party organization concerned?

Resolute remedial measures should be taken whenever a Party organization is found to have failed to fulfil any of these five requirements. The consolidation of Party organizations conducted on a trial basis before the announcement of this decision should be recognized as valid if they pass the acceptance tests and are found to be up to the five requirements mentioned above. But those Party organizations which are not up to the requirements should make up for what they lack.

While preventing the Party consolidation from proceeding perfunctorily, attention should be paid to guard against the erroneous practice of the past of ruthless struggle and merciless attack. It is absolutely impermissible for anyone to take advantage of the Party consolidation to whip up factionalism, to use factionalism to persecute others, to make false charges or to retaliate against others against whom he bears a grudge. Anyone who commits any of these offences will be duly punished.

(7) The Leadership of Party Consolidation

The Party Central Committee has decided to establish a Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation and to set up competent administrative bodies. The commission will function under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and its main tasks include keeping abreast of the situation, firmly grasping the Party's policies, supervising and checking up on work, giving guidance and doing publicity work. In the course of Party consolidation, the commission will issue in succession various supplementary stipulations and issue in good time circulars on important matters, problems and experiences concerning Party consolidation so as to ensure the implementation of the decision made by the Party Central Committee on Party consolidation.

In accordance with the plan of the Party Central Committee, the Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions will complete the reform of organizations at the county and commune (township) levels in 1984 so as to facilitate the work of Party consolidation at these two levels.

The present Party consolidation will be conducted under the leadership of the Party

organizations of the respective localities, departments and units, and the Party organization at the higher level should have a clear knowledge of whether the leading bodies of the Party organizations at the lower levels have any serious problems. In the course of Party consolidation, the higher Party organization will, generally speaking, not send any work groups. For those units where the situation is complicated and problems are serious and where the leading bodies are not in a position to take upon themselves the task of Party consolidation and therefore work groups must be sent by the higher Party organizations, the work groups should be headed by responsible cadres of the higher Party organizations. Their task is to help reshuffle the leading bodies, after which the leading bodies that have thus been set up will lead the work of Party consolidation.

The Party committees at and above the county level should select a number of comrades who are strong in Party spirit and good in their style of work and who have a deep knowledge of the Party's ideological and organizational work, including veteran comrades who have retired from work in the "front line." These comrades will be sent, after study and training in the work of Party consolidation, to the subordinate units as liaison men or inspectors. Their main task is to gain a better understanding of the situation, have a firm grasp of the trends, heed the opinions of the people from various quarters, report in good time to the local Party organizations and higher Party committees and put forward proposals.

The task of the present Party consolidation is a very arduous one. The major responsible comrades of the Party committees at all levels should, therefore, go deep into the realities, strengthen their investigations and studies, personally lead the work at one or two selected spots to get first-hand material, sum up and popularize in good time the typical experience gained in the work of Party consolidation. They should dare to take up and cope with the problems cropping up during the Party consolidation, and they should dare to tackle hard and difficult cases and correct errors in good time.

(8) Consolidate and Develop the Achievements of Party Consolidation

In the later stage of Party consolidation, efforts should be made by Party organizations at all levels to consolidate and develop the achievements of Party consolidation through ideological education, the institution of appropriate systems

and organizational building so that the work of Party building will be pushed forward further.

After this Party consolidation, we should strengthen our daily ideological and political work among Party members. Ideological and political education among Party members should be regular and systematized. We should, in the light of the actual conditions of the Party organizations and the practice in China's socialist modernization, carry out systematic education among Party members in the basic theories of Marxism, in the essential knowledge and fine traditions of the Party and in the Party's principles and policies. We should also carry out education among Party members in the socialist legal system and in scientific and cultural knowledge which is indispensable to the modernization drive.

After this Party consolidation, we should strive to establish the various necessary systems to improve and reform life within the Party. Regular activities of Party organizations should be further improved so that Party members and cadres will in this way receive rigorous training and the effective supervision of the Party organizations. The struggle against the decadent ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes will be a protracted one and comrades throughout the Party should on no account relax their vigilance.

During and after the consolidation of the Party, attention should be paid to admitting into the Party outstanding people who are willing to dedicate themselves to the socialist and communist cause. In view of the fact that there are only a small number of Party members in the forefront of industrial production and in transport and communications, finance and trade and only a small number of Party members among the young peasants and students, that a number of intellectuals who are already up to the requirements for Party membership have not been admitted into the Party, and that there are not many women or members of the minority nationalities in the Party, the stress of recruiting new Party members at present should be laid on the workers and staff members working in the front line of industry, transport and communications, finance and trade, young peasants, PLA soldiers and officers, intellectuals in all trades and professions and students in the universities and colleges and secondary technical schools. Greater attention should be paid to recruiting women and people of minority nationalities as Party members. In recruiting new Party members, it is necessary to adhere to the requirements for Party member-

ship and ensure the quality of the Party members. We must see to it that anyone who has met the requirements should be admitted accordingly. Closed-doorism should be avoided and hasty admission into the Party without going through the necessary procedures is forbidden.

(9) Party Organizations at Various Levels Must Resolutely and Creatively Implement This Decision

This decision has put forward the basic principles, tasks, policies and methods for the present Party consolidation. Party organizations in the various places, departments and units should combine these principles, policies and methods with their actual conditions and draw up concrete plans for implementation. While faithfully following the various stipulations in the decision, they should creatively implement them. With regard to the four tasks listed in the decision for the present Party consolidation, Party organizations in the various places, departments and units may put the emphasis on certain aspects in the light of their actual conditions. Party committees at various levels should see to it that the present Party consolidation should not under any circumstance obstruct the continuous implementation of the Party's various principles and policies on opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy.

In the long years of revolutionary struggle, our Party has fostered the fine tradition of strengthening Party building mainly through ideological education. Now our Party has had the negative experience of the "Left" mistakes committed in the 10-year domestic turmoil and before then; it also has had the positive experience of successfully setting things to rights since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and it has a complete series of correct principles and policies for Party consolidation. Moreover, it has a large number of long-tested loyal proletarian fighters as the mainstay in the present Party consolidation, and the majority of the Party organizations and Party members are good or fairly good, while the broad masses of people actively support our work in consolidating the Party. With these conditions and through the concerted efforts of the Party organizations at various levels and the Party members, our Party will surely carry forward its fine traditions and successfully fulfil the tasks of the present Party consolidation.

The Party Central Committee believes that this Party consolidation is certain to raise the

level of Marxism of the whole Party, enable the Party to brim with still greater vitality and vigour, and bring about a new atmosphere of working with a will to make the country strong and close unity throughout the Party. If the Yanan rectification movement in 1942 enabled the Party to achieve a high degree of unity in thinking, guaranteed victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, and led to the founding of the People's Republic of China, the present Party consolidation will certainly enable our Party to provide better leadership for the people of all nationalities throughout the country to win great victories in the socialist modernization drive.

For your reference

Articles 2, 3, 4 and 35 Of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China

Article 2 Members of the Communist Party of China are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class imbued with communist consciousness.

Members of the Communist Party of China must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism, and be ready to make any personal sacrifices.

Members of the Communist Party of China are at all times ordinary members of the working people. Communist Party members must not seek personal gain or privileges, although they are allowed personal benefits and job functions and powers as provided for by the relevant regulations and policies.

Article 3 Party members must fulfil the following duties:

(1) To conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, essential knowledge concerning the Party, and the Party's line, principles, policies and decisions; and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.

(2) To adhere to the principle that the interests of the Party and the people stand above everything, subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the Party and the people, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public.

(3) To execute the Party's decisions perse-

veringly, accept any job and fulfil actively any task assigned them by the Party, conscientiously observe Party discipline and the laws of the state, rigorously guard Party and state secrets and staunchly defend the interests of the Party and the state.

(4) To uphold the Party's solidarity and unity, to firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small-group activities, and to oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind.

(5) To be loyal to and honest with the Party, to match words with deeds and not to conceal their political views or distort facts; to earnestly practise criticism and self-criticism, to be bold in exposing and correcting shortcomings and mistakes in work, backing good people and good deeds and fighting against bad people and bad deeds.

(6) To maintain close ties with the masses, propagate the Party's views among them, consult with them when problems arise, listen to their views and demands with an open mind and keep the Party informed of these in good time, help them raise their political consciousness, and defend their legitimate rights and interests.

(7) To play an exemplary vanguard role in production and other work, study and social activities, take the lead in maintaining public order, promote new socialist ways and customs and advocate communist ethics.

(8) As required by the defence of the motherland and the interests of the people, to step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty and danger, fearing neither hardship nor death.

Article 4 Party members enjoy the following rights:

(1) To attend pertinent Party meetings and read pertinent Party documents, and to benefit from the Party's education and training.

(2) To participate in the discussion, at Party meetings and in Party newspapers and journals, of questions concerning the Party's policies.

(3) To make suggestions and proposals regarding the work of the Party.

(4) To make well-grounded criticism of any Party organization or member at Party meetings; to present information or charges against any Party organization or member concerning violations of discipline and of the law to the Party in a responsible way, and to demand disciplinary measures against such a member, or to demand the dismissal or replacement of any cadre who is incompetent.

(5) To vote, elect and stand for election.

(6) To attend, with the right of self-defence, discussions held by Party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against themselves or to appraise their work and behaviour, while other Party members may also bear witness or argue on their behalf.

(7) In case of disagreement with a Party decision or policy, to make reservations and present their views to Party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

(8) To put forward any request, appeal or complaint to higher Party organizations up to and including the Central Committee and ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply.

No Party organization, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive any Party member of the above-mentioned rights.

Article 35 Leading Party cadres at all levels must perform in an exemplary way their duties as Party members prescribed in Article 3 of this Constitution and must meet the following basic requirements:

(1) Have a fair grasp of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on them, and be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the Party.

(2) In their work as leaders, conduct earnest investigations and study, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the Party.

(3) Be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause and imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility, and be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge.

(4) Have a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly implement the Party's mass line, conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the Party and the masses, and combat bureaucratism.

(5) Exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the Party and the state, and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain.

(6) Be good at uniting and working with a large number of comrades, including those who hold differing opinions, while upholding the Party's principles. □

China is determined to recover its sovereignty, including administration, over Xianggang. This cannot be negotiated. In addition, as a sovereign state, China has every right to recover at any time its sovereignty over that part of its territory. China has expressed its willingness to solve the Xianggang question through negotiations with Britain, mainly because it has taken into consideration its friendly relations with the United Kingdom. This does not mean there is room to bargain over the issue of sovereignty. If Britain interprets China's sincere desire for and co-operative attitude towards an appropriate and reasonable solution as a sign of weakness, and stubbornly clings to its erroneous stand on the Xianggang issue, China of course cannot wait for long, still less indefinitely. It will have to announce at an appropriate time its policies towards Xianggang. Making a fuss over "deadlines" and uttering all kinds of threats, Mr. Luce obviously has underestimated the determination of the Chinese Government and people to recover sovereignty and administrative power over Xianggang. He has also revealed the intention of Britain, which has occupied Xianggang for so long, to continue that occupation. Mr. Luce should know that it is meaningless to threaten the Chinese Government and people with words or other means. If Britain persists in its colonialist stand, and thus causes the talks to unfortunately fail, the British Government will be held responsible for all the consequences.

Mr. Luce claimed that Britain stands for a "solution acceptable to the people of Xianggang, the British Parliament and the Chinese Government." This represents an attempt to turn the Xianggang issue, which should be solved by China and Britain, into one to be solved by China, Britain and Xianggang. He has also posed himself as a representative of the Xianggang people, and flaunted the banner of "representing the popular desire in Xianggang." Mr. Luce's argument does not hold water. The essence of the Xianggang issue is that Britain is occupying part of China's territory — Xianggang. The talks concerning China's recovery of Xianggang can only be conducted between China and Britain: "tripartite talks" are simply

out of the question. If the British really want to do something for the residents of Xianggang, they should adopt a co-operative attitude towards the Chinese Government and help smooth the problems in Xianggang's return to the motherland as quickly as possible.

Of the 5 million residents in Xianggang, 98 per cent are Chinese. They are our own flesh and blood. Britain has no right to represent them and cannot possibly do so. Neither do the Chinese in Xianggang think Britain can represent them. While raising the question of "popular desire," Luce and some newspapers which have been influenced by the British Government have ignored the most basic fact: The 1,000 million Chinese people, including the 5 million Xianggang residents, firmly demand Xianggang's return to China. They are determined to maintain Xianggang's prosperity and stability, and are confident that this can be done. This is the fundamental desire of the people. Any attempt to bring pressure to bear on China by raising the question of "popular desire" as a means to prevent China from recovering its territory and sovereignty is doomed to fail.

Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out at the reception marking the 34th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, "The Chinese Government's stand on the Xianggang issue is known to all. It is our firm and unshakable policy to resume the exercise of our sovereignty over Xianggang, while maintaining its prosperity and stability." Sino-British talks on the Xianggang issue will continue. Mr. Luce said that the British Government has begun to set its sights on long-term objectives. We would hope that instead of "setting its sights on" its own "objectives," the British would be far-sighted enough to see the changing times and adopt an attitude of good faith and co-operation. This will help both sides to find, through amiable negotiations, a quick and satisfactory solution to the issue of Xianggang's return to China, and thereby promote the friendly relations between the two countries. This alone is truly in Britain's interests.

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, October 6.

Education Among Minority Peoples

by Our Correspondent Li Yongzeng

Despite the progress of the last three decades, it will be some time before the growing needs of China's minority nationalities for universal education can be met. This is because of the poor foundation inherited from the past. In a few minority nationality areas, education remains extremely weak.

The government is tackling this problem with considerable success, by increasing financial support, training more teachers from among the minority nationalities and making special provisions for minority students.

A Brief Survey

China is a unified multinational country with the Han people accounting for 93.3 per cent of its population. The 55 minority nationalities have a total population of 67.23 million, which is only 6.7 per cent of the nation's total. However, they inhabit more than half of the country's territory. Of these nationalities, 15 have a population of over one million, 13 have over 100,000 members, seven have a population of over 50,000 and 20 number less than 50,000.

Before liberation, the minority peoples were backward in economic and cultural development. Approximately 30 million of them lived in more or less the same conditions as the Han people in rural areas under a feudal landlord economy.

Four million lived in areas (including Tibet) where feudal serfdom was developing; one million were still under the slave system in Sichuan Province's Greater and Lesser Liangshan Mountains where the Yis lived in compact communities; and over 600,000 people of a dozen other nationalities still

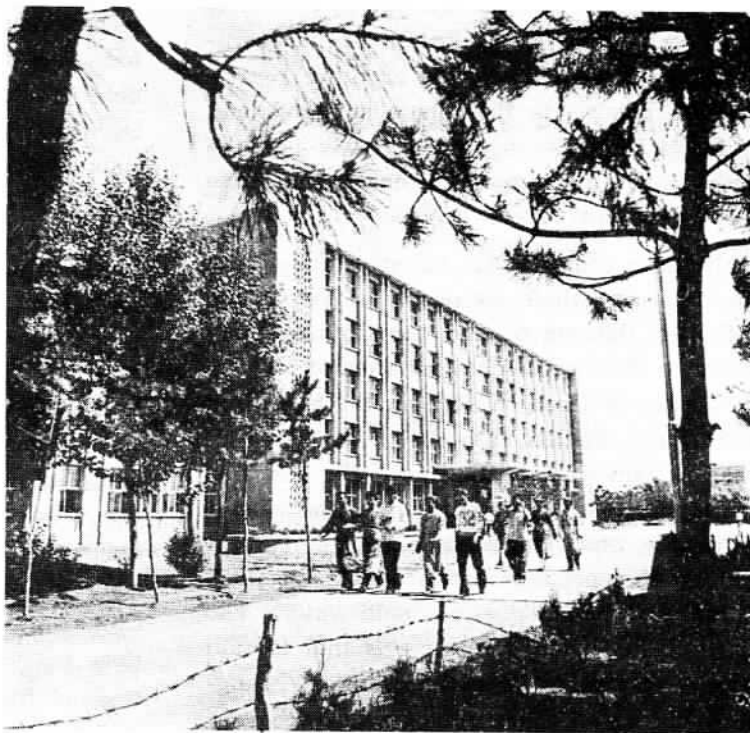
retained the vestiges of the primitive communal system.

Poor economic conditions were responsible for the prevailing illiteracy among the minority peoples, a considerable

number of whom kept records by tying knots.

Starting from Scratch

Education among the minority nationalities started from almost nothing after liberation. After more than 30 years of effort, the number of minority students in various schools across China increased from less than 100,000 in 1951 to 9.7 million in 1981, a 9.8-fold increase. Of this, the number of primary school pupils grew eight-fold, that of middle school students multiplied 49-fold and that of college students rose 33-fold. There are quite a few areas where primary and junior middle school education has basically become universal.



The Inner Mongolian Teachers' College, located on the Horqin grassland, was established earlier this year. It now has 2,500 teachers and students.

In the past, not a single college student could be found among many of the minority nationalities. Today, college students have emerged from all 55 minority nationalities, thanks to a budding education system that spans primary and higher education.

The five autonomous regions of Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Guangxi, Ningxia and Tibet alone have 53 institutions of higher learning. In the early post-liberation years, liberal arts and cadres' training were all that a college or university in minority nationality areas could offer; today, they are complete with liberal arts, natural science, engineering, agronomy, livestock breeding, medicine and teachers' training. The 10 institutes for minority nationalities in various parts of the country offer 89 specialities in 49 disciplines.

Teachers from the various nationalities are mostly trained after liberation. China today has over 460,000 of them, 100 times the number in the early post-liberation days. Of these, the number of primary school teachers increased nearly 15-fold, and the ranks of senior intellectuals are expanding as well in seats of higher learning and research institutes.

Guideline

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates that all nationalities are equal. However, a de facto inequality exists, as the areas inhabited by the minority peoples lag far behind the Han areas in both economic and cultural development for many historical reasons. One is that areas where most of the minority peoples live are grasslands, deserts and high mountains — areas yet to be developed. Thus



In a primary school for the minority nationalities in Ruili County, Yunnan Province.

the Constitution again emphasizes: "The state will help the areas inhabited by minority nationalities accelerate their economic and cultural development in accordance with the peculiarities and needs of the different minority nationalities." This serves as the government guideline for boosting education among the minority peoples.

Financial Support. The government at the central and local levels financially support educational development of the various nationalities. Each minority area receives an annual "Fund in Aid of Underdeveloped Areas" and "Extra Fund for Nationalities" from the central government; 30 per cent of these funds are spent on education.

In the last two years, the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region has allocated over 4 million yuan to set up 72 middle and primary boarding schools. In these schools textbooks and stationery are provided free of charge and students with financial difficulties are entitled to extra living-cost

allowances. These have greatly aided nomadic herdsman and those living in out-of-the-way mountains who found it extremely hard to secure a regular, stable school life for their children.

By the end of 1982, nearly 2,000 boarding schools had been established in pastoral and mountain areas in nine provinces and autonomous regions, with a total enrolment of 340,000. Qinghai alone has 375 such schools; and in Xinjiang's Yili and Altay Prefectures there are 48.

Preferential Treatment. After the system of college entrance examinations was reinstated in 1977, it was found that candidates of minority nationalities often failed to meet the enrolment standards. If these standards were not altered, very few minority students would be admitted to college. Therefore, the standards for minority students were lowered.

This past spring, 1,100 minority students graduated from colleges in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, an all-time high since liberation. Last year,

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the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region had 40,000 college students from among minority nationalities, as compared with 30 in the early post-liberation days. The percentage of minority people in schools is rising steadily.

However, except for the Mongolians and the Koreans, the percentage of students of other minority nationalities is still below the national average.

Assistance. China has a number of key universities known for their highly competent faculty, fairly advanced equipment and excellent teaching quality, but few students of minority nationalities could meet their rigid enrolment standards. With this problem in mind, these universities have in recent years opened special classes to train high-level professionals for the minority people living in the border regions. Qinghua University, for example, has a class for minority students from southwest China, while the Beijing Teachers' University runs a class for training students from the northwest. The Shanghai Jiaotong University has a special class for minority students from Xinjiang, Beijing University has sponsored a class for those from Inner Mongolia, and there is a class for Tibetan students at the Nanjing Institute of Meteorology. The government also encourages college graduates to work in areas inhabited by minority nationalities. A number of institutions of higher learning and democratic parties have also organized teachers to give lectures in the frontier areas to help boost the local inhabitants' intellectual development.

Developing Minority Written Languages. Each of China's 55 minority nationalities speaks its own language. But only 21 of them had a written language by

the time of liberation in 1949. Of these, the Huis, Manchus, and Shes adopted the Han language; the Mongolians, Tibetans, Uygurs, Koreans, Kazakhs, Xibes, Dais, Khalkhas, Uzbeks, Tartars and Russians had their own written languages which were in general use; the Yis, Naxis, Miaos, Jingpos, Lisus, Lahus and Vas had written languages which were not universally used; and the other 34 minority nationalities had no written language at all.

The state respects the written languages of the minority peoples. In the 1950s, the government helped the Zhuangs, Bouyeis, Lis, Dongs, Hanis and five other minority nationalities create Romanized written forms. Minority language research institutes were then established at the central level and in the various areas inhabited by minority peoples. Some institutions of higher learning have opened minority language classes to train teachers, research workers and translators.

In an Underdeveloped Province

The landscape constantly changed as our olive green jeep nosed its way along serpentine mountain trails in southeast Guizhou Province, now lost in thick clouds that enshrouded the mountain-tops and now sinking into the bottom of a deep ravine. The hamlets of the Miaos and Dongs were so widely scattered that we seldom saw one during our long trip.

A poor province of 170,000 square kilometres in southwest China, it lies on the Guizhou Plateau 1,000 metres above sea level. High mountains and deep valleys account for 80 per cent of its area, with only 10 per cent of water surface and 10 per cent of farmland. One-

Minority people's written languages are also used in their own primary and middle schools and colleges. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, for example, Mongolian is used to teach more than 80 per cent of the primary school pupils, more than 75 per cent of the middle school students, and 16 of the 88 university specialities. But the use of minority language is still limited, because the Han language has already established itself as the nation's standard. This problem can only be solved with methodical cultural and scientific development among the minority peoples.

Minority areas need a large contingent of experts and technicians in livestock breeding and forestry. Of the nation's 287 million hectares of grasslands, 220 million usable hectares are located in the areas inhabited by the minorities, as are the wooded areas which make up 12 per cent of the national territory.

fourth of its 28 million inhabitants are minority peoples including the Miaos, Dongs, Bouyeis, Shuis, Kelaos and Yis.

Before liberation, 95 per cent of the local minority peoples were illiterate, and the whole province had no more than 20 college graduates among the minority peoples. Virtually none of their women knew how to read and write. This was disclosed by Gao Yongqing, deputy director of the provincial department of education.

After liberation, education began to develop with government help. By 1956, the province had established 1,000-odd middle and primary schools for

the minority peoples, and a normal school and an institute for nationalities. Many college graduates came from other parts of the country to work in these schools and colleges.

Education among minority nationalities, like other fields of endeavour, was forced to a standstill during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76). The teachers were humiliated, and many of them were forced to leave their jobs. The Institute for Nationalities was disbanded and the needed funds were cut drastically.

It came to life again after 1977, when the whole nation began to recover from the wounds of 10 years of turmoil. The Institute for Nationalities was restored first. Two teachers' colleges and 11 teachers training schools have since been re-established or set up, together with 167 middle and primary schools. At the same time, special classes were offered to minority students in key middle and primary schools. In remote areas handicapped by poor transportation, boarding schools were established with the students' expenses for daily life and study covered by the state. Furthermore, colleges and vocational schools, lowered their enrolment standards for the entrance examinations by 10 points for urban candidates of minority peoples and 20 points for those in rural areas.

The rate of enrolment of minority students in universities and colleges rose from 8.6 per cent in 1977 to 18 per cent in 1982.

Today, one million minority students of Guizhou are studying in the colleges, middle and primary schools. The number of primary school pupils of minority nationalities is now 41.6 times what it was when

the nation was liberated; that of middle school students has increased 124-fold; that of vocational school students has increased 13.5-fold; that of college students has grown 68.5-fold.

Backwardness

It was no mean feat to achieve such progress, considering the weak foundation upon which education among minority nationalities was built. However, school accommodations in Guizhou, still fairly limited, are falling behind the needs of the ever-growing minority population. Education there is still backward. The major indications are:

Too Few Children in School.

Only 60 per cent of the school-age children go to school in Guizhou. There are fewer girls than boys in schools. In some places it is not uncommon for girls to quit school after one or two years, returning to household chores in their home villages, because women are still considered inferior to men and people believe that girls cannot be counted upon to provide for their parents because they will marry and live with their husbands' families.

Too Few Able Teachers. According to the education bureau head of Zhenning County, 30 per cent of the teachers are not fully qualified for their jobs, typical for the entire province.

The Pasha hamlet of Congjiang County, for example, has 1,550 Miao inhabitants, but it has only a one-teacher school which accommodates 27 of the 227 school-age children. Most of the pupils attend it for a year and then leave school to do household or farm work, so that the teacher, a man in his forties, never gets the opportunity to teach lessons beyond

the second grade of primary school. Despite existence of this token school, the majority of the villagers remain illiterate, and they do not understand the Han language. They seem to be totally isolated from the outside world. This simple example is enough to justify the vigorous efforts now being made to boost the educational undertakings among the minority peoples.

Hope

Nevertheless, not everything is bleak in the educational field in this remote, poor province. In fact, many places are doing splendidly. Tianzhu County is just one of them.

Of the county's 300,000 inhabitants, 97 per cent are Dongs and Miaos (the rest are Hans). The county education bureau director, Long Kaiyi, is a Dong.

According to him, 95.5 per cent—or 40,740 to be exact—of the county's 42,634 school-age children are in school; and only 3 per cent of them quit mid-way.

Four factors account for the county's success.

Instituting a Responsibility System. This is designed to ensure that all children go to school when they reach the school age. All primary schools in Tianzhu County have set up dossiers for the children aged 1 to 6 who live in their locality. Before the school year begins each September 1, publicity work is done and the teachers make family visits to make sure that no child misses the opportunity for education.

The children's dossiers list their names, birth dates, address and parents' names. Before the term begins, every teacher is responsible for getting a certain number of children into school. This some-



A commune in Guizhou Province's Bouyei and Miao Autonomous Prefecture has since 1980 opened 13 primary schools, which have raised the rate of school-age children in school from 45 per cent to today's 70 per cent.

times calls for repeated family visits and patient persuasion, especially when it comes to convincing parents to put girls in school. A teacher of the Daduan Central Primary School called on one family eight times before he prevailed over the parents to send their daughter to school. This responsibility system has proved effective, and in that area no school-age children have been left out.

Guaranteeing Schooling for Girls. Discrimination against women is common in Tianzhu County as elsewhere in Guizhou, but educators have found the ways to cope with it.

First, they send their own school-age daughters, if there are any, to school and ask government officials and Communist Party members to do the same. This put them in a better position to persuade other inhabitants.

Secondly, they have lowered enrolment standards for girls who opt to enter junior middle school, senior middle school or secondary technical school. The county's middle school for na-

tionalties, for example, has lowered its enrolment standards by 10 points for girls.

Thirdly, all girls go to primary school tuition-free, a treatment boys are granted only when they are from poor families.

These measures have paid off. The 448 Tianzhu County students who enrolled in colleges and secondary schools in 1982, for example, included 85 girls.

Raising Funds by a Work-Study Programme. Given the financial difficulties confronting the nation at present, it seems unlikely that the government will be able to vastly increase the appropriations for developing educational undertakings in the immediate years ahead. The county therefore has instituted a work-study programme so that students can raise educational funds. Under the auspices of the county drug company and education department, last year the students earned a substantial amount of money from collecting medicinal herbs. The Beisi Middle School reaps 5,000 jin of tea worth 10,000

yuan annually from its 6.8-hectare tea plantation.

In the decade beginning in 1971, the county's students netted 1.6 million yuan by working part time. Of this, 340,000 yuan went into school building repairs and construction; 220,000 yuan were spent on purchasing teaching equipment; 140,000 yuan were used to cover the students' tuition and other expenses; and the rest was spent to improve the teachers' welfare.

Mobilizing the Masses to Build and Repair School Buildings.

Since the institution of the responsibility system in farm production, the peasants have begun to think about improving their children's education so that with scientific and technical knowledge they can lend a hand in shaking off poverty. The county's education department respects these desires and has actively encouraged local people to raise funds to build more schools. One-fourth of the new school buildings with a total floor space of 90,000 square metres that Tianzhu County has built in the last few years were financed by the local peasants themselves.

Respecting the Teachers

Experience shows that the key to developing a stable contingent of educators lies in training more teachers from among local minority peoples, said the county education bureau director.

"Prior to 1966, half of our middle school teachers and 20 per cent of our primary school teachers came from other parts of the country," he said frankly. "but they could not concentrate on teaching." One reason was the language barrier, he said, but more importantly, it was because these teachers were



Zhou Cuiju, of Han nationality, has been commended as a model teacher. She has taught for 14 years at a middle school for the Yi people in Dayao County, Yunnan.

homesick, working away from their families.

Today, this situation has been basically remedied. Of the county's 1,560 teachers in the middle and primary schools, only 92 come from other places. But the teachers from outside are treasured all the same. The local governments entrust them with important tasks, and have moved their family members in so that they can live together. Whenever they face difficulties, they are assisted and supported. During winter and summer vacations, the most experienced of them are invited to teach in short-term training classes at which they help their minority colleagues familiarize themselves with the textbooks.

Apart from such on-the-job training of teachers, Tianzhu County also operates a normal school for the minority people. Today, an 18-classroom teaching building is being constructed next to the seven classrooms built in 1971. According to the school headmaster, the school already has supplied 500 graduates to the county's primary schools. Today, the school has 390 students, 288 of them from local minority nationalities, and after their graduation they will teach in primary schools. At this rate, the school will provide enough teachers for Tianzhu County in the next few years; then it will switch its efforts to providing further on-the-job training to teachers.

One of them, the Central Institute for Nationalities, is located in the western suburb of Beijing. It was established in 1951 and in the last 32 years has trained 16,000 students, many of whom have become officials in areas inhabited by minority peoples or experts in various fields.

The institute's graduates include the chairman (of Uygur nationality) of the people's congress of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, five vice-chairmen (of Tibetan nationality) of the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region, a deputy governor (of Bouyei nationality) of Guizhou Province, a deputy governor (of Dai nationality) of Yunnan Province and a deputy mayor (of Korean nationality) of Tumen, Jilin Province.

The institute is the highest seat of learning of its kind in China. Its first-rate faculty includes the celebrated sociologist Fei Xiaotong and historian Weng Dujian. Of the 938 teachers and researchers, 82 are professors or associate professors (14 associate professors are of the minority nationalities) and nearly 400 are lecturers (100-odd of them are minority people).

The institute offers more than 20 specialities including cadres' training, political science, languages and literature of minority nationalities, history, Han language and literature, mathematics, physics and arts.

It also runs a preparatory school and offers short-term Chinese-language classes for foreign students. Currently more than 3,000 students from 53 nationalities are studying there.

Central Institute for Nationalities

In China, popularization of education among national minorities is closely linked to improving educational stand-

ards. Ten institutes for nationalities have been established across the country to fill this need.

Department of Cadres' Training

The department of cadres' training used to offer only one programme of political science which consisted of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism and the history of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since 1980, new courses such as law and educational administration have been added so that the students can become well-versed in professional knowledge for the modernization drive. The department also provides a regular one-year course, taught in Tibetan, to train cadres in agriculture and livestock breeding.

In the last 32 years the department has trained 5,000 students, who account for one-third of the institute's total number of graduates. Although the department uses regular college textbooks and the students did fairly well in their studies, until last year the Ministry of Education refused to grant them the status of college graduates on

the ground that they had studied for only one year and had taken too few classes.

Therefore, since the beginning of this year, the Department of Cadres' Training has extended its length of training to two years and arranged its courses strictly according to the standards of a regular college. Thus the graduates will have the same status as other college students when they have finished their studies.

Most trainees are chosen from among administrators — county heads, Party committee secretaries and people's congress chairmen at the county level who are between 30 and 40 years of age.

Department of Arts

The Department of Arts is a scene of youthful vitality. Graceful piano notes and sing-song voices drift to every corner of the campus from the windows of rehearsal rooms and classrooms. On a dance floor, a team of young women prac-

tise steps to musical accompaniment while a dozen young men exercise along the walls. All of them are under 20.

In Piano Room 108, Qin Jining, an 18-year-old student of Zhuang nationality from Guangxi, was practising finger exercises. He enrolled in this department in 1982 as a vocal music major. He was led into this field by his father, a middle school sports teacher who himself has a penchant for music.

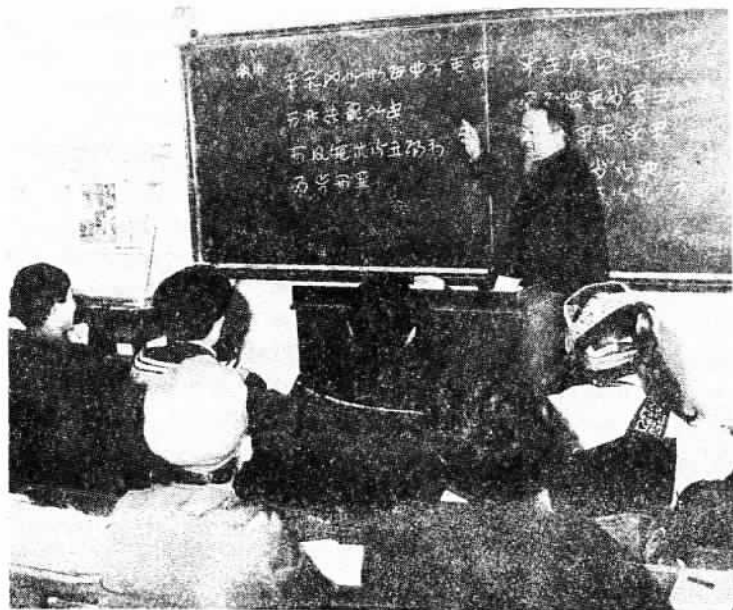
After Qin finished senior middle school, he joined a score of his friends to form an art troupe. "The county government bused us to the villages to perform for the peasants, who need more entertainment now that they're doing better. Wherever we went we were given a warm welcome. After I graduate I'll return to sing for our Zhuang people."

Since 1959 the department has trained 1,500 graduates who have greatly strengthened the performing troupes serving minority peoples inhabiting the border areas.

Room 108, a sound-proof 6-square-metre cubicle, is used by three students in turns. When Qin Jining finished practising, Luo Yao, a 19-year-old Korean girl, entered. The third student to appear was a Dai boy by the name of Cao Jing. Except a few Hans majoring in fine arts, practically all of the department's 200 students come from 30-odd national minorities.

Prep School

Except for students in the department of cadres' training who are selected upon recommendation by local Party and government organizations, most students are admitted after passing national college en-



Teaching the Yi language at the Central Institute for Nationalities.

trance examinations. The enrolment standards for candidates of minority nationalities are set a bit lower than for the Hans as a means to increase minority enrolment.

But in the past, the students who scored lower than the national standard found it hard to catch up with their classmates. Unless this problem could be solved, the academic level of the graduates of the Central Institute for Nationalities would be lower than that of other colleges. So the institute opened a preparatory school whose enrolment standards on the national examination are 40 points lower than the national level, and students are chosen only from among the minority peoples. In this prep school the students study either liberal arts or sciences for one year, preparing for the next years' college entrance examinations. All but one of the 50 students it enrolled in 1981 passed the examinations a year later with good marks and became formal students of the institute. The prep school now has 290 students.

A Jinuo Student

Wang Jianying, who is called Lu Lei in her native tongue, is now a second-year philosophy student at the institute. She is the institute's only student of the Jinuo nationality.

"I came from a hamlet in the Jinuo Mountain in Yunnan. The virgin forest is right in front of my house," she said. The Jinuos are one of the smallest ethnic groups in China with a little over 10,000 members. Before liberation they farmed by means of slash-and-burn and did not have a written language.

"I was told by an elder that long ago we Jinuos had a



Uygur students of a TV university in Urumqi, Xinjiang.

written language inscribed on cow hides. But it was lost during a famine when all the cow hides were eaten as food," she said, laughing.

Today, an increasing number of Jinuos are going to school. Wang Jianying's eldest brother was a secondary medical school graduate who now works as a doctor in a disease-prevention centre. Her elder brother graduated from middle school and went into farming. Her younger brother is an English student in a normal school. Her aunt, a graduate of the Kunming Medical College, now heads a commune clinic.

"I finished senior middle school in 1979 and after taking the college entrance examinations, I enrolled in the prep school of the Central Institute for Nationalities. I spent a year there. Then I took the examinations a second time, passed them and became a regular student here." Her exam papers were mailed back to her home province of Yunnan to be marked because enrolment standards for the institute are lower there than in Beijing.

"I'm OK in my studies. This term my average mark for the four compulsory courses was 83." This mark is not among the best, but it is higher than average.

Although she is living away from home, Wang Jianying finds her college life quite pleasant. She pays nothing for tuition, textbooks or food, which are all covered by the government. At this institute, students with financial difficulties are issued winter and summer clothing and travelling fares for yearly home visits.

"I have six roommates—a Mongolian, a Zhuang, a Miao, a Dai, a Korean and a Tujia. We treat each other like sisters." Her affection for this collective was obvious, although their room is a little too small for seven students.

CORRECTION: In our previous issue, page 4, third column, second paragraph, 14th line, the sentence should read, "... ; and those who have committed serious economic crimes and other major offences."

MEDICINE

Progress towards curing cancer

China is now armed with a new weapon in its battle against one of the most fatal diseases in the world — cancer. The Beijing Pharmaceutical Institute has succeeded in manufacturing high-grade Hemator Phyrin Derivative (HPD), which is crucial to the new weaponry.

This weapon is known as photosensitive therapy. It enables doctors to diagnose and treat cancer more precisely and successfully. And both the doctor and the patient feel convenient with it.

It is convenient because the chemical HPD stays within cancer cells, and its photosensitive nature causes them to decay when exposed to light, laser in this case. It thus saves the doctor from section-cut tests and the patient from operations. Patients are exempted from the unpleasant side effects dur-

ing radiation therapy. Cancer now claims an annual toll of 800,000 in China.

After the photosensitive therapy was used to aid cancer patients abroad, China also turned to it for help in 1980. Beijing doctors first studied the procedures. In October that year, the Beijing Pharmaceutical Institute succeeded in making HPD, and in July 1981, Beijing Tongren Hospital used it for the first time to treat a patient with cancer of the eyelid. A burst of research activities into the safety and reliability of HPD followed. Clinical applications in Beijing showed that it worked well with 80 per cent of shallow-located cancers like those of the skin. Meanwhile, the Beijing Photoelectric Institute joined the Pharmaceutical Institute to make the medical apparatus for photosensitive therapy. All these efforts culminated in a large-scale clinical application of the therapy.

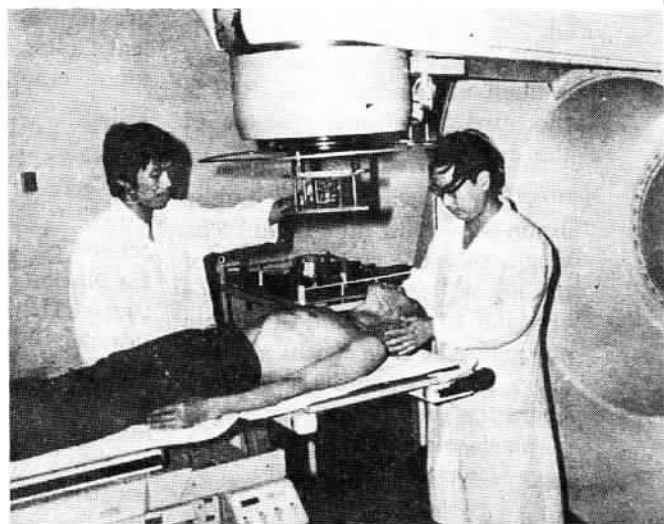
Crucial to the therapy is the derivative of hemator phyrin which is taken from the blood of such animals as

horses and cattle. The HPD is then injected into humans, where it accumulates in cancer cells. When exposed to laser, these cells display an orange fluorescence. Thus found and located, the cancer cells will then be exposed to laser of the same wavelength as that of the fluorescence they emitted. The photochemical changes within the cells will kill them.

A new tumour hospital set up

A new tumour hospital, the biggest of its kind in China, has recently been set up in Beijing under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences and begun treating patients.

The hospital is situated in the eastern part of the capital, and the entire complex covers an area of more than 90,000 square metres. It is divided into four main buildings: the out-patient and in-patient clinics, the research building and the radiotherapy centre.



Left: The out-patient building of the new tumour hospital. Right: Treating a patient with radiotherapy.

The out-patient section can receive 1,200 patients daily, four times as many as the old hospital which is also located in the eastern part of the city.

In addition to 600 hospital beds and 14 operating rooms, the in-patient clinic is equipped with closed-circuit television and observation decks.

The research centre houses 12 laboratories for basic study, a library, a lecture theatre which can seat hundreds of people, an information centre and a computer room. The centre can accommodate 300 people for research.

The radiotherapy clinic has accelerators and many other therapeutic apparatuses and can treat 1,000 patients each day.

The new hospital also has several service buildings and a shopping complex. Construction is under way on a hotel for those patients and their relatives who come from outside the capital.

Between 1974 and 1978, researchers from the old hospital and a tumour research institute made an investigation into the mortality rate from cancer in areas inhabited by 850 million people in the nation. The results were presented in a book, *Atlas of Cancer Mortality in the People's Republic of China*, which showed the distribution of cancer in China. This book has attracted attention from foreign medical circles.

Researchers discovered what causes esophageal cancer through their studies of nitroamine compounds, trace elements, moulds and nutrition. They then determined that the high incidence of esophageal cancer in Linxian County of Henan Province was related to the pickled Chinese cabbage favoured by the local people.

They also think a fungus infection could be critical to the early pathological changes which cause esophageal cancer.

The hospital also conducts research on cancer heredity, immunity and prevention. Researchers have discovered new ways to survey the content of fetal alpha-globin in human beings. In a study using this technique in Qidong County, Jiangsu Province, an area of high incidence of liver cancer, they succeeded in identifying some liver cancer sufferers during the very early stages.

The hospital treated cancer patients with photosensitive therapy, thermotherapy and traditional Chinese medicine, all of which proved fruitful.

In recent years, hospital researchers co-operated with some foreign cancer research institutes, and exchanged views on the subject with their counterparts.

Pregnancy testing card

Today Chinese women can easily find out whether they are pregnant or not by using the pregnancy testing card. They need only pay 0.1 yuan (equivalent to the registration fee for one visit to a hospital) to buy a pregnancy testing card and do it at home.

The black testing card is in the size of a one-inch photo. With a few drops of urine, the solution on the card will change to a milk white colour if the woman is pregnant, but will turn into fine powder if she is not. The whole process takes only a few minutes. This has proved very convenient for women in the rural areas.

It was found that out of 1,000 tests, 98 per cent are

accurate. Headed by Sun Dani, a technician in the Shanghai Medical Laboratory, this research started in 1979.

ART

Clay Toys

Clay toy-making in Yangqitun Village, Junxian County of Henan Province, has an age-old tradition. Various clay toys shaped like horses, monkeys, sheep, cows, pigs, swallows and turtledoves, as well as historical figurines are well-known in the country.

These toys with local flavour express the ideals of their makers and reflect the working people's love for life and their hopes for the future. A doll holding a big rooster in her arms symbolizes a red letter day in China. A girl with a peach offered as a birthday present represents longevity and a bumper harvest. Pigsy, a character in a Chinese classic novel *Pilgrimage to the West*, is vividly shaped. The toys such as turtledoves and swallows are painted with flowering patterns to make them brighter and more colourful.

The local artists have made liberal use of their artistic license to make a horse whose head and neck accounts for two-thirds of its body, and a bird whose head covers one-tenth of its body. While these may seem strange creatures, they still have harmonious proportions and are very interesting.

How do the artists make clay toys? They first get a kind of yellow sticky clay from outside their home village. The clay is mixed with some water and beaten into mud with a stick. After several beatings, the clay becomes as fine and soft as



Clay toys made in Junxian County, Henan Province.

dough. A bamboo stick with one thick end and one sharp end is the major sculpting tool artists use to shape nose, eyes and mouth, as well as patterns on the body. Each clay toy has holes bored in it with a bamboo stick, which can produce different sounds when you blow it.

Four different methods are used to make clay toys: The first two are moulding and handwork. There can also be a combination of moulding and handwork, such as a toy of a person riding a horse. The person is moulded and the horse is shaped by hand. The fourth method links the body with the head by a spring. For example, a horse or lion toy with a moving head is made this way. Shaped clay toys are then painted with black or brown primer, and patterned with different colours such as white, crimson, green, yellow and blue. The painted toys gleam because the colours are mixed with egg yolks.

Now, Yangqitun Village has developed into a centre for making clay toys. Out of 750 households in the village, 600 families are engaged in this work. When the slack farming season comes, each family gets together to share the work. Some shape clay into various animals or figurines. others

paint the primer on, and still others do the patterning. Their skill is so developed that a basket of clay toys can be made in the span of a meal. At this time, windowsills, top of walls and shelves in each family are dotted with clay toys.

Folk artists begin learning skills from their own grandfather or father at the age of six or seven. They can work until 70 or 80 years old. Artist Wang Lantian is well-known for his exquisite and life-like toys, while Li Yonglian has won a reputation for his artistic exaggeration. The toys made by artist Wang Tingliang have the characteristics of simple structure with unique conception. Now their craftsmanship has received the attention of the government and artists in other parts of the country.

BIBLIOTHECA

Bookish peasant family

A peasant family named Li in the suburbs of Hengshui, Hebei Province, has a library of 8,000 titles, including political, historical, literary and scientific books.

Called the "family of scholars" by the local people, all seven family members (father, mother,

grandmother and four children) spend their leisure time reading and studying.

The Li family's hobby of reading and collecting books dates back to the reign of Emperor Xian Feng (1851-61) of the Qing Dynasty. Li Huantang, one of the family's ancestors, was a local scholar and wrote a petition on behalf of the local people to Cian, queen of Xian Feng, complaining that the local officials increased taxes during a severe natural calamity. The complaint was accepted and the Emperor offered Li an official post which he declined. He stayed in the village to farm and read, and his studying habit took roots with his descendants. The family collection includes editions printed in the Qing Dynasty and in the pre-liberation days.

Li Gong, the head of the family, graduated from a secondary technical school. A skilled calligrapher and painter, he is currently working under contract as an art consultant for the Hengshui Construction Committee.

Wang Juazhen, the mother, had little schooling before their marriage but now has attained the educational level of a junior middle school graduate.

The grandmother, aged 81, is also an avid reader. The four children are all attending school.

Li Qi, 17, the eldest daughter, has authored a series of stories about 100 famous Chinese women scientists, writers, artists and leaders of peasant uprisings since ancient times till the 1911 Revolution.

The Lis enjoy assisting others with their studies. In recent years, 35 students who wanted to advance their studies have received help from the family members.

Sketches by Chen Danqing

Chen Danqing, born in 1953, began with his career in fine arts when he worked in a county cultural centre studying on his own. A native of Guangdong, he is now a teacher in the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing, where he completed his postgraduate studies.

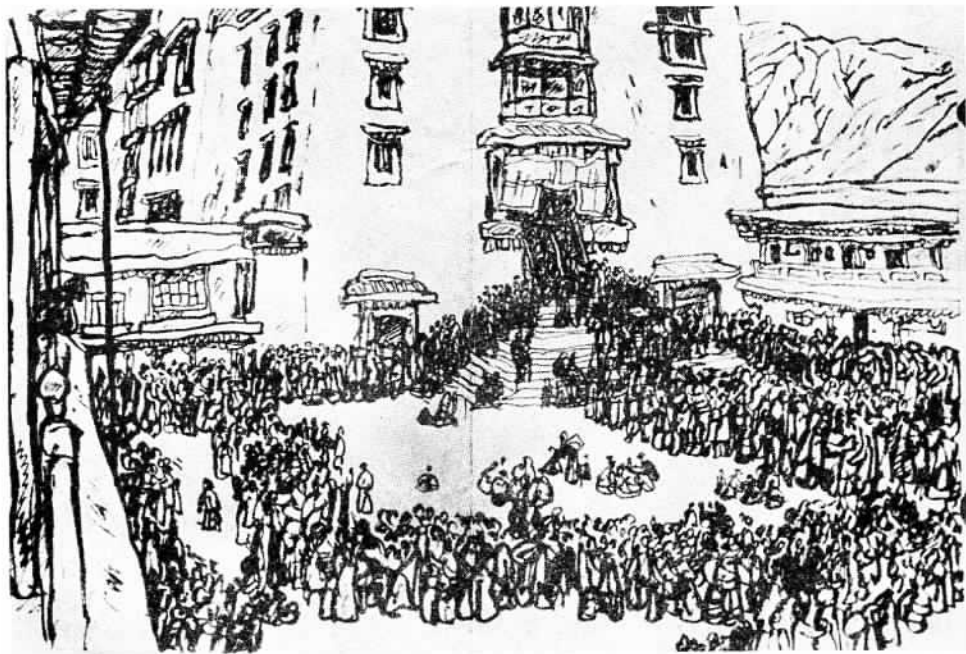


Stone Steps of Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet.



A Glimpse of Parkor Street, Lhasa.

A Square in the Potala Palace.

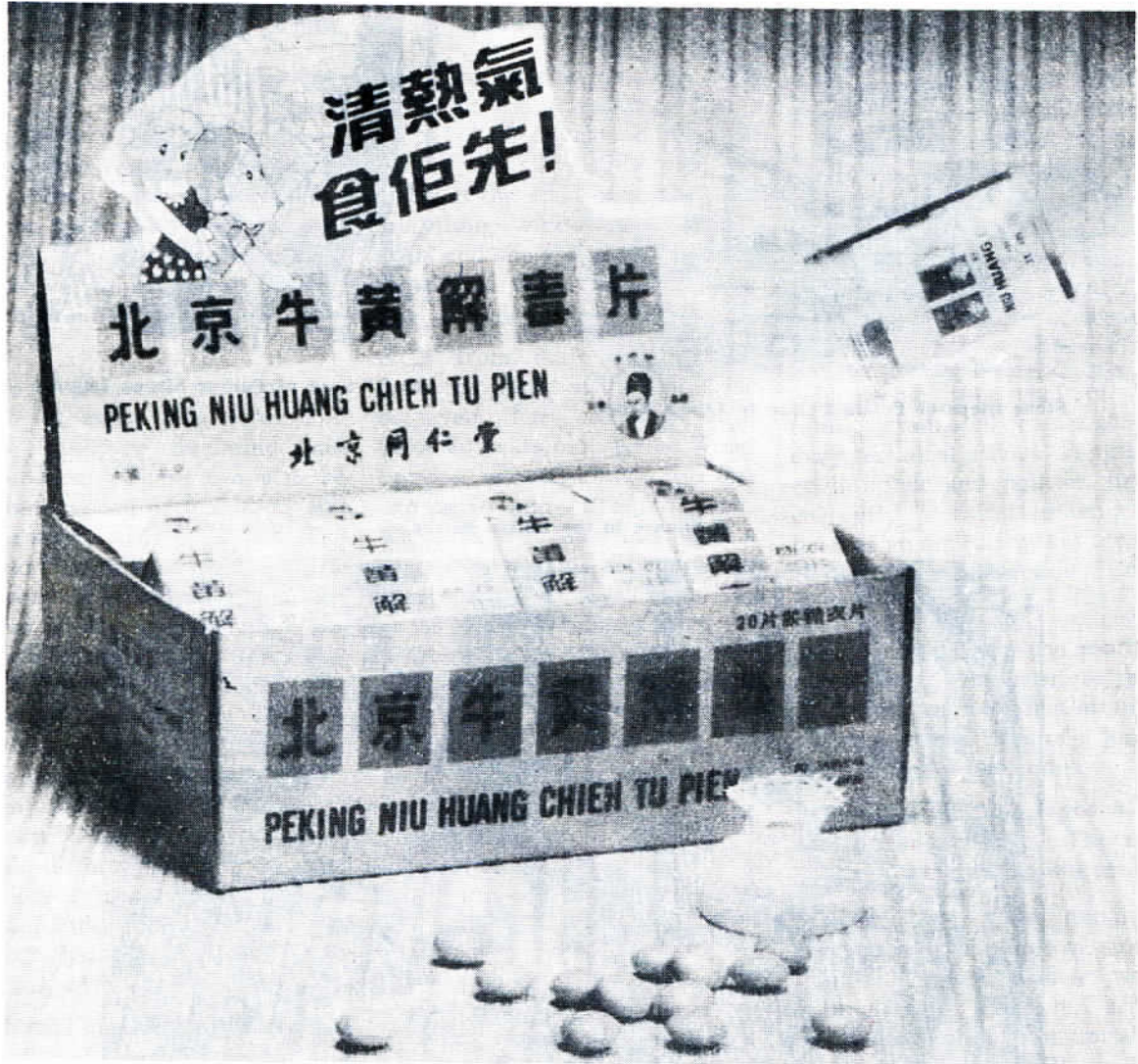




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